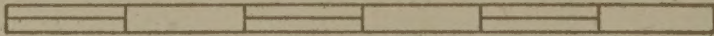






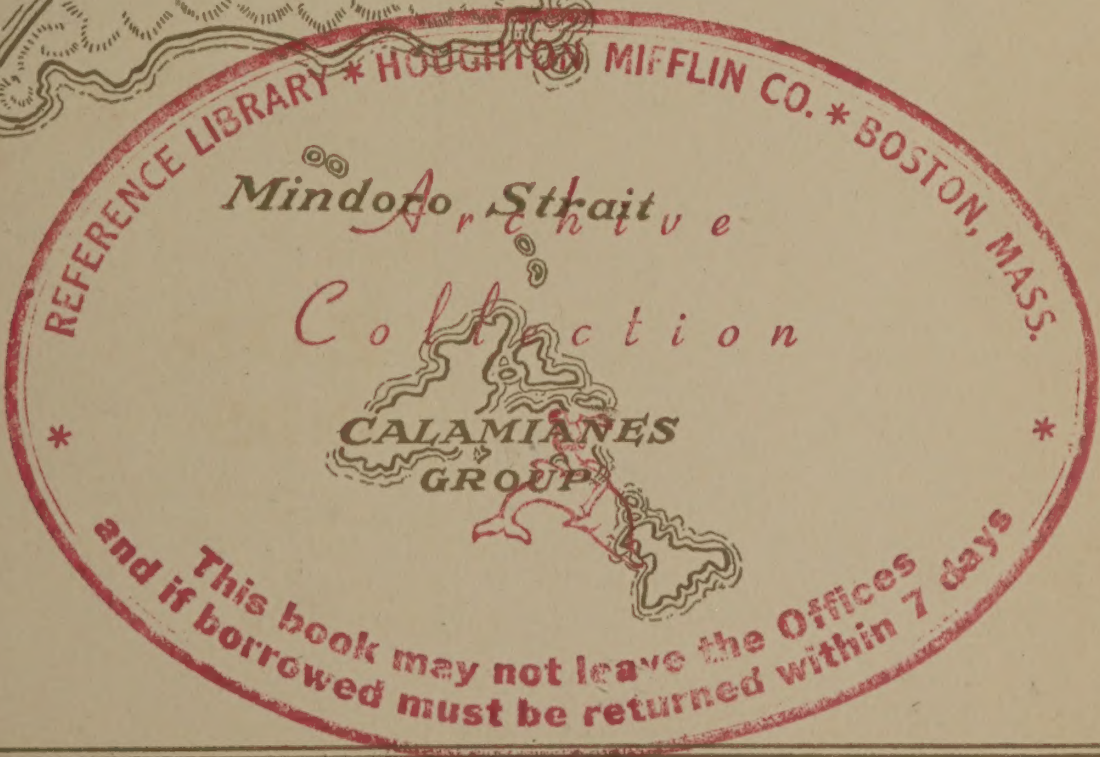
Map of the
ISLAND OF LUZON
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

SCALE  0 20 40 60 80 100 120

 VOLCANOES { ACTIVE •
DORMANT +

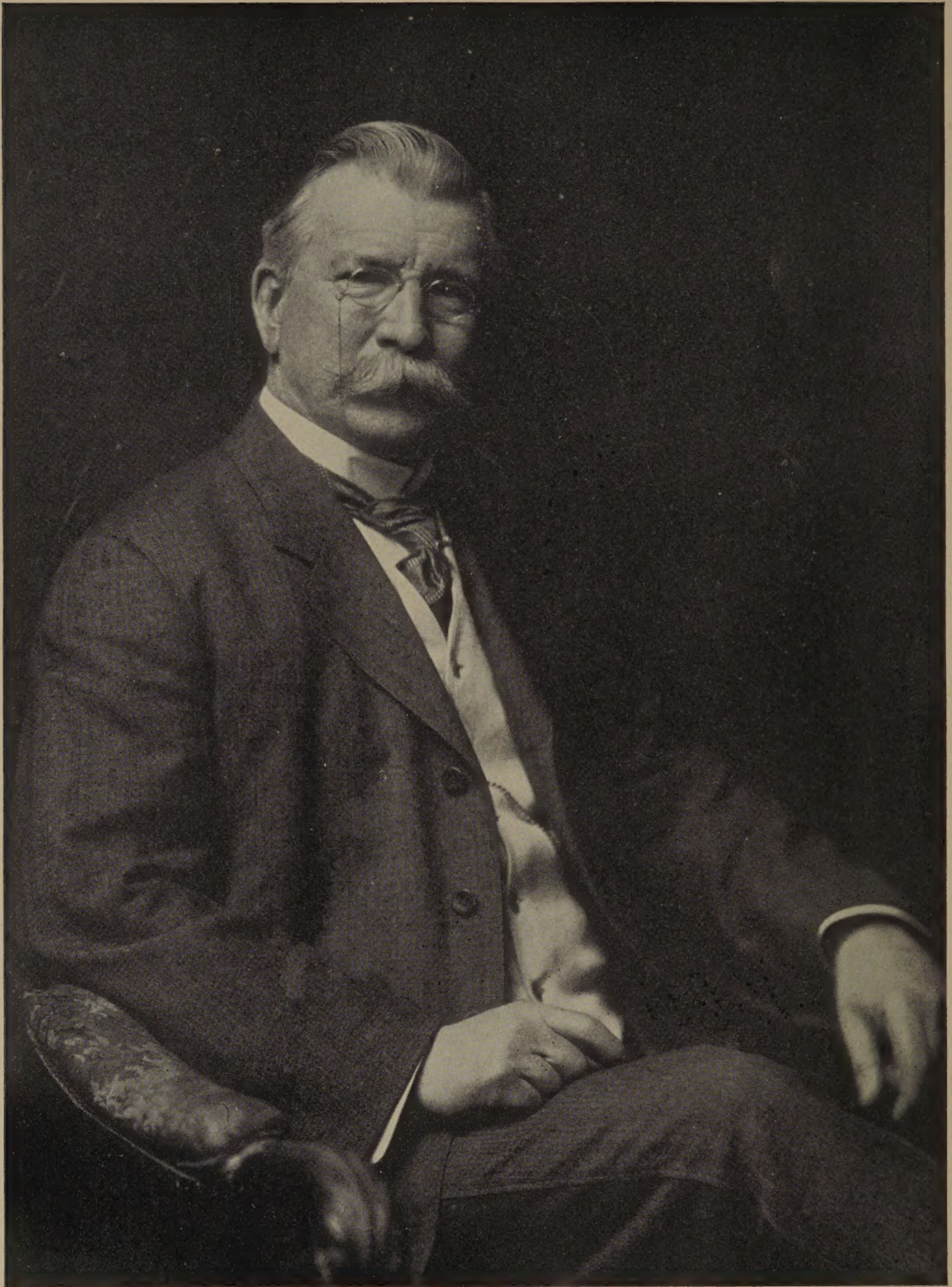
RAILROADS 

OCEAN



THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I



THE HONORABLE LUKE E. WRIGHT, GOVERNOR-GENERAL

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

BY
W. CAMERON FORBES

With Illustrations

VOLUME I



BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY
The Riverside Press Cambridge
1928

COPYRIGHT, 1928, BY W. CAMERON FORBES

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

The Riverside Press

CAMBRIDGE • MASSACHUSETTS

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

FOREWORD

IN 1904, the author of these volumes was called from his counting-house in Boston by President Roosevelt and appointed to a vacancy on the Philippine Commission, then composed of five Americans and three Filipinos and exercising legislative control over the Philippine Islands. He was given also the portfolio of Commerce and Police with supervision over several important bureaus and activities of the government. In 1908 he was appointed Vice-Governor, and in 1909 President Taft appointed him Governor-General, a position he held for about four years. During his nearly ten years of service with the Philippine government he made a practice of preserving significant clippings and having copies made of the most important documents that reached his eye, and these, classified, annotated, and indexed, together with copious journals and correspondence, form much of the basis of this work.

In 1921, at the request of President Harding, the author revisited the Philippine Islands, associated with General Wood. This mission made a careful study and reported upon the situation.

Through the courtesy of the Honorable Dwight F. Davis, Secretary of War, the archives of the War Department have been made available, and the late Governor-General Leonard Wood authorized the collection of information from the various bureaus and offices in Manila.

If this work proves to have merit on account of its comprehensive nature, it will have been due to the painstaking devotion of the Honorable Frank W. Carpenter, who, throughout the whole period of its preparation, has given nearly his whole time to delving into original sources, assembling and marshaling pertinent facts and figures, and in effect made this work a compendium of Philippine history, with references to original sources.

Mr. Carpenter served the Philippine Islands for a period of twenty-five years, successively as Private Secretary to the

Military Governor, Executive Secretary in the civil government, Governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, and in a private capacity as Receiver of the Philippine Vegetable Oil Company, and hence has had a unique opportunity of seeing the Philippine situation from the inside, and his very presence in connection with the preparation of this book assures its authenticity.

Much of the value of the work is also due to Miss Margaret A. Sullivan, who for several years, with rare training, skill, and taste, has worked up the mass of collected documents and since January, 1926, has directed the stenographic force employed in the work, and advised about form and substance, and, as the work progressed, revised and corrected the manuscript.

Acknowledgments are also due to Major-General Frank R. McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, who has cheerfully given every assistance and has caused much valuable material to be prepared. For advising about the material contained in one or more chapters, assistance has been received from the late Governor-General Leonard Wood, ex-Governor-General James F. Smith, ex-Vice-Governor Newton W. Gilbert, General John J. Pershing, formerly Governor of the Moro Province; General James G. Harbord, formerly Director of Constabulary; General Frank R. McCoy, formerly Secretary of the Moro Province; Dr. Victor G. Heiser, formerly Director of Health; Dr. Richard P. Strong, formerly Chief of the Biological Laboratory of the Bureau of Science, and Professor of Tropical Medicine in the University of the Philippines; Mr. W. T. Nolting, who formerly held at one time or another the positions of Auditor, Director of Posts, and Collector of Internal Revenue; Mr. John S. Leech, formerly Director of Printing; Mr. Warwick Greene, formerly Director of Public Works; Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Bowditch, Jr., formerly Secretary to the Governor-General, and Secretary of the Moro Province; and Lieutenant-Colonel John R. White, formerly Assistant Director of the Philippines Constabulary and Superintendent of the Iwahig Penal Colony.

In the Philippine Islands thanks are due to the Honorable

Sergio Osmeña, Senator from Cebu, and for fifteen years Speaker of the Philippine Assembly and of the House of Representatives, who has advised about the preparation of several chapters; the Honorable Gregorio Araneta, formerly Secretary of Finance and Justice in the Philippine government, who advised about the chapter on Justice; and to the secretaries of departments and chiefs of bureaus of the Philippine government for gathering data in the Islands, as well as to Colonel John W. Craig, United States Army, retired, for his assistance in that matter.

And especial thanks are due to Mr. David Gray, to whose encouragement the book owes its existence, and to Mr. Martin Egan, both of whom have rendered valuable assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

Acknowledgment is also made of the courtesies generously extended by the following publishers, periodicals, and individual owners of copyrights in granting permission to quote copyrighted material:

To Ernest Benn, Limited, for quotation from 'Rajah Brooke,' by Sir Spenser St. John; to the Century Company for quotation from 'The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence,' by Francis Burton Harrison; to Messrs. Dodd, Mead and Company for quotation from 'Leaves From a War Diary,' by James G. Harbord; to Messrs. Ginn and Company for quotation from 'A Brief History of the Philippines,' by Leandro H. Fernandez; to Messrs. Harper and Brothers for quotation from 'Admiral George Dewey,' by John Barrett; to the Harvard University Press and the Honorable Elihu Root for quotation from 'Military and Colonial Policy of the United States,' reports and addresses by Elihu Root; to the Macmillan Company for quotation from 'The Philippines Past and Present,' by Dean C. Worcester, and from 'The Malay Archipelago,' by Alfred Russel Wallace; to the Philippine Education Company for quotation from 'The Story of José Rizal,' by Austin Craig; to Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons for quotation from 'Autobiography of George Dewey,' and from 'Memories of Two Wars,' by Frederick Funston; to the World Book Company and Dr. David P. Barrows for quotation from 'History of the Philippines,' by David P. Barrows; to 'The Annals' of the American Academy of Politi-

cal and Social Science for quotation from an article reprinted from Vol. 20, No. 2 (Whole No. 72), September, 1902; to 'The American Historical Review' for quotation from an article by Lester B. Shippee in the issue of July, 1925; to the 'American Journal of Public Health' and to 'The Spectator' (New York) for quotation from an article by Frederick L. Hoffman abstracted in the 'Journal' of March, 1926, from 'The Spectator' of December 17, 1925; to 'The American Review of Reviews' for quotation from an article by Thomas Lindsey Blayney in the issue of January, 1916; to 'The Atlantic Monthly' for quotation from an article by Ralston Hayden in the issue of March, 1926; to 'Everybody's Magazine' for quotation from the issues of November 1, 1908, and January, 1915; to 'Foreign Affairs' (New York) for quotation from an article by Henry L. Stimson in the issue of April, 1927; to 'The Independent' for quotation from an article by Dean C. Worcester in the issue of February 23, 1914; to the 'National Tribune' for quotation from an article by Henry C. Corbin in the issue of October 8, 1908; to 'The Outlook' for quotation from articles in the issues of January 9, 1909, and September 6, 1913; to 'The Saturday Evening Post' for quotation from articles by Eleanor Franklin Egan in the issues of January 26, 1918, February 2, 1918, August 27, 1921, and October 15, 1921; to the 'World's Work' and Mr. Lyman Beecher Stowe for quotation from an article by Lyman Beecher Stowe in the issue of April, 1914; to Professors Conrado Benitez and Austin Craig for quotation from their 'Philippine Progress Prior to 1898'; and to Professor Austin Craig for quotation from 'Rizal's Own Story of His Life.'

To The Arthur H. Clark Company special acknowledgment is made for permission to use copyrighted material from their valuable publication, 'The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898,' translations of original documents, edited and annotated by Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, a monumental source work of the history of the Islands from their earliest relations with European nations through the entire period of administration by Spain.

CONTENTS

CHRONOLOGY	xiii
I. THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	3
II. EARLY HISTORY	30
III. AMERICAN OCCUPATION	61
IV. CIVIL GOVERNMENT	130
V. PUBLIC ORDER	188
VI. FINANCES	241
VII. JUSTICE	292
VIII. HEALTH	330
IX. PUBLIC WORKS	368
X. EDUCATION	410
XI. PRISONS	488
XII. VARIOUS GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES	513
XIII. BAGUIO	566
XIV. TRIBAL PEOPLES	586

ILLUSTRATIONS

THE HONORABLE LUKE E. WRIGHT, GOVERNOR-GENERAL

Frontispiece

MAYON VOLCANO	6
PHILIPPINE LABORING-WOMEN	14
LEGASPI MONUMENT	34
JOSÉ RIZAL, PHILIPPINE PATRIOT AND MARTYR	52
ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY	68
MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY W. LAWTON	106
THE HONORABLE WILLIAM H. TAFT	130
CARABAO AND CART	166
GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO	198
HOUSES BUILT OVER SALT WATER	226
SEÑOR DON ESTEBAN DE LA RAMA, A SUCCESSFUL FILIPINO BUSINESS MAN	268
THE HONORABLE CAYETANO S. ARELLANO, CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE PHILIPPINE SUPREME COURT	296
THE HONORABLE GREGORIO ARANETA, PHILIPPINE COMMIS- SIONER AND SECRETARY OF FINANCE AND JUSTICE	314
TYPICAL PHILIPPINE VILLAGE HOUSE	338
A BASTION OF THE MANILA WALL	358
NAIC-INDANG ROAD, CAVITE, BEFORE AND AFTER IMPROVE- MENT	376
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING	402
TYPICAL SCHOOL BUILDING	444
YOUNG LADY IN TYPICAL PHILIPPINE DRESS	456
COCOANUT GROVE	502
ON THE WAY TO IWAHIG	508
THE PABELLONES	508

MAJOR-GENERAL MANUEL TINIO	522
A FOREST MONARCH	560
ZIGZAG ON BENGUET ROAD	570
BURNHAM PARK, BAGUIO	582
AMPHITHEATRE PLANNED BY GENERAL BELL, CAMP JOHN HAY, BAGUIO	582
THE HONORABLE DEAN C. WORCESTER, PHILIPPINE COMMIS- SIONER AND SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR	590
IFUGAO RICE TERRACES AT BANAUE	596

CHRONOLOGY

1521. March 16. Discovery of the Philippine Islands by Magellan.
1543. The name Filipinas (Philippines) given the Islands by the Spanish explorer, Villalobus.
1565. First Spanish settlement founded at Cebu by Legaspi, who established Spanish sovereignty in the Islands.
1571. Establishment of the city of Manila by Legaspi as the Spanish capital of the archipelago.
- 1762-1764. British occupation of Manila.
1837. Port of Manila opened to foreign trade.
1872. Cavite Revolt.
1892. Revolutionary secret society, the Katipunan, organized.
1896. August. Beginning of Philippine revolution against Spain.
December 30. Execution of Philippine patriot, José Rizal.
1897. July. Proclamation of independence issued by General Aguinaldo.
December 14. Agreement known as the Pact of Biac-na-bato made between the Philippine insurgent leaders and the Spanish Governor-General.
1898. April 21. Beginning of war between the United States and Spain.
May 1. Battle of Manila Bay, resulting in the destruction of the Spanish Philippine squadron by Commodore Dewey.
June 18. Dictatorial government proclaimed by Aguinaldo.
August 6. Appeal to foreign governments by Aguinaldo to recognize Philippine independence.
August 13. Capitulation of Manila to the American forces and establishment of military government.
December 10. Signing of Treaty of Paris between the United States and Spain.
1899. February 4. Beginning of Philippine insurrection against the United States.
February 6. Treaty of Paris ratified by United States Congress.
March 4. Arrival in Manila of the Schurman Commission.
March 31. Malolos, insurgent capital, occupied by American troops and Aguinaldo's government moved to Tarlac.
May 6. At Baliuag, Bulacan, first organization, under American administration, of municipal government with popular election of officials.
November 21. Insurgent government broken up by reason of occupation of Tarlac by American troops, Aguinaldo retiring to the mountains.
1900. June 3. Arrival in Manila of the Taft Commission.
June 21. Amnesty proclamation issued by the American Military Governor.
September 1. Legislative power transferred from the Military Governor to the Philippine Commission.

- November. Organization of the Federal Party by representative Filipinos.
1901. March 2. President authorized, by the 'Spooner amendment' to an act of Congress, to establish civil government in the Islands.
 March. Capture of Aguinaldo by General Funston.
 July 4. Inauguration of William H. Taft as first Civil Governor,
 September 1. Appointment of three Filipinos as members of the Philippine Commission.
1902. February. First elections of provincial governors.
 July 1. Enactment by Congress of organic act for civil government in the Islands.
 July 4. Official recognition of the end of the Philippine insurrection.
 Amnesty proclamation issued by President Roosevelt.
 Military government terminated.
1903. March 2. First Philippine census taken.
 Provision by Congress for a new Philippine currency on a gold basis.
1904. February 1. Inauguration of Civil Governor Luke E. Wright succeeding Governor Taft, who had been appointed Secretary of War. (Title of chief executive of the Islands later changed from Civil Governor to Governor-General.)
1906. April 2. Inauguration of Governor-General Henry C. Ide.
 May 24. Creation of Philippine Postal Savings Bank.
 September 20. Inauguration of Governor-General James F. Smith.
 November 15. Majority of members of provincial boards made elective.
1907. October 16. Philippine Assembly inaugurated as the lower house of the Legislature.
 Representation of the Islands by two resident commissioners at Washington.
1909. August 5. Enactment by Congress of the Payne Tariff Law authorizing limited free trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands.
 November 11. Inauguration of Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes.
1913. October 3. Enactment by Congress of the Underwood Tariff Law authorizing unlimited free trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands and abolishing Philippine export duties.
 October 6. Inauguration of Governor-General Francis B. Harrison.
 October 30. Filipinos given majority on the Philippine Commission.
1916. August 29. Enactment by Congress of the Jones Law, the new organic act for the government of the Islands.
 October 16. Elective Philippine Senate inaugurated as the upper house of the Legislature in place of the appointive Commission.
1918. December 31. Second Philippine census taken.
1921. May 4. Arrival in Manila of Wood-Forbes Mission.
 October 15. Inauguration of Governor-General Leonard Wood.
1927. August 7. Death of Governor-General Wood.
1928. March 1. Inauguration of Governor-General Henry L. Stimson.

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS



CHAPTER I

THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

ON the first of May, 1898, the American people were startled with the news of the battle of Manila Bay, and the whole country thrilled with excitement on reading of the heroism shown by American sailors and the overwhelming victory won by Admiral Dewey and his ships in the Orient. Little did they dream that a new era had been opened in the foreign relations of their country and in the extension of its influence toward the west, since up to that time most of the trade of their country had been conducted along its eastern shores. Startled American citizens, even those who prided themselves on a fair degree of education, pulled down their atlases to learn where and what were these Philippine Islands about which they had known practically nothing but the name. But the best map could give no fair realization of the size and latent possibilities of this group of islands, running into the thousands in number, with their fertile plains, great rivers, ranges of high, forest-covered mountains; their forty-six million acres of virgin forests, and vast resources of luxuriant tropical vegetation and marine growth; their history of romance and adventure; and the long, laborious, and admirable work carried on through the centuries by their mother country, Spain, which had resulted in their supporting the only Christian people in the Orient. Even when people had finally taken down their atlases, it is probable that few of them realized the strategic position held by these islands as a gateway from the United States to the Orient.

A glance at the map of the Eastern Hemisphere will show the continent of Asia separated from the Pacific Ocean by a chain of islands extending all the way from Kamchatka on the north to Borneo on the south. Between these islands and Asia lie various seas — the Sea of Okhotsk, the Sea of Japan,

the Yellow Sea, the Eastern Sea, and, on the south, the China Sea. The southern end of the islands overlaps the southern end of the continent of Asia, and thus shipping bound from either of the Americas to Asia, in order to reach any of the great ports of that continent, must pass through this chain of islands, which in a sense control the approach to Asia from the Pacific Ocean.¹

Most of these islands are now in the possession of Japan, from the Kurile Islands on the north to and including Formosa on the south. The lower third of the chain comprises what are known as the Philippine Islands, extending southward from near Formosa for a distance of about twelve hundred miles to Borneo, the southern end being just north of the Equator. Their east and west extent is nearly six hundred miles. There are numerous good natural harbors, and the principal ports have been made accessible to large trans-oceanic vessels.

The Philippine official census of 1918 shows 7083 ² islands, and even then the enumeration of some smaller islands had not yet been completed by the Coast Survey. Of these 7083, 1095 ³ are sufficiently large and fertile to be inhabited; 463 ⁴ have an area of more than one square mile each, and 11 ⁵ of more than one thousand square miles.

The total land area of the Philippine Islands is 114,400 square miles,⁶ or three-quarters that of insular Japan.⁷ About 95 per cent of the land area is comprised in the eleven largest islands, and approximately two-thirds in the two great islands of Luzon and Mindanao, the areas of which are about

¹ For the judgment of the German foreign secretary, Von Bülow, on this point, see Chapter III, *post*, 65, where Von Bülow is quoted as follows: '... the control of the sea in the end may rest on the question of who rules the Philippines, directly or indirectly.'

² *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1918, I, 279. (Hereafter cited, *Census*, 1918.)

³ Dean C. Worcester: *The Philippines Past and Present*, II, 792, New York, 1914. (Hereafter cited, Worcester.)

⁴ *Census*, 1918, I, 279.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ The land area of the Philippine Islands, 114,400 square miles, is almost eighteen times the area of the Territory of Hawaii, nearly three times the area of the island of Cuba, and materially more than the aggregate of all of the West Indian Islands, or of the total combined area of Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Portugal, and Switzerland, and greater than any State of the United States excepting Texas, California, Montana, or New Mexico.

41,000 square miles and 37,000 square miles respectively. These large areas of land comprise heavily wooded mountains, cultivable hills, fertile lowlands, and rolling upland prairies, some of which attain an elevation exceeding two thousand feet.

The principal islands are traversed by large rivers, many of which are navigable. There is abundant water-power in numerous streams, susceptible of beneficial development. The sources of practically all the rivers and smaller streams are in the heavily forested uplands and mountainous interiors, with the result that there is a dependable, and in many cases abundant, flow of water, not only for power, but also for irrigation, without the necessity of building reservoirs for impounding the excess precipitation in the rainy season.

In the interior of some of the larger islands there are extensive lakes, some of which are navigable and in most of which there is abundance of fish. Near the sea are large areas of swamps, important by reason of their growth of mangrove, nipa palm, and wood valuable for fuel. Some of these have been ingeniously developed for use as controlled fisheries, and others for salt works.

The seas, within and adjacent to the archipelago, teem with natural resources. Besides the food fishes, there are profitable pearl fisheries and an abundance of commercially valuable shells and sponges. There is, no doubt, latent marine wealth awaiting development, as, for example, the sardine and other food fisheries.

The climate¹ throughout the year in the lowlands is warm, moist, and rather enervating to white people, who, during the hotter months, seek refuge from it in the mountains, where there are pleasant resorts. The average temperature in Manila, 79.5° F., is typical of what may be expected in the lowlands throughout the archipelago.² The temperature at

¹ The climatology of the Philippine Islands, including temperature, rainfall, and all other subjects falling under this general heading, and also the subject of earthquakes, are treated in a comprehensive manner in the publications of the Philippine Weather Bureau, which is discussed in some detail in Chapter XII of this book. Vol. I of the *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1918, contains statistics and pertinent discussions of weather conditions in the Philippine Islands. There is probably no more authoritative information of its kind as to any other tropical region.

² The mean annual range is 6.7° F., which may be compared with the degrees of

night, even in the lowlands and at all seasons of the year, is agreeably cool, and in January and February, the coolest period, is sometimes as low as 59° at Manila.

The seasons are divided into the northeast monsoon, which brings frequent rains on the east coast of the islands, and the southwest monsoon, which gives the rainy season in Manila and on the west coast. In the southern and narrow part of the island of Luzon and from there down through the southern part of the archipelago, the rainfall is well distributed throughout the year. The rainfall is very heavy, in certain sections as much as two hundred and fifty inches annually, and occasionally greater. During the northeast monsoon, from November to May, there is a generally well-marked dry season on the west coast. The months of April and May are the period of greatest heat.

Typhoons are of occasional occurrence, usually during the southwest monsoon. Accurate forecasts of their approach are made by the Philippine Weather Bureau. Although the wind reaches terrific velocity as it circles around the centre of a typhoon, often reaching one hundred miles an hour, the forward movement of the typhoon is very slow, perhaps eight to twelve miles an hour. The path of a severe typhoon is marked by destruction, houses blown down, trees uprooted, ships wrecked, and crops ruined. Fortunately its path is narrow, seldom exceeding ten or twelve miles, and serious damage is always of limited extent. Destructive typhoons generally pass to the northward of Luzon, and of those striking the Philippine Islands about twice as many pass to the north as to the south of Manila. The southern portion of the archipelago, including the central and western regions of the great island of Mindanao, southern Palawan, and the Sulu Archipelago on the south, is remarkably free from the visits of typhoons.¹

There is a notable chain of volcanoes from the Bataan Islands on the north down to the noble Mount Apo, over 9600 ² feet in height, in southern Mindanao. Some of these variation reported for Los Angeles, California, with its range of 16.5° , and Miami, Florida, of 15° . Los Angeles and Miami, however, have climates which average much cooler than the Philippine Islands.

¹ *Census*, 1918, I, 461, 463.

² United States Coast and Geodetic Survey: Philippine Islands General Charts, No. 4724.



MAYON VOLCANO

are still active. One volcano in the Bataan Islands, almost within sight of Japan's southernmost possession, has recently been in eruption. In 1911, when Taal Volcano, within fifty miles of Manila, was in violent eruption, the accompanying earthquakes, over ninety-five in number, were recorded by the seismograph in Manila, and several of these were sufficiently violent to be felt in that city. During the eruption a great volume of mud, steam, and gas was thrown high into the air, there was a tidal wave in the lake surrounding the volcano, and the loss of life in the vicinity was heavy. Although the seismograph in Manila frequently registers earthquakes, they are seldom strong enough to be felt and are rarely of destructive force.

One of the most beautiful scenic features of the Philippine Islands is Mayon Volcano, an almost perfect cone, which rises from sea level to a height of 7943 feet.¹ This mountain is the crowning glory of the province of Albay, in the southernmost part of Luzon.²

The Islands are generally of volcanic origin, the higher portions of a partly submerged mountain mass. The slopes of some of the mountains are so steep and rock strata so shattered as to be in a state of unstable equilibrium. The serious geological disturbances which brought these mountains into being have resulted in frequent faults in the mineral deposits. The second deepest part of the Pacific Ocean is located about fifty miles off the northeast coast of Mindanao, and the greatest depth is not far distant. On the west, between the Islands and the continent of Asia, is the comparatively shallow China Sea, presumably a sunken area. The Islands are connected

¹ United States Coast and Geodetic Survey: Philippine Islands General Charts, No. 4715.

² 'Mayon could be seen towering under, through, and over clouds, and finally casting all modesty aside, loomed forth great and almost terrible in its height and perfection of contour, just as the moon came out, as we sped back. The road [Tabaco-Ligao] is about seventeen miles long, and some of the views of tropical foliage exceed anything I have seen here at all, the hemp, which looks like banana, banked in great solid masses, over which tower fine forest trees with their parasites of orchids, and streamers or trailers, and among the hemp trees are found the fern.' (Journal of the Honorable W. Cameron Forbes, Secretary of Commerce and Police in the Philippine Islands, III, 297, September 21, 1909. This journal of Mr. Forbes as Secretary of Commerce and Police from June 15, 1904, to November 10, 1909, as Governor-General from November 11, 1909, to September 1, 1913, and subsequently as ex-Governor-General, is hereafter cited, Journal.)

with Borneo by two narrow, interrupted land bridges, Palawan and the Sulu Archipelago.

Some islands, like Bohol and Cebu, are in great part overlaid with coral, which, disintegrating, has given soil characteristics of marked difference from those of most of the larger islands, where lava overflow and volcanic tufa and ash deposit have affected extensive districts and resulted in some curious phenomena — areas of extremely fertile soil adjacent to land almost incapable of successful cultivation. Some of the small islands in the southern seas are wholly of coral formation, fertile, but without dependable springs or other sources of potable water. The soil in many districts is rich; in some extremely fertile. There is no barren or arid region.

The archipelago comprises three natural divisions: (1) on the north, Luzon, Mindoro, and adjacent islands including those extending northward toward Formosa; (2) in the centre, the Visayas, of which the island of Samar is the largest, while Cebu, Panay, and Negros are preponderant in population and commerce; and (3) on the south the great island of Mindanao, its adjacent islands, and the Sulu Archipelago extending to the very shores of Borneo. Of all the islands in the group Mindanao has the largest area of undeveloped agricultural land. There are also great areas of undeveloped fertile land naturally adapted to agriculture in the Visayan Islands, especially in Leyte and Samar, as well as on the large islands of Mindoro and Palawan; and, although it supports by far the largest population, there are still extensive uncultivated fertile regions in Luzon.

Gold, copper, and iron have long been produced in a small way on various islands. Since the later days of the Spanish régime there has been a limited production of gold ¹ by European and American mining enterprises in Luzon, Masbate, and Mindanao, as well as from the more primitive operations carried on by Filipinos.² According to early records, gold has

¹ The export of gold bullion and ore exceeded \$1,000,000 annually for some years prior to 1925, when it amounted to \$1,938,901.50. (Bureau of Commerce and Industry: *Statistical Bulletin of the Philippine Islands*, 1925, 44.)

² The word 'Filipino' has the Spanish spelling derived from Felipe, while the adjective 'Philippine' has the English spelling of Philip. In writing this book, the word 'Philippine' has been used wherever reference is made to the Islands in a geographical sense, and 'Filipino,' both noun and adjective, where reference is

long been secured from these islands and also from Cebu, Mindoro, and others, and it is probable that the industry extended back into prehistoric times. Copper and iron are also mined in a very small way in Luzon. The largest known deposit of iron is in the island of Mindanao, estimated to contain some 500,000,000 metric tons of ore.¹ Efforts on the part of individuals, corporations, and the government have been made to exploit other minerals, such as asbestos, petroleum, and asphaltum, but no notable success has been achieved thus far in connection with any of these. Coal of various grades is found in many places, and since 1848, when steamships first were introduced, there have been efforts, both by private enterprise and by the government, to develop commercial production, at least to the extent of meeting local requirements, but up to 1927 these efforts had met with no important measure of success.

Sulphur deposits are known to exist at various points, especially on the islands of Luzon and Mindanao. Lead, zinc, and manganese are authoritatively reported² at various points in Luzon, and the latter mineral also in one of the islands in the Sulu Archipelago.

Mineral and thermal springs are found in many places in the Islands, and some are notable for their beneficial effects in the treatment of diseases. The most famous of these are the hot springs at Los Baños,³ and the mineral springs at Sibul, both within a short distance of Manila. Other springs on the island of Luzon and on many of the other islands are of local high repute.

The Philippine forests⁴ are of great economic value. They

made to the people. When the people are described geographically, however, the term 'Philippine people' is used.

These distinctions are not always observed in quoted matter, where, of course, passages are copied without change.

¹ Importations of iron and steel, mostly manufactured, average about \$10,000,000 a year in value.

² *Census*, 1918, I, 614-15.

³ Spanish for 'The Baths.'

⁴ Scientific administration of the public forests in the Philippine Islands was attempted by the Spanish government, and was carried on during the period of American military control and developed thereafter. Trained men were engaged for the systematic study as well as the economic administration of these vast forest areas, and the Philippine Bureau of Forestry has assembled authoritative and comprehensive information as to the timber and other available forest products. A

comprise many varieties of the choicest cabinet woods, and of timber well adapted for all kinds of structural and other economic uses; and they produce large quantities of tan barks (cutch), dyewoods, gutta-percha, gum copal, and other valuable gums, resins, oils, rattans and fibres, and nipa palm, the sap of which is used for the manufacture of alcohol.

The specimens of Philippine hard woods shown to the American public in the Philippine forestry exhibits in the World's Fairs at St. Louis and San Francisco were a revelation of the possibilities of the Islands in the production of superior hard woods. These are classified by the Bureau of Forestry according to degree of hardness and there are a number of the first class of a specific gravity greater than water, capable of taking the finest finish, and useful for a variety of structural purposes. About three thousand varieties of wood ('arboreous species') are distinguishable in the Islands.¹

Narra, which is of two shades, light or 'white narra' and blood-red, was the favorite wood of the Spanish artisans for making furniture. This is much harder than the average wood sold as mahogany, and much of the fine old furniture in the Islands is made of it, including table tops as large as eight feet in diameter cut from the buttress roots of the trees.²

summary of this information is to be found in the chapter, 'The Philippine Forests,' in *Census*, 1918, III.

It has been asserted by competent authority that the stand of hard wood timber in the Philippine Islands is now probably the finest in the world. (Worcester, II, 849. For a good description of the Philippine forests and their commercial possibilities, reference is made to pages 846-60, of the same volume.)

¹ *Census*, 1918, III, 791, 792.

The official classification of forest trees, graded according to their hardness, places twenty-eight species in the first group, forty-five in the second, sixty-seven in the third, and the remainder in the fourth. (*Census*, 1918, III, 820.)

The Botanical Gardens of Manila, established by Governor-General Norzagaray in 1858, contain many interesting indigenous and exotic plants and trees. These gardens, later named 'The Mehan Gardens,' in memory of Mr. John C. Mehan, for many years superintendent of parks and sanitation of Manila, were greatly improved during the early years of American administration and together with the adjacent moat and city walls were made a part of the park system of Manila. Because of lack of space and of diversity of climatic and soil conditions at Manila, botanic gardens have been developed at the forestry school on the slopes of Mount Makiling.

² The writer has in his possession an eight-foot table which was originally the property of Governor-General Wright, and another of seven feet; and in the

Ebony of fine quality is found and has the highest market value of all woods, clear pieces selling at the equivalent of five hundred dollars per thousand board feet.¹ Molave, known in the Philippine Islands as the king of woods, is most resistant to the elements. In the vicinity of Zamboanga there is an old fort with a door of molave which has been exposed to the weather for three hundred years.² The old Spanish houses and convents throughout the Islands have floors of alternate strips of different woods. The boards, often two and one-half or three feet wide, run the whole length of a long room, and must have been cut from trees of great size. These floors are kept highly polished and are a characteristic feature of the better class of buildings throughout the archipelago.

The Philippine forests, estimated at 72,224 square miles,³ comprise about two-thirds of the total land area of the Islands. Of this forest area, nearly ninety per cent, or 64,127 square miles, are commercial forests, the balance being classed as second growth capable of furnishing timber of small dimensions and abundant supplies of firewood. Practically all these forests are public domain and are administered by the Philippine Bureau of Forestry, only one per cent being privately owned.⁴

The forests in many places begin at the sea and extend across the lowlands to the very crests of the mountain ranges.

Faculty Room of Harvard University the Harvard Overseers in their stated meetings gather around a table seven feet in diameter made of this wood, with a border of ten inches of camagon (Philippine ebony), the two making a table of crimson and black, the university colors.

¹ One species, camagon, called 'Philippine ebony,' is highly prized and often used for the manufacture of fine furniture. Some idea of its durability is indicated by the fact that during the boring of a well a log of this ebony was found buried so far beneath the silt that geologists estimated it must have lain there at least a thousand years. From this log was made a walking-stick which was presented to a member of the Wood-Forbes Mission in 1921.

² Among other notable woods are ipil, of a rich brown color, greatly prized for interior finish; dungon, an iron wood; the rich, wine-colored tindalo, which turns with age to a deep red, and is susceptible of taking a perfect finish; mancono, harder and heavier than lignum-vitæ; and — one of the loveliest of all for furniture purposes — acle, of a brown color somewhat lighter and softer in tone than black walnut, much harder in texture, and particularly pleasing to the eye.

³ Somewhat more than the combined area of the States of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Vermont.

⁴ *Census*, 1918, III, 791.

In Luzon, where excellent automobile roads have been constructed from coast to coast, and in Mindanao, where such roads reach from the sea to the centre of the island, as in the Lake Lanao region, there are opportunities to view tropical forests in their primeval grandeur. Entirely unlike the temperate zone, there is here a wealth of varied vegetation in addition to the stately towering trees. In the shade of these dense forests there is an exuberant growth of plant life — great climbing rattans, some of which are hundreds of feet in length and of such strength that they make excellent ferry cables; innumerable varieties of orchids and other parasitical plants, as well as an abundance of plants and shrubs. A traveller riding through Mindanao wrote: 'Down among those absolutely wonderful trees and wild, raving, delirious vegetation, we seemed to have realized the extreme height of tropical splendour. As night falls hordes of great fruit bats come and flap slowly and thickly about among the tree-tops.'¹

Among the indigenous trees and plants are many that are reputed to have medicinal value: the armamentarium of local domestic medicine and of the herb doctor.² Many medicinal plants, including quinine, camphor, chaulmoogra,³ and others not indigenous, find favorable climatic and soil conditions in many parts of the Philippine Islands.⁴

Still more important are the agricultural resources, by reason of the general fertility of the soil, favorable climatic

¹ Journal, II, 178, January 22, 1907.

The same eye-witness described riding 'up and down hill, over rivers, and in the midst of the glory of the tropical forest with its great palms and immense trees, and hanging things and swinging things, and contorted roots that have a fearful way of reaching for your foot.' (Journal, I, 415, April 8, 1906.)

And of Pagsanjan gorge he wrote: 'I saw places where the water was coming over, and instead of dropping from a height it clung to the great hanging feelers of a vine that came down fifty or a hundred feet and then the stream poured off the end of the vine in a pretty tiny cascade. It seemed rather friendly of the water to cling so long to the vine.' (Journal, II, 141-42, November 12, 1906.)

² A large amount of interesting and useful information on Philippine medicinal plants has been compiled by both foreign and native investigators. A summary on the subject of medicinal plants by Dr. Leon Ma. Guerrero, recognized the highest Filipino authority on the subject, may be found in *Census*, 1918, III, 747 ff.

³ A specific for the cure of leprosy is obtained from the seed of the chaulmoogra tree.

⁴ Scientific work of a high order in botanical investigation and classification has been carried on since 1902 for the Philippine Bureau of Science by Dr. E. D. Merrill. These findings are available in the Journals of the Bureau of Science and elsewhere.

conditions, and the topography of the country, well watered with abundant rivers and streams.¹ It is estimated that the still vacant and partially cultivated areas of agricultural land are adequate to provide for an additional population of about eighty million souls.²

The Filipinos of Luzon reveal a typical Oriental efficiency in terracing lands for irrigation. The most notable achievements in this respect are the centuries-old terraces built on the steep mountain-sides by the tribal peoples in the interior of northern Luzon.

During the Spanish administration of the Islands, there was little incentive for the production of wealth beyond simple immediate requirements and the Filipino farmer had not progressed beyond rather primitive methods. The typical farm was generally less than five acres.

The most important agricultural food product is rice, which is the present staple article of diet. To a lesser degree, and more recently, Indian corn or maize has come more into general favor, although it has been used for many years in some of the Visayan Islands and Mindanao.³ As late as 1926 neither rice nor corn was produced in quantities sufficient to meet the needs of the people, and this necessitated large annual rice importations from French Indo-China and other places. This is partly due to the fact that there was an economic advantage to the Filipino in raising the more profitable crops of hemp, copra, sugar, and tobacco, and buying low-priced food products.

The Philippine Islands have the distinction of being the only region in the world extensively to produce abaca, known as 'Manila' hemp, which is superior to all other fibres for marine cordage and other purposes requiring an especially long, strong, durable fibre. Maguey, sisal, and other fibres

¹ The average holding of privately owned farmland is 5.77 acres. Voluminous statistical data as to the areas of public domain and of private ownership of cultivated and of uncultivated agricultural lands, as well as all other pertinent subjects, are given in *Census*, 1918, III.

² *Census*, 1918, III, 8.

³ It was an extraordinary fact that the people of Cebu were generally corn-eaters, while the inhabitants of the neighboring province of Leyte could hardly be prevailed upon to eat corn even when threatened with famine. In the chapter on 'Education' it will be seen how the government took measures to remedy this anomaly.

are also produced for local use, and to an appreciable extent for export. The fibres of various other plants, including cotton and pineapple, are used for the manufacture of fabrics for local use. Piña cloth, made from the pineapple fibre, is used for those exquisite embroideries for which the Islands are famous, but which are not produced for export in quantities comparable with the commercial embroideries on imported cotton and linen fabrics.

Most tropical and sub-tropical fruits and nuts of economic value, including coffee and cacao, have been demonstrated to be capable of commercial growth in the Islands.¹

Production of plantation rubber has been carried on to a degree which indicates that it can be commercially profitable. So far this has been the result of small private ventures by Americans and Europeans without adequate capital. After several years of commercial production, these small plantations have demonstrated that conditions of the Philippine climate, soil, and labor are eminently favorable to rubber production.²

Racially the Filipino is a Malay and throughout the Islands the bulk of the population is sufficiently similar in type to indicate no great differences in origins.³ There is no doubt that there has been continued infusion of blood from the continent of Asia, especially Mongolian, and limited infusions of the blood of other Asiatic and of Polynesian peoples. There is little appearance of Caucasian blood in Filipinos except in the city of Manila and a very few other localities. In the

¹ Numerous publications of the Philippine government during the past twenty-five years give detailed information on these subjects.

² The possibilities of plantation rubber production in the Philippine Islands have been brought to public attention from time to time in publications of the Bureaus of Agriculture and Forestry at Manila, in the American and Philippine press, and have been discussed in Congress. (See remarks of the Honorable Robert L. Bacon of New York in the *Congressional Record*, 69th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. 67, No. 164, pp. 11956-964.)

³ The racial origins of the Filipino people have been the subject of much discussion, and during the past half-century there has been increasing attention given to the matter by scientific investigators. The most sustained as well as competent investigations have been carried on by Professor H. O. Beyer, of the University of the Philippines, previously of the Philippine Bureau of Ethnology. He has devoted himself, since 1905, to ethnological work in the Islands. His chapter, 'The Non-Christian People of the Philippines,' in *Census*, 1918, II, is probably the best summary of available information on the subject of racial origins of the Filipino people.



PHILIPPINE LABORING-WOMEN

composition of the race the Negroid elements are negligible. There are a few aboriginal dwarf people with black skin, some with very dark, frizzled and some with straight hair, found in various localities.

The typical Filipino has straight black hair, dark brown eyes, and light to dark brown skin depending on exposure to the direct rays of the sun. He has a graceful, lithe physique, at maturity not usually exceeding five feet and four inches in stature. There is also a numerous sub-type of more stocky build and frequently with oblique eyes in which the Mongoloid element is manifest. Noteworthy, though less numerous, is a type distinctive chiefly in greater height, approaching that of some of the peoples of northern India or of Polynesia. All these physical types are found as individuals and groups among both civilized and tribal peoples, Christians, Mohammedans,¹ and pagans.²

Governor Taft, in an article written in 1902,³ said of the Filipinos: 'They are a very temperate people, and one rarely sees a drunken Filipino . . .'

The earliest estimate of the population is given as 500,000 people at the time of the conquest of the Islands by Legaspi about 1570.⁴ In 1899, during the first year of American occupation, the population, not including wild peoples, was estimated to be 6,700,000,⁵ an increase that bears eloquent testimony to the advance made under the Spanish rule.

The official census four years later, in 1903,⁶ the first systematic effort for a comprehensive enumeration of all the inhabitants of the archipelago, gave a total population of 7,635,426, of which 6,987,686 were civilized and 647,740 'consisted of wild people.'⁷

¹ See Chapter XV, 'Moros.'

² See Chapter XIV, 'Tribal Peoples.'

³ Printed in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Whole No. 72), September, 1902.

⁴ *Census of the Philippine Islands*, 1903, II, 17. (Hereafter cited, *Census*, 1903.)

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 18.

⁶ This official census of the Philippine Islands was taken by the government by direction of Secretary of War Taft pursuant to the Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, and is contained in four comprehensive and illuminating volumes filled with interesting and important data dealing with all the aspects of Philippine life and conditions.

⁷ 'The civilized people, with the exception of those of foreign birth, were practically all adherents of the Catholic Church, while of the peoples here classified as

The estimated population of the Philippine Islands in 1926 was approximately 12,000,000. The census of 1918 ¹ gives it as 10,314,310, of whom 9,332,960 (91 per cent) were reported as 'Christians,' ² 443,037 were stated as Mohammedan or 'Moros,' and 508,596 listed as 'pagan,' who are designated in these pages as 'tribal.' In addition there were 24,263 Buddhists and 5454 reported in religious classification as 'all others,' ³ both of these latter groups (29,717) being practically all Asiatic foreigners.⁴

wild, a large proportion, probably more than two-fifths, were Mohammedans in religion and were well known in the Islands as Moros. The remaining three-fifths belonged to various tribes differing from one another in degrees of barbarism.' (*Census*, 1903, II, 15.)

¹ This was the second census taken since American occupation and is the most comprehensive and most nearly accurate enumeration of the people of the Philippine Islands. It was the first census taken under Filipino direction, and, as there was no adequate trained staff of census specialists, there was long delay in the statistical work and in publication. The total expense of \$1,481,831.80 ^a is to be compared with the total expense of \$988,856.82 ^b of the census of 1903, which was under the immediate direction of General J. P. Sanger, United States Army, with the assistance of specialists from the United States Bureau of the Census, who had had previous experience in the census of Cuba, and also of Porto Rico. General Sanger had the advantage of the utilization, at little cost, of officers and men of the United States Army then (in 1903) stationed in Mindanao, the Sulu Archipelago, the islands of Luzon, Palawan, and elsewhere; also of the United States Census Bureau. The census of 1918 was an actual count of all the inhabitants, including Mohammedans and tribal peoples. The census of 1903 could have been little more than an estimate of the Mohammedans, of some of the civilized peoples then avoiding contact with agents of government, and of the greater part of the tribal peoples. Also, the greater amount of detailed statistical economic, political, and social data which the census of 1918 undertakes to present, was necessarily omitted or but partially presented by the census of 1903.

The census of 1918 contains accurate and complete maps of the Islands and is the most authoritative compendium of information on the various subjects it presents.

^a *Report of the Auditor for the Philippine Islands*, 1919, 50.

^b Philippine funds \$636,931.32. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part I, 26.) Federal funds, \$351,925.50, from appropriation by Act of Congress, March 3, 1903.

² Roman Catholic.....	7,790,937
Aglipayan.....	1,417,448
Protestant.....	124,575
	(<i>Census</i> , 1918, II, 51.)

³ *Census*, 1918, II, 51.

⁴ Density of population in the Philippine Islands averages about 90 to the square mile, but varies greatly. For example, on the island of Luzon, Ilocos Sur has a density of 492, and Apayao of but 6; Cebu in the Visayas, and Agusan on the island of Mindanao, have 458 and 10 respectively. 50.25 per cent of the population are males and 49.75 per cent females. (*Census*, 1918, II, 27, 28, 35.)

Forty per cent of the Filipinos are classified as engaged in agriculture and about

The resident foreigners in the Philippine Islands according to the census of 1918 were 64,037.¹

The Christian Filipino woman holds a very different position in the family from that given to her sisters in India or in most Oriental countries. She is usually the business manager of the household, keeps the keys, does the providing, receives all cash earned by any member of the family, including the proceeds from the farm produce, and supervises the expenditure. It is she who makes the budget. A man who fails to turn in his receipts for his wife's direction somewhat injures his standing in the community.

Socially the more wealthy Filipinos assimilated something of the Spanish practice of surrounding the women with all sorts of physical means of protection. The windows of their houses, built during the Spanish régime, were heavily barred, and wife or daughter was not supposed to go out in the street unaccompanied by a duenna. Co-education was not to be thought of, and the free and trusted association of boys with

13 per cent in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; 11 per cent in professional service; less than 7 per cent in trade and transportation. The following table shows the percentages of the total population in the five groups of gainful occupations for the Philippine Islands, the United States, and Cuba:

Groups of Occupations	Philippine Islands	United States ^a	Cuba ^b
Agricultural pursuits.....	40.4	32.9	48.1
Professional service.....	10.7	4.8	1.4
Domestic and personal service.....	28.8	14.0	22.8
Trade and transportation.....	6.6	19.9	12.8
Manufacturing and mechanical pursuits.....	13.4	28.3	14.9

^a Thirteenth Census of the United States.

^b Census of 1899.

(Census, 1918, II, 77.)

¹ The following table shows the distribution of the foreign residents in Manila and the provinces:

CITIZENSHIP	TOTAL	MANILA	PROVINCES
American.....	5,774	2,916	2,858
Chinese.....	43,802	17,760	26,042
Japanese.....	7,806	1,612	6,194
Spanish.....	3,945	2,050	1,895
English.....	1,140	664	476
German.....	286	201	85
French.....	182	121	61
Swiss.....	125	71	54
All other.....	977	474	503

(Census, 1918, II, 32.)

In 1926 the Chinese residents in the Philippine Islands were estimated at 60,000, and the Japanese at 10,000.

girls was not allowed. The introduction of American ideas and practices rapidly modified these customs.

The educated Filipino women throughout the lowlands are quiet, modest, unassuming, and carefully dressed. They have excellent manners, pleasant, quiet voices, and under most circumstances comport themselves with great self-possession.

The family life of the Filipino is generally happy. There are usually several children and frequently aged and other dependent relatives, all of whom are welcomed members of the household. The development and education of the children soon come to be the absorbing interest of the older members of the family, who as a rule make whatever sacrifices may seem necessary. The parents are apt to err through undue generosity, but are usually recompensed in later years by filial affection and care. It is rare to see a homeless aged or crippled person. Those without near relatives are taken into the homes of acquaintances among the more affluent members of the community or receive aid otherwise from private persons. The Roman Catholic missionaries appear to have encouraged these admirable traits of the people. An interesting sight is the aged poor leaving the monasteries on certain days of the week with food and other alms. It is noteworthy that there is no almshouse outside the city of Manila.

In commerce, Filipino women are notably more numerous than men in retail trade, and also are important factors as local jobbers in agricultural produce and Philippine textiles as well as imported merchandise. In many instances women successfully manage substantial investments in agriculture, fisheries, and other industries. They compete with the men in the professions of medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy, and are entering the practice of law.

In public affairs, women are taking an increasingly important part through individual leadership and club organizations.¹ These are engaged in welfare work rather than politi-

¹ Governor-General Leonard Wood reported in 1922: 'One of the strongest influences for building up interest in proper municipal and provincial government comes from the numerous woman's clubs. They have done excellent work, especially in behalf of child welfare, public health, public instruction, private and public morality, and the stimulating of interest in local governments — municipal and provincial. Indeed their interest has been so keen, their policy so unselfish and sound that I have recommended to the legislature that the suffrage be extended to

cal activities. There seems to be little popular demand for woman's suffrage, but many Filipino women hold important positions in government service, including such posts as assistant attorney in the Bureau of Justice, medical officer with the rank of senior surgeon in the Bureau of Health, and municipal treasurer.

It is especially notable that a Moro woman was appointed president of a municipality in Mindanao upon the request of a majority of the men of the district expressed at a *viva voce* election. In Sulu more than once a woman has been the acknowledged ruling influence in the public affairs of the Sultanate, and one assisted in conducting most important negotiations with the Spanish and American governments.¹

The social structure found in the Islands by Americans was essentially mediæval. In the rural districts the feudal relations of the large land-owners and their tenants persisted, and genuine loyalty existed in the mutual feeling between the *cacique*² and his retainers.³

Villages rather than scattered homesteads are characteristic of Filipino rural life. While originally considerations of security of the home doubtless compelled the people to form village communities, fondness for their social life causes them to be unwilling to live on the lands they cultivate except for the brief periods of seedtime and harvest. The annual festival

women to the same extent and under the same conditions as to men. I am convinced that the extension of suffrage to women under these conditions will be to the advantage of the people of the Philippine Islands.' (*Annual Report of the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands*, 1922, 37.)

¹ See also Chapter XV, 'Moros.'

² *Cacique* is the term customarily used to indicate a Filipino of dominating local influence, and so used is usually suggestive of such a person who uses his power arbitrarily. This word was taken by the Spaniards from the Caribbean Indian dialects, in which it appears to have been used to indicate the chief of a group or tribe, and subsequently applied by the Spaniards to local chiefs among the natives of the Philippine Islands and other islands of the Pacific. The same word, Anglicized to 'cassique,' was used in colonial Carolina in the seventeenth century. The charter of that colony provided titles of nobility for landowners, the owner of twenty-four thousand acres being designated 'cassique.'

³ Good public order, the breaking-down of isolation by the facilities of travel afforded by good roads and cheap transportation, the effect of the public schools, are influences that are developing independence of thought and action among the young men and women. The resulting social evolution is already manifest in all but those communities which have not yet been reached by good transportation facilities.

of the patron saint of the village attracts crowds from other villages. Religious services and processions from the church through the principal streets are conducted with pomp and solemnity. These are followed by open air theatricals, feasting, music, dancing, and other entertainments all of an Occidental character due to the influence of the Spanish missionaries. Except for a few attractive folk dances which survive in the Christian communities, it is only among the Mohammedan and tribal peoples that the pre-Spanish music and dancing are still to be found. Christenings, weddings, and funerals afford occasions for greater social festivities than are usual among Americans. The arrival of persons of distinction is generally celebrated by banquets and a grand ball prepared and attended by practically all the people of the village. Presentable strangers of all classes find in these villages a hospitality so invariable that hotels rarely exist except in the cities and a few of the largest towns.¹

Manila is not only the political capital, but also the great commercial centre of the Philippine Archipelago. It is situated on the shores of Manila Bay at the mouth of the Pasig River and is the terminus of the main railway lines on the island of Luzon. It is an important port of call for passengers and freight steamers from the Pacific coast of America, from Japan, China, Australia, and Borneo, and also from European ports. The city has a population of about 300,000,² which comprises Filipinos from all parts of the Islands, about 3000³ Americans, and foreigners of almost every nationality. The most numerous foreigners are the Chinese. Of these there are nearly 18,000,⁴ most of whom are engaged in commerce.

The total area of the city is about fifteen square miles, and includes in addition to the walled town many suburban villages, several of which, before the termination of Spanish sovereignty, had increased in population and extension of buildings to occupy all intervening open land, and with the increase in the number of buildings since American occupa-

¹ The social structure and village life in the Islands as existing immediately following American occupation are admirably described in *A Woman's Impressions of the Philippines*, by Mary H. Fee, Chicago, 1910. See also *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, by J. A. LeRoy, New York, 1905.

² In 1918, 283,613. (*Census*, 1918, I, 145.)

³ *Census*, 1918, II, 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*

tion have further extended. There are spacious parks and many wide avenues, so that the greater part of the city is pleasantly free from crowding.

Situated on the delta of the river Pasig there are in addition to the main channel of the river many canals, or *esteros*, some of which were formerly branches of the river and others were opened for thoroughfares. Many of these canals are important ways for water transportation of merchandise to markets and warehouses which are located on their banks. These canals render a valuable service in facilitating drainage of the city during the rainy season, and during the dry season are somewhat of a problem in sanitation.

The city is peculiarly free from slums due to the efficiency of the public health and police authorities. It has electric light, street railways, telephone, gas, and other services. Also there are good hotels, wholesale and retail merchandise establishments, banks, express companies, ice and cold storage plants, abundant supplies of meats, fish, fresh fruits and vegetables, and other modern facilities for business convenience and comfortable living.

Manila possesses many historic monuments of Spanish construction, of which the most impressive is the walled city located by Legaspi at the mouth of the Pasig River. The portion next to the river is the citadel known as Fort Santiago, the construction of which in its present form was begun in the year 1590. From this citadel defensive walls were extended parallel with the sea beach and along the south bank of the river Pasig for considerable distances and then brought together on the south, enclosing the area within which were constructed the principal government offices and residences of the Spanish officers and their families. The total extension of the wall, about two and three-quarters miles, was completed during the eighteenth century. After the evacuation of the city by the English in 1764, extensive changes were made in the fortifications, including the excavation of a wide moat outside the wall.¹

¹ The moat has been filled under American administration as a public health measure and the area utilized as a golf course and athletic fields. As the wall, under conditions of modern warfare, is of little defensive value, adequate openings have been cut to provide traffic facilities and for wharves along the river front. Five of

Of the many churches, monasteries, and other buildings within the walled city the oldest is that of the Augustinian friars, the construction of the present building having been begun in the year 1599. Its walls were built strongly enough to have withstood the earthquakes and storms of three centuries. The churches of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Recollects, and Jesuits, are also located in the walled city. The most imposing of the church edifices is the cathedral. The present building was almost entirely rebuilt following the earthquake of 1863. The church of the Jesuit fathers is of especial interest because of the artistic wood carvings and other decorations. The University of Santo Tomas and the Jesuits' college for young men have museums which contain much of historic and scientific interest.¹

Throughout the Islands there are more than fifteen thousand villages, or *barrios*² as they are termed, and these are grouped in nearly twelve hundred municipalities for governmental purposes.³ Both the family life and the operation of government in the rural districts are doubtless more in accord with the traditional customs of the people than of Spanish character. The typical village is small in population; the houses in orderly location on one or two streets, a schoolhouse and a chapel being the only public buildings. The seat of municipal government is generally larger with a public plaza, fronting on which are the government office building or 'town hall,' the church, and perhaps the public school building, the market, and residence of one or more of the wealthy families. A village or town of 10,000 population is exceptional. Cebu, the site of the first European settlement in the Islands with a population of 66,000,⁴ is, next to Manila, the largest city.

the old gates, however, have been preserved and also the greater portion of the walls, including the citadel of Fort Santiago, in which are located the headquarters and many of the administrative offices of the United States Army forces in the Islands. Inscriptions of historic interest over the gates and in various public buildings have been preserved, as have also monuments in the public plazas.

¹ An excellent description of the historic buildings in Manila and its vicinity is to be found in *Interesting Manila*, by George A. Miller, Manila, 1906.

² The origin and significance of this term are explained in Chapter IV, 'Civil Government,' *post*, 151.

³ The organization of the several branches of government is described in Chapter IV, 'Civil Government.'

⁴ *Census*, 1918, II, 103.

Among other cities of importance are the seaports of Iloilo, Legaspi, and Zamboanga. Jolo, said to be the smallest walled city in the world, is attractive with its background of hills and mountains, and its pier where traders deal in pearls and many unusual marine products.

Towns in the interior of Luzon, such as Lucban and Pag-sanjan, and such coast villages as Mambajao and Puerto Princesa afford opportunities to see the typical activities of the people and interesting evidences of Spanish influence.

The Filipinos use a variety of dialects, chiefly of Malay origin,¹ which are usually spoken in the homes and in local social relations and trade among themselves. The Spaniards found them using a system of writing which had come to them through Hindu-Javanese channels. One of the early missionary friars stated that these islanders were given to reading and writing and that there was 'hardly a man, and much less a woman,' that did not 'read and write in the letters used in the island of Manila.'² The leaves of a palm were used in the absence of paper, which appears to have been introduced by the Spaniards, although it is not apparent why it should not previously have come to the Islands in the course of commercial transactions with China and Japan.

It appears that the Filipino manuscripts were chronologies, poems, and songs, the latter especially recounting the exploits of their ancestors. The use of these old alphabets or syllabaries continued to a diminishing extent until the eighteenth century, when one of the missionary fathers³ remarked that in 1745 it was rare to find a person who could use them. A few Tagbanuas, a tribal people on the island of Palawan, and Mangyans on the island of Mindoro, still use similar alphabets to a very limited extent. The early Christian missionaries are generally believed to have burnt the manuscripts of pre-Spanish days, as there is no authentic

¹ Rev. F. G. de Torres, S. J., 1784, quoted in *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, III, 411-12; H. Otley Beyer, in *Census*, 1918, II, 930.

² Father Pedro Chirino, S. J.: *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, 1604, in *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*, translations of original documents, edited and annotated by Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson, XII, 242, Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1903-09. (Hereafter cited, Blair and Robertson.)

³ Father Totanez, quoted in *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, III, 404.

specimen now known to exist, a very few alleged to have been found in caves in the Visayas being said to be of doubtful antiquity and of little or no value.

Although Spain gave its religion to the people, it never made any effort to impress its language, and on the other hand, as set forth later on in the chapter on 'Education,' rather discouraged the Filipino from learning anything but his local dialect, substituting the Roman for the native alphabets. Neither was there any effort to give general primary education to the common people.

The dialects used by the largest groups are Visayan, Tagalog, and Ilocano. Besides these, the more important are Pampangan, Pangasinense, and Bicol. There are several localized dialects peculiar to the various groups constituting the tribal peoples and Mohammedans. The latter and the tribal peoples of Mindanao appear to have little difficulty in understanding the Visayan dialect. Similarly, in northern Luzon the tribal peoples are obtaining increasing familiarity with the Ilocano dialect. The Negritos appear now to have no distinctive language of their own ¹ and use the dialects, more or less modified, of the other tribal or Christian peoples with whom they come most in contact.

Many Americans in writing of the Philippine Islands have construed the great diversity of languages, which some ethnologists believe they can divide into as many as eighty-seven different dialects,² as evidence of lack of unity and cohesion of the Philippine people. It is of course true that the difference in language makes common understanding more difficult. But the fact is that the people are all reasonably similar in type, generally so in religion, have the same ideals and characteristics, and are imbued throughout with a great pride in their race and desire for its advancement which should make them capable, under a common language, of being welded into a united and thoroughly cohesive body politic. The tribal differences, marked mostly by language and also by geographic bounds, should not be in any way an insuperable

¹ H. Otley Beyer, in *Census*, 1918, II, 910.

² *Report of the Special Mission on Investigation to the Philippine Islands*, 1921 (hereafter cited, *Report of the Wood-Forbes Mission*), House Document No. 325, 67th Congress, 2d Session, p. 6.

bar to the development of a people capable of nationality. Those who question Filipino capacity should look for arguments against it in other directions than that of language or of tribal division.

The domestic animals in the Philippine Islands include carabao, or domesticated water buffalo, cows, horses, swine, sheep, goats, and poultry. Dogs and cats as domestic pets are not uncommon. The carabao is the commonest draught animal and is generally useful. It ploughs the land, hauls the bull cart to and from the market, supplies milk for the family, and finally is killed for beef. Domestic oxen are also used and found to be more efficient for field work and transportation during the season of minimum rainfall, as they are not so much affected by the heat and the sun.

The vast areas of unploughed grassland and abundant water supply from numerous mountain streams offer great natural advantages for the development of the cattle industry. Cattle were probably originally introduced from the mainland of Asia, and subsequently from Spain. Both cattle and water buffalo became very abundant and remained so until the importation of some of the dangerous communicable diseases of cattle, especially foot-and-mouth disease and rinderpest, brought in from the continent of Asia during the latter part of the Spanish régime. Wherever introduced these caused devastating losses. During the periods of serious disturbances of public order in the years 1896 to 1902, these diseases spread from island to island and to most of the interior regions of even the largest islands. Their prevalence was further accentuated by the repeated reintroduction of infection through the continued importation of cattle and water buffalo from Asia before protective measures were well understood and applied. With the present knowledge of methods of prevention of these diseases, the livestock industry, both for draught and food purposes, may become one of the great economic resources of the Philippine Islands.

Some authorities claim that the horse is indigenous to Sulu but it is probable that horses were imported from western Asia into the Sulu Archipelago at an earlier date than elsewhere in the Philippine Islands. Mongolian ponies probably found their way into the northern islands from China. Later,

importations of Arab and Barb types came from Spain. Almost all the local northern dialects make use of the Spanish word for horse, which indicates that he is a relatively recent addition to the domestic animals of the Islands. Moreover, the Filipino displays a less understanding knowledge in the care of his horse, which is used exclusively for saddle and the lightest draught purposes, than he does of his carabao or draught bull.

The introduction of the Arab type and the crossing with the Mongolian pony have greatly improved the beauty and spirit of their progeny, which is distinctly of the diminutive pony type, but of admirable endurance and often quite handsome in appearance. Donkeys do not thrive in the Philippine Islands, and the only mules are those which have been imported by the government and occasionally by private enterprise.

Of distinctive indigenous animals the most noteworthy is the tamarau,¹ a species of small buffalo found only on the island of Mindoro. This animal is most fierce and has never been domesticated.

The only other large animal found in the Islands that is dangerous to hunt is the wild water buffalo, or *cimarrón* as this animal is locally known. He is practically identical with his tame brother, the carabao.² Experienced hunters regard the *cimarrón* as more dangerous than the lion or wild elephant,³ as they are keen-sighted and ferocious, and quite ready to hunt their hunter. One of the warlike tribal peoples in Luzon, the Kalingas, have a practice of hunting the wild carabao on horseback with spears — a sport that not infrequently ends fatally for man and horse.

There are quantities of wild boar and deer on many of the islands⁴ and their meat is an important element in the food supply in many localities. The scarcity of other varieties of large wild animals is noteworthy because in the adjacent

¹ *Bos mindorensis*. (R. Lydekker: *Wild Oxen, Sheep and Goats of All Lands*, 128–31, London, 1898.)

² *Bos kerabau*. (Lydekker, 123, 130.)

³ Worcester, II, 823, 824. Carl E. Akeley: *In Brightest Africa*, 82, New York, 1923.

⁴ There is no better authority on hunting and fishing in the Philippine Islands than Dean C. Worcester, who discusses these subjects in his book, *The Philippines Past and Present*, New York, 1914.

island of Borneo there are orang-utans, panthers, tigers, bears, elephants, and rhinoceroses.

There are periodic swarms of locusts which bring ruin and devastation to the crops of those who are so unfortunate as to have plantations lying in their path.¹ Systematic organization against this periodically recurring pest would save many millions of dollars of agricultural loss, as to an increasing degree has been accomplished under laws² giving provincial boards authority to require the service of the able-bodied inhabitants to combat locusts.

The white ant or termite is a pest found throughout the low altitudes in the Islands. He has an insatiable appetite, and, operating from underground, finds his way through crevices in hard wood or cement, bores his way through soft wood, builds for himself a covered pathway of mud under which he crawls over cement posts or foundations to the soft wood of which the house above is built, and makes his silent, destructive way into the interior of furniture, even books, in upper stories of houses. Constant vigilance is necessary to protect property from the ravages of this fearfully destructive insect, which is by no means peculiar to the Philippine Islands, as similar, if not identical, white ants are to be found throughout the tropics and in parts of the United States.

The Philippine Islands are comparatively free from the dangers of venomous insects and reptiles. Small fly-catching lizards, inoffensive to man, frequent the walls and ceilings of houses. Crocodiles are found in many of the streams and lakes. It is popularly believed in the Islands that in only comparatively rare instances do crocodiles become man-eaters.

¹ These locusts lay their eggs in the ground, usually in some remote, uncultivated, grassy region. When these places are discovered the Filipinos watch for the time when the eggs hatch in the hope of destroying them with fire. If not discovered until later, the people build a wall made of sheets of iron, and dig a trench between the wall and the hatchery. After the eggs are hatched, there is a period when the saltones or hoppers, as they are called before they can fly, can be driven. The populace turns out, drives the saltones toward the wall and trench. They hop against the wall and fall back into the trench, where kerosene is poured on them and they are burned or are crushed with mauls. In this way a swarm of millions can be destroyed in a few hours.

² Acts of the Philippine Commission, No. 542, December 2, 1902; No. 817, August 3, 1903; No. 834, August 17, 1903.

There are numerous varieties of snakes but they are seldom seen. It is estimated that there are twenty-five kinds of venomous snakes, of which the more dangerous are cobras, and of these the most dangerous is the king cobra, which attacks man, but fortunately is extremely rare. The comparative harmlessness of the snakes in the Islands is shown by the fact that it is estimated only about one hundred people die by snake bites each year. The pythons grow to very large sizes and are known to have swallowed whole full-grown deer. While small they are distinctly beneficial, as they live largely on rats.

The Islands are particularly rich in birds, of which there are more than 750 species, some of them peculiar to the Philippine Islands. This may be compared with 502 species in Japan, 290 in Formosa, 393 in the Celebes Islands, while the great continent of Australia has only 711. There are some unusually interesting birds: the monkey-eating eagle,¹ one of the largest eagles known, of which very few specimens have ever been secured; the peacock pheasant of Palawan, which skulks in the deep wood and is secured only by trapping; the tiny curved-beak sunbird, the brilliant colors of whose plumage shine with the same metallic gleam as the humming-bird. There are numerous other birds of brilliant plumage and some very sweet songsters. In September there is a numerous migration of snipe eagerly sought after by sportsmen, and some of the lakes are frequented by ducks of various sorts, of which the commonest is the wandering tree duck.²

The rare scenic beauties of the Islands are little known,³ but whoever is privileged to travel about them finds himself well repaid for his exertions by unrivaled natural beauty. Vast volcanoes rise towering from sea level in majestic cones; great plains covered with waving coconut palms present a panorama of surprising beauty; dazzling coral beaches in little coves set off towering cliffs of limestone rising precipitously a thousand or more feet in the air, in every nook or crevice of

¹ *Pithecophaga jefferyi* Grant.

² *Dendrocygna arcuata* Horsfield. (Richard C. McGregor: *A Manual of Philippine Birds*, I, 187, Manila, 1909.)

³ The fact that the Philippine Islands were off the main line of tourist travel, the lack of hotels, and the general inadequacy of transportation facilities within the Islands combined to prevent their being advertised and visited.

which interesting forms of tropical vegetation are to be seen; while the transparent sea enables one to see all sorts of marvels of marine growth, corals, marine vegetation, and numerous kinds of brilliantly colored fishes of fantastic shapes darting in and out among the coral, which can be seen clear to a depth of nearly fifty or sixty feet. Occasionally the eye catches sight of a huge turtle swimming about, or some monster shark, or perhaps a silver-colored fish of the mackerel type gleaming in the sun, seemingly suspended in the air so invisible is the water which supports it.¹ Under the island of Palawan runs an underground river navigable to launches for four miles and for smaller boats two additional miles. This amazing natural phenomenon runs through long tunnels of rock and under great caves with vaulted domes, while all about chattering bats and swiftlets fly past the intruding boat. Bacuit Bay, the Pabellones Islands, and the island of Coron are startling examples of scenic grandeur. In some places continued action of the waves on the limestone rock has wrought fantastic shapes and forms almost beyond description.

¹ 'In the harbor of Puerto Galera the water is wonderfully clear. I am having a glass bottom boat built, such as we see in the Bahamas and at Santa Catalina, — but here we saw all through the surface, and such marvels of marine growth as our delighted eyes encountered, all set off by swarms of variegated and brilliantly colored fish.' (Journal, iv, 137, July 11, 1910.)

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY

PHILIPPINE history may be said to have begun with the death of Magellan, who was killed in battle on the little island of Mactan near Cebu on the 27th of April, 1521, having espoused the cause of a native chieftain who had been baptized and who professed allegiance to the King of Spain.¹ The survivors of this expedition and their captain, Magellan's successor, one Juan Sebastian del Cano, with the single ship *Victoria*, remnant of the fleet of five, completed the epoch-making circumnavigation of the earth essayed by their leader. Of the fleet of five ships and two hundred and sixty-eight men but one ship and eighteen men returned to Spain.²

Philippine history prior to this event is shrouded in obscurity, as there are no written records either in Philippine or Spanish archives,³ and few, if any, prehistoric monuments with the exception of a few unpretentious tombs in the island of Sulu and burial caves⁴ occasionally discovered in the Visayan Islands. It is probable that the only documentary information that can shed light on these periods is to be found in the old manuscript records of China, India, Japan, and Malaysia, among which research is being conducted by Amer-

¹ Maximilianus Transylvanus: *De Moluccis Insulis*, 1522, in Blair and Robertson, I, 324-25.

A monument on the island of Mactan marks the place of Magellan's last battle and death. This monument was restored at the personal expense of a public-spirited American merchant, Mr. John M. Switzer.

² Antonio Pigafetta: *Primo Viaggio Intorno al Mondo*, 1519-1522, in Blair and Robertson, xxxiv, 143.

It was with good reason that Maximilianus Transylvanus wrote in 1522: 'These sailors are certainly more worthy of perpetual fame, than the Argonauts who sailed with Jason to Colchis; and the ship itself deserves to be placed among the constellations more than the ship *Argo*.' (*De Moluccis Insulis*, in Blair and Robertson, I, 337.)

³ Blair and Robertson, xvi, 71.

⁴ F. Jagor: *Travels in the Philippines*, 258-63, English translation published by Chapman and Hall, London, 1875.

icans and Filipinos connected with the University of the Philippines.¹

What are believed to be authentic sources indicate that the Islands now known as the Philippines were a dependency of successive Hindu-Malayan empires in Indo-China, Sumatra, and Borneo, from about the year 200 until 1325. Thereafter until 1405, they were subject to the Javanese empire of Madjapahit. During the next thirty-five years they were, under the Ming Dynasty, a dependency of China. Thereafter, from the year 1440 until 1565, northern Luzon was sometimes held by Japanese adventurers, and from Manila southward the Islands were dominated by Mohammedan Borneo.² The Sultan of Brunei exercised a certain degree of authority over the southern islands and even as far north as Manila.³ There is evidence that trade was carried on directly between the southern islands and China and Siam.⁴

In the early part of the sixteenth century the most active traders were the Portuguese, and even as early as 1498⁵ they had extended their commerce and imperial domain to the coasts of India and a few years later to the Moluccas and other islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans. They asserted and endeavored to maintain an exclusive right to the trade route from Europe southward around the Cape of Good Hope.

The Spaniards extending their empire and trade came into frequent conflict with the Portuguese adventurers. Several efforts were made to establish zones within which each empire should be free to extend its power and thus avoid conflict. In 1493, Pope Alexander VI undertook to fix a longi-

¹ There is evidence, at certain points in the Islands, of very early residence and perhaps local rule by Chinese. A thirteenth-century manuscript by Chao Ju-Kua, a Chinese official and geographer, makes mention of the Philippine Islands, their resources and trade. (Blair and Robertson, xxxiv, 183-91.)

Students of the origin of the Japanese people maintain a theory of migrations northward through the Philippine Archipelago.

² Report of the Wood-Forbes Mission, 1921, House Document No. 325, 67th Congress, 2d Session, 12, 13.

³ Francisco de Sande: *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, 1576, in Blair and Robertson, iv, 65; and Fr. Juan de Medina, O.S.A.: *History of the Augustinian Order in the Filipinas Islands*, 1630, in Blair and Robertson, xxiii, 195.

⁴ Antonio Pigafetta: *Primo Viaggio Intorno al Mondo*, 1519-1522, in Blair and Robertson, xxxiii, 139, 207.

⁵ Edward Gaylord Bourne: Historical Introduction, in Blair and Robertson, i, 25.

tudinal line in the Atlantic Ocean east of which all lands discovered should belong to Portugal and those on the west to Spain.¹ In the following year the Kings of Portugal and Spain agreed upon another line further to the west.² This evidently did not settle the matter of the East Indies, and, in 1529, by a new treaty a line was drawn east of the Moluccas which in effect was a relinquishment by the King of Spain of his claim to the archipelago later known as the Philippine Islands. For this the Portuguese paid a monetary indemnity of three hundred thousand gold ducats. This agreement, however, did not endure.

The claims set up by the Portuguese for the trade route around the Cape of Good Hope to the rich islands of the East spurred the Spaniards on to an effort to find their way to these Indies by sailing westward, and it was this that led King Charles I of Spain to accept the proposal of Fernando Magellan, the Portuguese navigator and soldier of fortune, to undertake to find the passage to the south of America. Magellan was an experienced navigator who had achieved distinction in the exploration of the Far East, which he had reached sailing eastward, but, dissatisfied with the recognition given by his own government, he offered his services to Spain.³ These were accepted, and on the 20th of September, 1519, he set sail from San Lucar (the seaport of Seville) with his fleet of five vessels.

It must be remembered that at the time this voyage was undertaken there were few who believed in the theory of the spherical form of the earth. In this voyage Magellan discovered and successfully navigated the perilous strait which now bears his name, and, crossing the Pacific, discovered the Ladrone Islands, and reached what is now known as the Philippine Archipelago,⁴ to which, however, he gave the

¹ This papal bull of 1493 fixed a longitudinal line 100 leagues west of any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde. (Blair and Robertson, I, 109.)

² This line was fixed 370 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands by the Treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494. (Blair and Robertson, I, 115, 127.)

³ Maximilianus Transylvanus: *De Moluccis Insulis*, 1522, in Blair and Robertson, I, 309.

Roger B. Merriman: *The Rise of the Spanish Empire*, III, 419 ff., New York, 1925.

⁴ On March 16, 1521, the expedition had first sighted the Philippine Islands near

name of the San Lazaro Islands. Though he did not arrive at his point of departure, he had reached the same degree of longitude sailing westward that he had previously reached sailing eastward, so that in one sense he himself completed the circumnavigation of the globe.

Pigafetta, the historian of Magellan's expedition, stated that the natives appeared by their friendly attitude to welcome the Europeans, to whom, in return for presents, they brought food and furnished guides as well as giving general information. He found them fond of music and dancing, alcoholic liquors, and cock-fighting. Merchant vessels brought trade from China, Siam, and Borneo. The people used weights and measures, lived in houses constructed of timber and palm thatch, and had boats like those of Europe, but marvelled at the speed of Magellan's ship. The men wore only loin cloths, and they tattooed their bodies. The women wore skirts of bark and gold ornaments. The chieftains wore silk and cotton headcloths, and not only wore ornaments of solid gold and feasted from gold dishes, but their houses even were in part of gold.¹ Gold was the principal trade product of the Islands. There were many petty kings or chieftains without any effective overlord. The King of Borneo exercised a small degree of supremacy through relations with the 'King of Luzon,' whose son was the commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces of the King of Borneo. In religion most of the people were heathen, some Mohammedans.

The significance of Magellan's discovery can hardly be overestimated and it opened up the visions of a new empire to the Spanish monarch. It was not long before new expeditions were organized, no less than four being undertaken in rapid succession and ending in disaster. All these expeditions found themselves in conflict with the Portuguese, who occupied the Moluccas and had established trading stations and even sent missionaries as far north as the Philippine Islands. The first was commanded by Fray Garcia Jofre de Loaisa, with whom Captain del Cano, the second in command to

Samar. (Antonio Pigafetta: *Primo Viaggio Intorno al Mondo*, 1519-1522, in Blair and Robertson, xxxiii, 103.)

¹ Antonio Pigafetta: *Primo Viaggio Intorno al Mondo*, 1519-1522, in Blair and Robertson, xxxiii, 121-23.

Magellan, sailed; the second was headed by Sebastian Cabot, son of the noted explorer John Cabot. The last two were fitted out from the Americas, then known as New Spain; the first of these under the direction of Saavedra, and the second under Villalobus.¹

These two expeditions did reach the Philippine Islands. Saavedra visited one if not more of the southern Philippine Islands and Villalobus reached Mindanao on the 2d of February, 1543. He was the first Spaniard to make explorations in that island and he gave to this and other islands the name of Filipinas (Philippines) in honor of the Crown Prince Don Felipe of Spain, afterwards known as Philip II. Besides Mindanao he visited the islands of Leyte and Samar.²

The most notable name, however, connected with these expeditions was that of Andres de Urdaneta, who sailed with the first expedition as historian, returned to Europe after an absence of eleven years, was offered and declined the command of the Villalobus expedition, but later participated in the conquest of the Philippine Islands by Spain.

The conquest was the result of an expedition under the command of Don Miguel de Legaspi, who had distinguished himself in Mexico, where he had served for many years as officer of the government, by gaining the good-will of the natives through forbearance and patience. Accompanied by his kinsman Urdaneta, who had meantime become an Augustinian friar, he embarked with a fleet of four vessels and three hundred and eighty men, took formal possession of the Ladrone Islands³ at Guam,⁴ and on February 13, 1565, anchored in the Philippine Islands near Cebu.⁵

¹ Résumé of contemporaneous documents, in Blair and Robertson, II, 25-73.

² Villalobus, after two years of hardships and struggles with the Portuguese, died of a fever in the year 1546 on the island of Amboina in what is now the Dutch East Indies. (Blair and Robertson, II, 73.)

³ *Ladrone* is a Spanish word for thief, and it is recorded that the trade practices of the natives, especially their stealing nails out of the hulls of ships, confirmed the name given to them by previous expeditions.

⁴ The island of Guam was then thickly inhabited and under cultivation in coconut palms, rice, sugar cane, and other food crops, the houses were substantial, and the natives had large boats which merited favorable comment by the Spaniards.

⁵ The natives, while professing friendship, brought their visitors but little food, and hostilities broke out resulting in the death of one Spaniard while searching for a good port and food supplies. Legaspi, in person or through officers of his command,



LEGASPI MONUMENT

Legaspi decided to establish a settlement at Cebu in spite of the hostile attitude of the natives, whose weapons were bows and arrows, iron lances, and small cannon.¹

An image of the Christ child, perhaps that which Pigafetta had related as having been given by Magellan to the Queen of Cebu, April 14, 1521, was found there by Legaspi's men April 28, 1565, and with all honors welcomed by the expedition as a good omen.² It is still venerated in Cebu.

Legaspi soon constructed a fort and chose sites for the Spanish quarters and for the first church, and gave the name of San Miguel to the town.³ It was not long before the wise and considerate methods of Legaspi had gained the confidence of the natives. Tupas, who then had the title of King of Cebu, was baptized and the work of Christianizing the people was carried forward on an increasingly large scale. Urdaneta made the return voyage to Mexico and reported the success of the expedition, and reënforcements and supplies were sent to Legaspi, who found it advantageous to move his headquarters to Panay for greater security against the Portuguese. Spain soon began to receive cargoes of the rich 'spices' of the Orient for the trade in which she had in large measure undertaken these expeditions.

Two names besides those of Legaspi and Urdaneta stand out prominently in connection with the conquest of the

visited and took formal possession of the island of Samar and adjacent islands. On the island of Leyte he found the people living in communal groups, each group under its own chief. The natives were generally hostile, or at least fearful of the Spaniards, but in some places friendly relations were established. The first naval engagement took place off the coast of Bohol in which a trading vessel from Borneo was captured notwithstanding the valiant fight made by the 'Moros' (as the Spaniards termed all Mohammedans) who manned it. From the capture the Spaniards learned that the trade then carried on was the importation of iron and tin utensils from Borneo and India, porcelain, copper bells, and painted tapestries from China. It was also learned from the prisoners taken that the hostility and fear of the natives of the islands were due to marauding expeditions by the Portuguese in which the latter had represented themselves as Spaniards. Two Moro vessels from Luzon were found at Butuan in northern Mindanao trading for gold and wax. With the aid of one of the Moros the Spaniards were able to establish peace and friendship with one of the chief men of the island of Bohol. (Blair and Robertson, II, 113 ff.)

¹ *Résumé of contemporaneous documents, 1559-1568*, in Blair and Robertson, II, 119.

² Blair and Robertson, II, 216.

³ This is the present city of Cebu, second largest seaport in the Philippine Islands

Philippine Islands, those of Legaspi's grandson, Captain Juan de Salcedo, and of his general, Martin de Goiti.

Legaspi commissioned Salcedo to explore the islands to the northward and especially to punish the pirates who, from their strongholds on the islands of Mindoro and Lubang, preyed upon the towns on the coast of Panay. The expedition was a complete success, Salcedo taking not only the town of Mamburao, but also the pirates' stronghold on the island of Lubang, where they had fortifications on which were mounted cannon.

From his first arrival in the Islands, Legaspi had heard of an important trading point named Manila¹ on the island of Luzon. For the conquest of that region he sent Goiti with Salcedo and a considerable force of Spanish soldiers and Visayan allies. This expedition found Manila a fortified town on the south bank of the mouth of the river Pasig — the stronghold of the Mohammedan chieftain Rajah Soliman. On the opposite side of the river was the town of Tondo, whose chief was Rajah Lacandola. The stronghold of Manila was a fortification built of earth and the trunks of trees in which were mounted a number of cannon. The Spaniards were given a friendly reception, but soon thereafter were attacked by a large force. They succeeded in occupying the fortification and driving out the natives, who set fire to the town. About one hundred natives were killed in the battle, and among the dead was found the body of a Portuguese gunner. After some exploration of the coast of Manila Bay, the Spaniards returned to Panay, where they devoted themselves to strengthening their hold on the Visayas, extending their missions and friendly relations to other islands including Masbate.

In 1571, Legaspi with a force of three hundred men proceeded to Manila and in May of that year the establishment of the present city of Manila was begun. Legaspi laid out the settlement, reconstructed the fort, built a government house, and planned a monastery for the Augustinians, a church, and

¹ The word Manila is of Tagalog origin and is said to be the abbreviation of the two words *may nila*, meaning 'There is nila,' the latter being an aquatic plant then abundant in the marshes of the delta of the Pasig River on which the city of Manila has always been located. (*Census*, 1918, I, 142.)

one hundred and fifty houses, and the city was designated as the capital of the archipelago.¹

The Mohammedan rajahs, with the assistance of a large force of natives in the surrounding country, now undertook to drive out the Spaniards, but they were repelled without difficulty and Rajah Soliman was killed, while Lacandola professed conversion to the Christian religion, was baptized, and made no further opposition to the Spaniards.²

General Goiti and the young Captain Salcedo, by a series of brilliant and masterly expeditions, explored and brought under Spanish control the island of Luzon from the extreme north through to the southern portion of the island.³

Other detachments of Spanish troops secured the submission of the people on most of the inhabited islands lying between Luzon and Mindanao. On August 20, 1572, Legaspi died.⁴

Thus, in seven years, with but a very small force, the Spaniards had added to their empire the great island of Luzon and the Visayan Islands. In seeking the explanation of these remarkable conquests, one finds the principal element was the greatness of the leader, Legaspi. A keen student of human psychology, wise in the selection of his warriors, as demonstrated by the unbroken series of victories gained by Goiti and Salcedo, Legaspi readily understood the native, whose confidence and loyalty he gained for himself and Spain. These achievements mark Legaspi as one of the world's greatest colonial pioneers.⁵

¹ June 24, 1571. Formal possession had been taken in the name of the King of Spain by Legaspi, May 19, 1571.

² It is an interesting fact that the descendants of Rajah Lacandola enjoyed exemption from direct taxes during the period of Spanish domination and claimed the same privilege after the establishment of American sovereignty. This was denied.

³ ' . . . A most brilliant exploit was that of Legaspi's grandson, Juan de Salcedo, a youth of twenty-two who with forty-five men explored northern Luzon, covering the present provinces of Zambales, Pangasinan, La Union, Ilocos, and the coast of Cagayan, and secured submission of the people to Spanish rule.' (Edward Gaylord Bourne: *Historical Introduction*, in Blair and Robertson, I, 33.)

⁴ Legaspi's body and that of his grandson Salcedo are said to lie in the Augustinian Church in Manila. (George A. Miller, *Interesting Manila*, 83, Manila, 1906.)

⁵ ' . . . In fact he has no rival. Starting with four ships and four hundred men, accompanied by five Augustinian monks, reinforced in 1567 by two hundred soldiers, and from time to time by similar small contingents of troops and monks, by a

With his mere handful of men, even Legaspi could never have accomplished what he did if at that time the Islands had not been but sparsely inhabited as compared with their present population.¹ The natives were disunited; practically each village was an independent government. There was no great king or lord commanding a large force of fighting men.

A potent factor destined to be the controlling element in the development of Spain's colonial enterprise in the Philippine Islands was the missionary priest. The Spaniards found no powerful native priesthood, and but comparatively primitive religious observances. The ceremonial splendor of the Roman Catholic rites aroused the attention and won the admiration and awe of the Filipino. The soldier made his campaigns and withdrew to Manila or to some other military station. The friars remained in the villages teaching the people the Christian religion, and new arts and sciences. The religion brought by the Spaniards undoubtedly met a need in the spiritual life of the people. Its great truths appealed to their reason, and its pageantry to their love of beauty.²

At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands Mohammedanism had not been very firmly established. Mohammedan conquests in the Islands began about the middle of the fifteenth century from Borneo and Java, first in the Sulu Archipelago and the southern part of Mindanao, and later in the Visayas and Luzon, which had been reached not long before the middle of the sixteenth century.

combination of tact, resourcefulness, and courage he won over the natives, repelled the Portuguese and laid such foundations that the changes of the next thirty years constitute one of the most surprising revolutions in the annals of colonization.' (Edward Gaylord Bourne: *Historical Introduction*, in Blair and Robertson, I, 32, 33.)

¹ Estimated as about 500,000 in 1570 (*Census*, 1903, II, 17); 12,000,000 in 1926 (Chapter I, *ante*, 16).

² The Secretary of Public Instruction, James F. Smith, reported in 1903:

'... Philip II, King of Spain, had recourse to the influence of religion, which up to that time had never failed the country in its plans of spiritual conquest and colonization. Urdaneta was called from his convent to take joint command with Legaspi of the fourth expedition to the Philippines, and large powers were given to him and the missionaries who accompanied him in dealing with the people. Fair treatment and the salutary restraint of Urdaneta on the excesses of the soldiery soon gained for the newcomers a place in the affections of the inhabitants, which quickly produced an accord advantageous alike to Spain and the dwellers in her new discoveries. From the very moment of their arrival, the missionaries, animated by the spirit of Chris-

Thus the original inhabitants that Legaspi found in Luzon, the Visayas, and northern Mindanao had no such deep-seated religious convictions as have the southern Mohammedans, else the labor of Christianizing them would have been much more onerous; for, in spite of the fervent religious zeal of the Spaniards, they were never able to convert those of the inhabitants of southern Mindanao and Sulu whose forefathers had espoused the Mohammedan faith. It is probable, however, that had the Spaniards come in sufficient force at the time of the conquest of Luzon and the Visayas to have occupied at the same time Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, Mohammedanism might have been eradicated from the inhabitants of those regions, as it had not then become established as firmly as centuries later it is found to be.

From early records it appears that the Japanese began trading in the Islands in the latter part of the fifteenth century for gold, pearls, and especially for a kind of rare pottery known as 'Luzon ware,' which was highly prized in Japan as receptacles for the leaves of tea used ceremonially by the Japanese nobility.¹ If this pottery was made in the Philippine Islands, it became a lost art, as by the time the Spaniards arrived practically all of it had disappeared.

This Japanese trade increased rapidly during the sixteenth century, but came to an abrupt end early in the seventeenth century, at which time the Dutch occupied Formosa, while the Japanese expelled the Christian missionaries from their country.

An old Japanese book mentions an unsuccessful attempt to conquer the archipelago in 1540. The Spaniards on their arrival at Manila in 1570 found a small Japanese colony²

tian zeal, sought to impress upon their new charges the truths of Christianity and to wean them from a fetich worship which hardly rose to the dignity of a religion. The bells, the lights, the touching chants of the church, the rich robes of the priestly service, the solemn and dignified demeanor of the celebrant, the rough soldiery that bent the knee in homage to the cross, and the pathetic history of the God-Man all appealed to the simple people of the Philippines.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, p. 670.)

¹ Antonio de Morga: *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Mexico, 1609, in Blair and Robertson, xvi, 104.

² Some of the Japanese residents in Manila were implicated in one or more of the earliest revolts planned by the Filipinos against the Spaniards. The consideration for this was to be concessions in territory and tribute.

there, and the Japanese had maintained a settlement in northern Luzon until it was destroyed by the Spaniards in 1582.¹

The great Shogun Hideyoshi, in his ambitions for overseas extension of the Japanese Empire, sent an embassy to Manila in 1592 and demanded formal submission and the payment of tribute by the Spaniards under threat of invasion and conquest by forces which had completed a successful campaign in Korea. The Spaniards, recognizing their inability successfully to repel such an invasion, resorted to dilatory tactics and actually paid tribute on several occasions. Among the presents sent by the Spaniards to Japan was an elephant which had been received by the Spaniards as a present from the King of Cambodia, and was the first elephant ever seen in Japan.²

Internal strife in Japan and the Dutch occupation of Formosa appear to have saved the Philippine Islands from further molestation, and shortly after this the Japanese government adopted a policy of isolation which lasted until Commodore Perry's celebrated visit in 1854.³

During the early period of Spanish occupation the Philippine Islands were occasionally harassed by Chinese and Japanese adventurers, as it is probable they previously had been for many centuries. Only once did the Spaniards have serious difficulty in expelling these buccaneers, none of whom appears to have represented constituted government. The Chinese outlaw Limahong, a fugitive from the Chinese government, captured a Chinese merchant vessel off the coast of Luzon in 1574 and thus gained information about the wealth and military weakness of Manila due to the temporary absence of the Spanish forces on distant expeditions. He surprised and killed General Goiti, and was only prevented from capturing Manila by the opportune arrival of Captain Salcedo, who relieved the Spanish garrison besieged

¹ H. Otley Beyer: Historical summary prepared for the Wood-Forbes Mission, 1921.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan under the Command of Commodore M. C. Perry*, compiled by F. L. Hawks, 1, 377, Washington, 1856.

in the citadel. Limahong established himself in a fortified camp in the delta of the Agno River in the province of Pangasinan, but was driven out by Salcedo.¹

The Spaniards found trade with China was so profitable that not only were merchant ships encouraged to come from China to Manila, but the Chinese were encouraged to establish themselves on shore in trade and also as artisans. The excellence of the Chinese coolie as a laborer was early recognized by the Spaniards and it appears to have been their desire to encourage immigration of these laborers. However, the constant tendency of the coolie to develop into a merchant or a landowner created serious problems, especially in view of the Spanish policy of monopolizing commerce and limiting the ownership of land to themselves and to the Filipinos. These circumstances contributed to more or less strained relations between the Spaniards and Filipinos on one side and the resident Chinese on the other, with occasional clashes resulting in more than one instance in massacre of Chinese.²

The Chinese, as is their usual custom, came to the Philippine Islands merely to make their fortunes and return to China, and seldom brought their families with them. Continued residence, however, naturally resulted in the intermarriage of many Chinese with Filipino women and the resulting development of an increasing class of Chinese-Malay half-castes, or *mestizos*, as the Spaniards style people of mixed blood. There is a greater infusion of Chinese blood in the Filipino than that of any other nation, and the Chinese have also influenced the civilization of the Filipinos more than have any other people, excepting, of course, the Spaniards, up to the arrival of the Americans.

As in other European colonies in the East, there was no consular representative of the Chinese government in the Philippine Islands during Spanish rule, the point of contact being the 'Capitan Chino' designated by the Spanish authorities and usually selected as the leading man in the local Chinese community.

¹ Francisco de Sande: *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, 1576, in Blair and Robertson, IV, 24-44.

² *Census*, 1903, I, 318-20.

The path of the Spanish empire-builder was not an easy one. There was bitter commercial antagonism between Portugal and Spain, but from 1581 to 1640 a temporary consolidation of the two kingdoms gave them respite. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Dutch began to take an active part in the Orient and harassed shipping and made prizes, not only of Spanish, but of Chinese merchant vessels, and at one time even maintained a temporary foothold on the north shore of Manila Bay. In 1624, the Dutch possessed themselves of the island of Formosa on the north. There were some notable naval battles, especially when the Spaniards under Dr. Antonio Morga, of the Philippine Supreme Court, destroyed the Dutch fleet under the renowned navigator Admiral Oliver Van Noordt at the entrance of Manila Bay.¹ Eleven years later, another Dutch fleet under Admiral François de Wittert was destroyed in Manila Bay.² Other engagements followed in which the Spaniards were successful to a degree that assured their supremacy throughout the Philippine Archipelago.

The first appearance of the British in the Philippine Islands was in the year 1578, when the great English admiral Sir Francis Drake, the second circumnavigator of the world, having touched the coast of Luzon, engaged in friendly commerce with the Sultan of Ternate in the Moluccas in defiance of the Portuguese, and returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

About ten years later, the British began to harass the Spanish colonies, a practice which lasted for about one hundred years. The most noted of these British navigators were Sir Thomas Cavendish, Lord George Anson,³ and William Dampier. The last named has left an interesting account of the customs and resources of the Moros or Mohammedan natives in the great valley of the Cotabato River in Southern Mindanao about the end of the seventeenth century.⁴

¹ Antonio de Morga: *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, in Blair and Robertson, xv, 226-29.

² *Journal de l'amiral Wittert*, in Blair and Robertson, xv, 326-28.

³ George Anson: *A Voyage Round the World*, Dublin, 1748.

⁴ William Dampier: *New Voyage Round the World*, London, 1703, in Blair and Robertson, xxxviii, xxxix.

Spain was an ally of France during her seven years' war with England, and in October, 1762, Manila was attacked and occupied by British forces under Admiral Cornish and General Draper. The Spaniards, relying on the distance from Europe, had not planned the fortifications of Manila except as protection against Chinese and Moro raiders. At the time of this invasion there was no Governor-General present in the Islands and the Archbishop, acting in his stead, surrendered the city to the British. Local Spanish opinion was strongly opposed to this action. As in the case of the warlike Morga, a member of the Supreme Court, Simon de Anda,¹ took the leadership, and withdrawing from the city, set up the Spanish government in the neighboring province of Bulacan, in which something more than a century later General Aguinaldo was to establish his independent government when fighting against the Americans. Anda limited the extension of British control, and succeeded in keeping the Spanish flag flying in the Islands.

The British overran southern Luzon and the Visayas, incited the Filipinos to rebellion against the Spanish in northern Luzon, liberated the Sultan of Sulu whom the Spaniards held prisoner in Manila, and developed friendly relations with the Moros in Mindanao and Sulu.

Upon receipt of notice from their government of a formal termination of the war in June, 1764, the British withdrew from the Philippine Islands, turning over the city of Manila to Anda. A few East Indians, deserted from the British forces, remained and some descendants² from these show traces of Indian blood.

The defeat of Spain by the British was a great blow to Spanish prestige in the Philippine Islands and shattered the tradition of Spanish invulnerability which had been their greatest asset in dealing with the Filipinos. This made a fertile field in which were sown the seeds of discontent which resulted in a later revolution against Spanish authority.

Another important result of this British occupation was the awakening of merchants of other countries to the possi-

¹ A monument erected to the memory of Anda stands at the end of the Malecon Drive in Manila, on the banks of the Pasig River.

² Notably in the towns of Cainta and Taytay, near Laguna de Bay.

bilities of profitable trade with the Islands, the Spaniards having theretofore maintained a monopoly of all trade between the Philippine Islands and Europe, in conformity with the conception of the use of colonial possessions of that time. Their idea was to make of Manila a great trading centre to which they would gather, in the interest of Spanish merchants, as much of the Oriental trade as they found it possible to obtain. During the period of British occupation foreign merchants established themselves in Manila. They were again excluded upon the return of the Islands to Spain, but continued trade clandestinely or under special permits until 1814, when general permission was given foreign merchants to establish themselves in Manila.¹ It was not until 1837, however, that the port of Manila was opened to foreign trade.² Other important ports were opened in 1855 and 1865.³

Spanish control of the Philippine Islands was exercised through the Viceroy of Mexico or New Spain and almost all the expeditions to their East Indian possessions were fitted out in America. Upon the overthrow of the Spanish power in Mexico by the war of independence in 1821, the Philippine Archipelago came for the first time directly under the administrative control of Madrid.

Successive Governors-General continued the work begun by Legaspi and exercised control throughout the archipelago, except in the mountainous interiors of the islands of Luzon and Mindanao and some of the less accessible interior regions of the Visayas, Samar, Cebu, Panay, and Negros. During the remaining period of Spanish domination there was little territorial extension of effective Spanish control or of the Christian religion into these districts, except that in the last century of Spanish domination an effort was made to exercise control over the tribal peoples by establishing missions and

¹ Russell, Sturgis and Company and Peele, Hubbell and Company, the first large American firms established in Manila, were important factors in the export trade until 1875 and 1887 respectively, when they were forced out of business by British competitors who were especially favored by their government and banks. (Antonio M. Regidor y Jurado and J. Warren T. Mason: *Commercial Progress in the Philippine Islands*, London, 1905, as reprinted by the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippine Islands, 27, 37, 39, Manila, 1925.)

² *Census*, 1903, I, 445, 446.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 446.

military stations at several points in the mountains, which prevented the people from raiding their neighbors in the lowlands. These stations gave enough protection to encourage the development of the great valley of the Cagayan River in the north of Luzon and the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Isabel, and Cagayan.

The Spaniards had never succeeded in establishing their sovereignty over the Mohammedans and tribal peoples in the interior of Mindanao, although there had been numerous expeditions following that of Rodriguez de Figueroa in the year 1596, which ended in disaster.

At one time the Spaniards laid claim to the Moluccas and undertook their administration from headquarters at Zamboanga.

In 1662, the Spaniards withdrew temporarily from Mindanao, and finally from the Moluccas, influenced by the danger of an invasion by the Chinese-Japanese adventurer Koxinga, who, having succeeded in driving the Dutch out of Formosa, demanded the submission of the Philippine Islands. Although Koxinga and his invasion never materialized, the Spaniards limited their activities for the ensuing fifty years to Luzon and the Visayas. The Moros took advantage of this respite to destroy the Spanish fort near Zamboanga and periodically ravaged the coasts of the Visayan Islands, southern Luzon, and even the shores of Manila Bay, in spite of repeated expeditions undertaken by the Spaniards in an effort to subdue them. Many stone watch-towers and forts which were erected by the people, generally under the direction of the Spanish mission fathers, as protective measures against surprise attacks by these pirates, still remain as monuments of this period.

In their efforts to protect their people against these raids the Spaniards reestablished the *presidio* of Zamboanga in 1718 and in 1763 built the great stone fort which still stands. While this proved adequate to withstand attacks by the Moros, it did not suffice to prevent the continued raids of the Moro pirates to the north, nor did it prevent efforts by Dutch, British, and French to acquire territory in the Sulu Archipelago and other islands to the south of Mindanao, by treaty or conquest from the Sultan of Sulu. The British undertook

to maintain a trading station on a small island in the Straits of Balabac, from which they were eventually driven by a Sulu datu, and in 1845 a French naval commander entered into an abortive agreement with the Sultan of Sulu for the cession of the island of Basilan for the sum of one hundred thousand dollars.¹

In 1848, General Claveria, with the assistance of the first steam war vessels to reach the Islands, began a sustained effort to extend Spanish government throughout southern and central Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago, and undertook more vigorous operations against the Moro pirates.²

Finally, in 1851, the Spaniards attacked and took the town of Jolo on the island of that name in the Sulu Archipelago. The Moro fortifications at Jolo were destroyed, and some months later the Spaniards concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Sulu. Among other provisions of the treaty was the pledge by the Sultan to fly the Spanish flag exclusively and to suppress piracy, and in return certain guarantees were given as to practice of religion, the succession to the sultanate, trading privileges of Sulu boats, the right of the Sultan to customs duties on foreign trading vessels in his ports, and an annual subsidy in cash to the Sultan and to certain of his advisors or principal retainers.³ Piracy continued, however, and Spain increased her fleet of small steam vessels and her military forces in a continuous campaign against the pirates in Sulu waters.

In 1865, an American company, under the name of the American Trading Company of Borneo, secured a large territorial concession in northern Borneo from the Sultan of Brunei. This company was shortly succeeded by the British North Borneo Company, which secured concessions from both the Sultans of Brunei and Sulu which gave it complete control of that part of Borneo east of Brunei and north of

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1903, III, 383.

² He destroyed the strongholds of the Samal pirates on the island of Balanguingui, liberated three hundred captives, and took a large amount of booty, including sixty-six pieces of small artillery. (Emilio Bernaldez: *Reseña Histórica de la Guerra al Sur de Filipinas*, 163, 168, Madrid, 1857.) Two hundred of the Moros taken as prisoners were moved to northern Luzon and placed on tobacco plantations, and the people of that region still bear the impress of this movement.

³ Senate Document No. 136, 56th Congress, 1st Session, 8.

Dutch Borneo. These concessions and questions arising from trade relations in the Sulu Archipelago occasioned diplomatic negotiations between Great Britain, Germany, and Spain in 1876. Two years later, the Sultan of Sulu by treaty acknowledged Spanish sovereignty as suzerain. The diplomatic negotiations with the European powers were concluded in 1885, Spain relinquishing claim to the territory occupied by the British North Borneo Company, and Great Britain and Germany recognizing the preponderance of Spanish sovereignty in the Sulu Archipelago.¹

In 1898, the Spaniards held not only the walled town of Jolo, but had military stations also on the islands of Siasi, Bongao, and Tawi Tawi in the Sulu Archipelago; also at Balabac and at Puerto Princesa in southern Paragua,² which were claimed by the Sultan of Sulu as within his territorial jurisdiction, although Paragua had been ceded to Spain by the Sultan of Brunei.³

In these early years there can be no question of the greatness of Spain's achievement in the Philippine Islands. The scattered, warring tribes had been welded into a reasonably homogeneous people, and though they were not given one language they were fairly devout Christians. Travellers from different countries spoke highly of their progress. In 1787, the French explorer, La Pérouse, found the Filipinos in 'no way inferior' to the people of Europe.⁴ Dr. John Crawford, who visited the Islands in 1820, was surprised to find them improved in 'civilization, wealth, and populousness' ⁵ under the domination of a European country regarded at home as backward. Sir John Bowring, Governor of Hongkong, commented in 1858 on the advantages due to lack of caste; ⁶ and Jagor in 1859 and 1860 said, 'To Spain belongs the glory of having raised to a relatively high grade of civilization, . . . a people which she found on a lower stage of culture distracted by petty wars and despotic rule.' ⁷ A present-day authority,

¹ Senate Document No. 136, 56th Congress, 1st Session, 9.

² The Spanish name for the island of Palawan.

³ *The Pardo Controversy*, in Blair and Robertson, xxxix, 190, 191.

⁴ Blair and Robertson, I, 71. ⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 72.

⁶ John Bowring: *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*, 18, 19, London, 1859.

⁷ Blair and Robertson, I, 73.

Professor Edward G. Bourne of Yale, comments that Manila at the opening of the seventeenth century made provisions for the sick and helpless far in advance of any of the cities of the English colonies for more than a century and a half to come.¹

During Spanish rule there were altogether one hundred and twenty-two Governors-General, and between 1853 and 1898 there were forty-one whose average term seems to have been about thirteen months. This is explained by the fact that nineteen, or nearly half of these, were acting Governors-General, some of them serving but a few weeks.²

In 1859-60 a German traveller by the name of Jagor made a memorable journey through the Philippine Islands which he described in a volume published in 1873. His interesting account of his experiences and observations of the people ended with an extraordinary analysis of the situation and an amazing prediction which events have borne out precisely as foretold. He spoke of the three powerful nations then bordering on the Pacific, China, Russia, and the United States (this was before Japan had attained world power), and found difficulty in forecasting the part that Russia was to play, but expected an interesting development between the United States and China, due to the fact that one had great undeveloped resources and extension of land, and the other a surplus population. He told how the Mediterranean had

¹ Edward Gaylord Bourne: Historical Introduction, in Blair and Robertson, I, 43.

² This information came out in a Manila newspaper (September 13, 1913) on the occasion of the officials of the Bank of the Philippine Islands coming to pay their respects to the new Governor-General:

‘This is in accordance with the established custom of the bank since the granting of its charter in 1853, and as there have been forty-one Spanish Governors General from Antonio de Urbiztondo in 1853 to General Agustin in 1898, and ten American Governors General, four military and six civil, it is the 51st time that the directors have felicitated a new Governor General.

‘The average term of the 41 Spanish Governors General is thus seen to have been thirteen months. Of these forty-one Governors General, nineteen were simply interinos, some of them serving but a few weeks, but of those regularly appointed, omitting General Agustin, who served a few weeks during the Spanish-American war, the shortest term was that of General Novaliches, from February 2, to October 28, 1854, and the longest term was that of General Primo de Rivera, who served twice, first from 1880 to 1883, and then from 1897 to 1898.

‘There have been altogether one hundred and twenty-two Governors General since Legaspi’s time. In contrast to the shortness of the terms of the Governors General since 1853, it is the fact that since that date there have been but five archbishops of Manila.’

sufficed for the commerce of the ancients, how the Atlantic had then become the theatre of the world's principal commerce, and he predicted that when the desert Pacific developed its potentialities one would 'be able to speak truly of universal commerce.' He traced the influence of America in Spanish-American colonies and he predicted that this influence would make itself felt over the Pacific and finally become the dominating one in the Philippine Islands. He drew an interesting comparison between American and Spanish methods and commented: 'It seems that the North Americans have the mission of vitalizing the germ of the Spanish seed. As conquerors of the modern age, as representatives of materialism in place of the romanticism of the Spanish cavaliers, the American pioneers pursue their course wielding the axe and guiding the plough, a contrast to the Spanish method of colonizing, the outstanding features of which were raising the cross and thrusting with the sword.'¹

The last century of Spanish control in the Islands was a more troubled period than the previous ones had been in so far as concerned internal affairs. Controversies between Church and State were of increasing bitterness, accentuated by the disturbance due to the revolution in Spain following the deposition of Queen Isabella II in 1868. This was followed, upon the restoration of the kingdom, by a strong reactionary policy in the Philippine Islands in which the monastic orders dominated.²

The transfer of government supervision to Madrid and of trade to Barcelona and Seville following the independence of Mexico in 1821, and later the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, which, together with the use of steamships, greatly facilitated communication and travel between Spain and the Philippine Islands, brought the Filipinos increasingly in contact with the revolutionary changes which were then going on

¹ Translated from the Spanish version by S. Vidal y Soler, *Viajes por Filipinas* de F. Jagor, 305, Madrid, 1875.

A literal translation from the original German of the whole passage will be found in Appendix I.

² The Jesuits, who had been expelled from all Spanish possessions in 1767, were permitted to return to the Philippine Islands in 1859 but not permitted to recover any of the valuable properties of which they had been deprived at the time of their expulsion.

in Europe. For a time Filipinos were sent to represent their government in the Spanish parliament in Madrid.¹

The opening of the port of Manila to foreign trade in 1837 and the opening of other ports gave great impulse to the economic development of the Islands, which were soon exporting in increasing quantities agricultural products, especially hemp, sugar, tobacco, and coffee. The Spaniards, little inclined to engage in agriculture, left the land in the hands of the Filipinos, some of whom soon acquired relatively large wealth. Their sons, having completed the education offered in the colleges and University of Santo Tomas in Manila, sought further satisfaction for their intellectual ambitions by travel and study in Europe. The monastic orders objected to this tendency and influenced the Spanish government to discourage it.

Many Filipinos embarked as sailors on foreign commercial vessels visiting Manila and other Philippine ports, and gained favor by reason of their excellent qualities. This also placed Filipinos, especially of the poorer classes, in contact with foreigners.

Until 1896, such uprisings against Spanish authority as had occurred north of Mindanao were local and in no case had the Spaniards found serious difficulty in suppressing them, except one in which they lost control of the greater part of the island of Bohol for more than eighty years.²

During the reaction following the restoration of the monarchy at Madrid in 1871, the Spaniards, among other oppressive measures, degraded the Filipino clergy to almost menial relations to the friars in the parishes. The discontent this occasioned contributed largely to the mutiny of troops at Cavite³ in which two hundred Filipino soldiers conspired with Filipino troops stationed in Manila to revolt. The latter failed to move as planned, and the revolt was suppressed

¹ From 1810 to 1837. (*Census*, 1903, I, 322, 323.)

² David P. Barrows: *History of the Philippines*, 231, 1926.

The following were the more important uprisings against the Spanish government in the Philippine Islands: Manila, 1574; Cagayan and Ilocos Norte, 1589; Bohol, 1622; Leyte, 1622; Pampanga, 1645; Luzon and Visayas, 1649-1650; Pampanga, 1660; Pangasinan, 1660; Ilocos, 1661; Bohol, 1744-1827; Pangasinan, 1762-1764; Manila, 1823; Tayabas, 1840; Cavite, 1872; Tagalog Provinces, 1896.

³ This occurred in 1872.

without difficulty. Many prominent Filipinos, known by the Spaniards to be advocates of reform, were arrested. Forty-one participants in the revolt were executed, others were sentenced to life imprisonment, and many to deportation. Three native priests were sentenced to death: Gomez, a pure-blooded Filipino, Burgos, a Spanish creole, and Zamora, a Chinese-Filipino *mestizo*.¹

However, the disaffection which ultimately brought about the revolution of 1896 persisted and spread through the Tagalog provinces² and to a lesser extent in northern Luzon and the Visayas. This manifested itself in a determined opposition to the friars and to the existing political administration of the Islands in which they exercised an influence amounting to virtual control. Spaniards of liberal ideas and European foreigners residing in Manila encouraged this disaffection.³

The year 1888 witnessed the first great popular demonstration aimed against the friars, and especially against the Archbishop Payo, and a popular petition was addressed to the Queen Regent for their expulsion. This movement was partly inspired by orders of the Liberal civil authorities prohibiting,

¹ Rev. Mariano Gomez, Rev. José Burgos, and Rev. Jacinto Zamora.

² The local dialect in Manila and neighboring provinces is the Tagalog. These provinces are Bataan, Batangas, Bulacan, Cavite, Laguna, Rizal, and Tayabas.

³ Austin Craig and Conrado Benitez in their source book, *Philippine Progress Prior to 1898*, 136, Manila, 1916, quote the following prediction in an article retranslated from the *London and China Telegraph* of March 22, 1872:

‘The magnificent resources of these Islands have been neglected too long, whatever has been done toward their development is due to Anglo-Saxons whose efforts have been impeded by every possible means through the indifferent and indolent ideas of the Spanish government. As to the future government of the Philippines, could our government, or the American, be induced to accept any responsibility no one would benefit more than they from a change in affairs so necessary to the due development of the rich and magnificent products of that soil. Therefore the best thing that the inhabitants there could do would be to establish their independence under a republican form of government, making use in this of some of the Anglo-Saxons who now reside among them.

‘The local government would be acting with practical wisdom did it not oppose a peaceable revolution. That a separation has to take place is inevitable. The power of Spain to govern distant colonies has disappeared, never to return.

‘We cannot, however, end this article without paying a merited tribute of respect to the gallant Governor and Captain-General. His proclamation, which we published in the last issue of the *London and China Telegraph*, is worthy of the most exalted patriotism. He had the duty of stifling the revolution, but now it will be found that its spirit is like the fabled seven-headed serpent.’

on the grounds of public health, certain practices of the friars and curates in regard to cemeteries and funerals.¹ At this time also agrarian troubles began to develop between the friars and the tenants on the rich lands which they possessed and leased out. At the same time Filipinos living in Spain and other parts of Europe began a publicity campaign aimed against the friars. Some of those engaged in these activities were political exiles from the Islands, among whom were to be noted Del Pilar, the celebrated Luna brothers, and Lopez Jaena from the Visayas. The latter began the publication in Barcelona of a periodical *La Solidaridad* on behalf of Philippine reform, and the friars and reactionary elements began the publication in Spain of a counter-organ, *La Politica de España en Filipinas*.

Filipinos and Spaniards who sympathized with them formed a Spanish-Filipino association in Madrid in 1888 devoted to the propagation of liberal political ideas. This association did not set forth independence as an objective or an ideal, but confined its efforts purely to reforms in the administration of government and to transforming 'an oppressed colony into a rich and flourishing province of Spain.'²

By far the most important of the Filipinos moving actively for reform was a young man, Dr. José Rizal,³ who was at that time completing his education in Europe. He became the most conspicuous figure in Philippine history. Born in the town of Calamba, province of Laguna, in the island of Luzon, in 1861, Rizal was a *mestizo* with Chinese, Spanish, and even reputed Japanese blood, although his prevailing ancestry was Malay and contained both Tagalog and Ilocano strains.

Extraordinarily proficient at his studies, which he pursued first in Manila and later in Spain, France, and Germany, he obtained the highest honors in all his subjects, which included philosophy, medicine, law, and literature. He revealed an amazing ability to learn and assimilate languages. He was fluent in no less than five: a Philippine dialect and four European languages; read easily four others, besides having

¹ James A. Leroy: *The Philippines, 1860-1898*, in Blair and Robertson, LII, 173.

² Leandro H. Fernández: *A Brief History of the Philippines*, 236, ©1919.

³ His full name was: José Protasio Rizal Mercado y Alonzo Realonda. (Austin Craig: *Lineage Life and Labors of José Rizal*, 64, Manila, 1913.)



JOSÉ RIZAL
Philippine patriot and martyr

an acquaintance with Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Sanscrit, Arabic, and three Chinese dialects, as well as being able to serve as interpreter in Japanese. By profession he was an oculist.

A deep student of Philippine affairs, he saw the backwardness and corruption of the priest-ridden Spanish administration of his country, and brooding over this, he brought forth a book which has aptly been described as the 'Uncle Tom's Cabin of the Philippines.' It was called *Noli Me Tangere*.¹ In this he portrayed 'the backwardness of the existing social and political régime in the Philippines, its stifling of thought, and its many tyrannies,' and at the same time set before his people some of the most important of their own defects. Its circulation in the Islands was prohibited by the Spanish government. Four years later, he published his other novel, *El Filibusterismo*, in which he urged even more plainly the need for social and political progress to begin among the lower classes.²

Rizal never advocated independence, nor did he advocate armed resistance to the government. He urged reform from within, by publicity, by public education, and appeal to the public conscience. That Rizal's book, *Noli Me Tangere*, had conspicuous literary merit there is the evidence of no less an authority than William Dean Howells, who said of him that he was 'born with a gift . . . far beyond that of any or all of the authors of our roaring literary successes . . . no one who has read this pathetic novel can deny its immeasurable superiority.'³

In spite of grave danger to his life, Rizal insisted upon returning to his native country, where he underwent a variety of persecutions by the Spanish authorities. The following year, in July, 1892, Dr. Rizal inaugurated at his house in the city of Manila the Liga Filipina, a Filipino secret society. This organization brought together not only the young men of intellect, but also representatives of the less educated

¹ First published at Berlin in 1887.

² Leroy, in Blair and Robertson, LII, 179.

The most important other contribution by Dr. Rizal to Philippine literature is his edition, published in Paris, 1890, of Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, in which the original of Dr. Morga's valuable historical document is annotated with copious commentaries. See Blair and Robertson, xv, 35 ff.

³ See Austin Craig: *The Story of José Rizal*, 24, Manila, 1909.

classes. It was chiefly concerned with economic development and fraternal benefits to its members, and clearly did not contemplate separation from Spain.¹ The League at once brought its members under grave suspicion by the authorities and its leader, Rizal, was finally sequestered in the little town of Dapitan on the northwestern coast of the island of Mindanao. Building a school in a lovely little nook near the town, he attracted to himself fourteen young disciples, and here undertook their education. When Spain found itself at war with Cuba, he volunteered to serve in the medical department of the Spanish army, but it was not in accordance with the ideas of those in authority in the Philippine Islands that he should be permitted to earn immunity from persecution by service to the mother country. He was taken off a steamer in the Mediterranean, brought back to Manila, subjected to inquisitorial proceedings, and finally executed on December 30, 1896.

The volley that brought death to Rizal sounded the knell of Spanish dominion in the Philippine Islands just as surely as the volley which brought about the shocking execution of eight innocent young students in Havana, on November 27, 1871, inevitably sounded the knell of Spanish dominion of Cuba.²

There is a record of a soliloquy of Rizal in which he mentally compared the conditions as he saw them in his own region with a land across the waters that he did not know: 'I asked myself if in the lands which lay across the lake, the people lived in this same way. I wondered if there they tortured any countryman with hard and cruel whips merely on suspicion. Did they there respect the home? Or over yonder also, in order to live in peace, would one have to bribe tyrants?'³

¹ The stated purposes of the organization were:

'1. To unite the whole archipelago into one compact, vigorous, and homogeneous body.

2. Mutual protection in every want and necessity.

3. Defense against all violence and injustice.

4. Encouragement of instruction, agriculture, and commerce.

5. Study and application of reforms.'

(Blair and Robertson, III, 217.)

² See Fermin Valdez Dominguez: *27 de Noviembre de 1871*, Havana, 1909.

³ Austin Craig, editor: *Rizal's Own Story of His Life*, 60, Manila, 1928.

It is eminently proper that Rizal should have become the acknowledged national hero of the Philippine people. The American administration has lent every assistance to this recognition, setting aside the anniversary of his death ¹ to be a day of observance, placing his picture on the postage stamp most commonly used in the Islands, and on the currency, co-operating with the Filipinos in making the site of his school in Dapitan a national park, and encouraging the erection by public subscription of a monument ² in his honor on the Luneta in Manila near the place where he met his death. One of the longest and most important streets in Manila has been named in his memory — Rizal Avenue. The Filipinos in many cities and towns have erected monuments to his name, and throughout the Islands the public schools teach the young Filipinos to revere his memory as the greatest of Filipino patriots.

Wearying of waiting for reform to be effected, the middle and lower class leaders in Manila decided upon more positive measures, and organized a secret society commonly known as the Katipunan ³ which was destined to become of outstanding importance in Philippine history. The founder of this organization was one Andrés Bonifacio,⁴ an employee of a foreign business house in Manila. His ideas appear to have been more or less socialistic, influenced perhaps by a study of the French Revolution. The movement was not originated by the property-owning Filipino, and it also differed materially from the Liga Filipina founded by Rizal, in that it had for its object a complete reorganization of government and the social structure, as well as the expulsion of the friars and confiscation of their estates.⁵

¹ December 30. See Act No. 345, Philippine Commission, February 1, 1902.

² Act No. 243, Philippine Commission, September 28, 1901.

³ The exact title of this association was *Kataas-taasan Kagalang-galang Katipunan ng Bayan*, Tagalog words which are rendered into English as 'Most High and Most Venerable Association of the Sons of the Nation.' The Katipunan was organized in Manila on the night of the arrest of Dr. Rizal in July, 1892.

⁴ Born in a suburb of Manila, November 30, 1863, of a poor family, he was compelled by the death of his parents to leave school at the age of fourteen and to work to support himself and younger brothers and sister. He became a determined revolutionary and is reputed to have advocated the extermination of the Europeans.

⁵ While no authentic version of the constitution of the Katipunan appears to have been published, there are voluminous documents on the subject by both Filipinos

Some of the emblems¹ and alleged features of the rituals of the Katipunan appeared to indicate that the organization was a branch of the Free Masons and it was so denounced persistently by the monastic orders and Roman Catholic prelates.

Bonifacio began his organization about the close of the year 1892. Although he had among his adherents some who had been members of the Liga Filipina, he found grave difficulty in securing active coöperation of Filipinos of wealth and standing. The appeal of the Katipunan to the masses of the people was so great, however, that at the peril of their liberty, their property, and their lives, they joined it in greatly increasing numbers.

It was not until four years later that rumors of the existence of a large secret organization planning rebellion became known by the Spaniards, and a member of the society was induced by his sister to disclose the secrets to the friar priest of the parish of Tondo, Manila, who immediately investigated the matter, and, finding undoubted evidence in a local printing establishment, informed the authorities.²

Governor-General Ramon Blanco was strongly inclined to a policy of attraction rather than repression, but was unable to restrain the radical Spanish element which was determined upon drastic measures. There was confusion and great alarm among all classes, both Spaniards and Filipinos. A reign of terror ensued. Several lists of names of alleged members or sympathizers with the Katipunan, including Filipinos of the greatest prominence among the educated and property-own-

and Spaniards who were personally cognizant of the facts, viewing them from opposing hostile camps. Apparently an eminently impartial discussion of the entire subject is that by James A. Leroy, with references to various sources, in Blair and Robertson, LII.

¹ The Filipino flag was a rectangular banner with a white triangle, representing the brotherhood of man, one side of which formed the inner or windward end of the flag, the other two sides slanting from the corners toward the centre of the banner. The rest of the flag was one-half blue and one-half red, the upper half being blue. In the centre of the white there were three stars, representing the islands of Luzon, the Visayas, and Mindanao. Other insignia of the Katipunan were the three letters KKK which, as has been seen, were the initials of the Tagalog words used as the name of the revolutionary society. Originally there was a sun with eight long rays, which were taken to signify the eight Tagalog provinces in which the insurrection against Spain began.

² In August, 1896.

ing classes, came into the hands of the Spaniards. There is good reason to believe that some of these lists were fraudulently prepared to impress the lower classes with the abundant support of the movement by influential people. Numerous arrests were made, and, after trial by a special court, many persons were executed.

It was reported that Rizal without his knowledge had been elected honorary president of the Katipunan, and this fact undoubtedly contributed to the case against him which resulted in his execution.

With the exposure of their plans, Bonifacio and his associates fled from Manila and began the organization of their forces in the provinces in July, and, on August 17, 1896, formally decided to revolt against the Spanish government. Three days later, at a meeting in Balintawac, a suburb on the north of Manila, the Revolution of 1896 began with a declaration by the Katipunan which is now translated as 'Long live the Philippine Republic.'¹

Armed hostilities were soon started and continued with losses of men and arms by the Spaniards and very severe losses of lives by the Filipinos.² The rebellion spread from Cavite and Manila south to Batangas and northward as far as Ilocos. A number of Visayan sailors on shore in Manila were shot by the police, and an uprising followed in Cebu, in suppressing which the Spaniards brought a Moro contingent under the Spanish *mestizo* Datu Mandi from Zamboanga.³

Meanwhile, summary imprisonments, executions, and deportations were carried into effect by the Spanish authorities involving large numbers of Filipinos in Manila and the dis-

¹ Fernández: *A Brief History of the Philippines*, 240-44.

In commemoration of this step a monument has been erected in the form of a Filipino peasant bearing in his uplifted right hand a bolo (the customary long knife used by agricultural laborers for clearing jungle), and in his left a flag or standard, upon a pedestal of massive stone, all in an artistic setting of bamboo trees and other tropical growth.

² M. Sastron: *La Insurrección en Filipinas*, Madrid, 1901.

³ John Foreman: *The Philippine Islands*, 401-06, 1906.

As Foreman was a resident in the Islands for some years prior to 1898, and an eyewitness of the outbreak of the insurrection of 1896, his book is a valuable source of information as to this period, especially by reason of his personal acquaintance with Filipinos and Spaniards who took prominent parts in the insurrection and peace negotiations.

affected provinces of Luzon, and including some notables in Cebu in the Visayas, where many people were killed by the Spaniards and their Moro auxiliaries.

Early in 1897, a new Governor-General, Polavieja, both military and civil governor, moved twenty-eight thousand troops, mostly Filipinos, against the insurgents, who had made successful attacks on several scattered detachments of troops and of organized police near Manila. The insurgents were driven out of the province of Cavite and from the lowlands generally in the other provinces and retreated to the mountains of Bulacan, making their headquarters in a natural stronghold known as Biac-na-bato.

Bonifacio, the founder of the Katipunan, lacked the qualities of military leadership, and, being unwilling to relinquish the management of the armed forces, was in course of time murdered to make way for the desired successor.

During the early period of armed hostilities, various insurgent leaders had developed, most prominent among whom was Emilio Aguinaldo. His inherent qualities soon made him the recognized leader of the revolution which thenceforward seemed to centre in Cavite. He dominated the assembled leaders in their mountain stronghold at Biac-na-bato, and was elected head of the Katipunan. From Biac-na-bato he issued a proclamation in which he declared that the Filipinos wished to be free and independent. However, the Filipino insurgents, discouraged by reverses in the lowlands, were disposed to seek a peaceful solution of the situation, as also were the Spaniards on account of the demands upon the home government for troops and money with which to suppress rebellion in Cuba. The Spaniards made unsuccessful overtures to General Aguinaldo for peace.¹

In August, 1897, Pedro A. Paterno, who had been educated in Spain, and was the representative of a wealthy Filipino family, undertook to act as mediator. His services were acceptable both to the Spanish Governor-General and to the insurgent leaders, and he succeeded on December 14 in securing an agreement which has come to be known as the Pact of Biac-na-bato, thus making peace with Spain.²

¹ Fernández: *A Brief History of the Philippines*, 246, 250.

² Foreman: *The Philippine Islands*, 395, 396.

No written records of the negotiations nor of the full agreement are known to exist,¹ and Paterno, the only person who could authoritatively have given all such facts, is dead. There is disagreement between the Spanish Governor-General and General Aguinaldo as to various features of the agreement, especially with reference to the pledge of political reforms.

It is asserted, and is now generally believed by Filipinos, that the Governor-General agreed to:

1. The expulsion of the religious orders.
2. Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes.
3. The equal treatment of Filipinos and Spaniards in the application of justice.
4. The employment of Filipinos in the high posts of the government service.
5. The liberty of the press, and the right to form associations.
6. The payment by the Spanish government of the sum of three million pesos, as an indemnity to those who had lost property during the war, to widows and orphans, and to the leaders of the rebellion who were to live in exile. This sum was finally reduced to eight hundred thousand pesos.²

The Spanish Governor-General Primo de Rivera gives a materially different statement of points of agreement,³ but this is now merely of incidental interest. On December 16, 1897, General Aguinaldo proclaimed the restoration of peace, and very shortly thereafter left with some forty other insurgent leaders for Hongkong, having been handed by a representative of the Spanish government a draft payable in that city in the sum of four hundred thousand pesos, which was honored upon presentation.⁴

Other Filipino leaders remained to carry out the undertak-

¹ In 1926, General Aguinaldo, in conversation with ex-Governor-General Forbes, stated that the terms of the Peace of Biac-na-bato were expressed in several documents, one of which he delivered to him. This document is dated November 15, 1897, nearly a month before the official date of the peace. It sets forth, with extensive circumlocution, the formalities with which the arms are to be laid down, and purports to be signed by Primo de Rivera, the Spanish 'Captain-General,' and by Pedro Paterno as mediator.

General Aguinaldo said that the exile of the leaders was to be only temporary, but, contrary to the provisions of the pact, he and his associates were not permitted to return.

² Quoted from Fernández: *A Brief History of the Philippines*, 251.

³ James A. Leroy: *The Philippines, 1860-1898*, in Blair and Robertson, LII, 195 ff.

⁴ Foreman: *The Philippine Islands*, 397.

ing to restore peace throughout the disturbed provinces, and turn in additional firearms to the Spanish government. A second payment of two hundred thousand pesos was made to these leaders and Paterno. The balance of two hundred thousand pesos, to complete the eight hundred thousand agreed upon, to be paid directly to the insurgent leaders, was reported by Governor-General de Rivera as having been turned over by him to his successor in April, 1898, when it was evident that peace had not been assured.¹

There appears from the Spanish records to have been authorized a payment of an additional nine hundred thousand pesos which General de Rivera stated that he had authority to pay, but which was not stated in the agreement with General Aguinaldo, as the intermediary omitted this from his draft of the document because the sum was to be used to 'indemnify those not in arms,' and the General de Rivera did not 'think it prudent to inquire further about them at the time.'² Obviously there is confusion regarding many important features of the agreement.

It is due General Aguinaldo and his immediate associates to state that the funds received by him were deposited in a bank in Hongkong and kept practically intact until a portion was taken for the purchase of arms after Commodore Dewey's victory in Manila Bay.³

The end of 1897 saw the principal leaders of the insurrection in exile, and the organized rebellion against Spain at an end, although peace was not fully reëstablished. But no reforms materialized, nor had the Spanish government made any appreciable change in the policy of its administration of the Islands when in February, 1898, the American battleship *Maine* was destroyed in the harbor of Havana, Cuba.

¹ James A. Leroy, in Blair and Robertson, LII, 198.

² *Ibid.*, 198-99.

³ *Ibid.*, 199.

'General Manuel Tinio says they never touched the principal of the four hundred thousand pesos received for stopping the insurrection, and four of them lived from the income of the deposit in the bank, intending to use the principal to start a new insurrection. He was himself crazy to get back, and when the Spaniards refused to let him, fearing he — being but eighteen years of age — would take again to the "bosky," he tried to commit suicide by drinking a lot of gin, and got made sick but not to the point of dying. He said each of them got about twelve pesos a day, but considered the principal a trust fund.' (Journal, III, 294, September 20, 1909.)

For a statement by ex-President Taft in this connection, see Appendix XXIV.

CHAPTER III

AMERICAN OCCUPATION

‘WAR has commenced between the United States and Spain. Proceed at once to Philippine Islands. Commence operations particularly against the Spanish fleet. You must capture vessels or destroy. Use utmost endeavor.’¹

These orders by cablegram from John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy in Washington, were received by Commodore Dewey at Mirs Bay, near Hongkong, April 25, 1898. His squadron was in readiness to move immediately, but Commodore Dewey waited two days for important information he knew to be en route from Manila.² This arrived as expected. The squadron sailed,³ and with utter disregard of the fortifications and mines entered Manila Bay during the night of the 30th, and, running at low speed, circled past the waterfront of the city of Manila at daybreak of May 1, ignoring shots fired by the Manila batteries, and continued toward Cavite where the Spanish squadron was formed in battle line.⁴

The engagement lasted from 5.40 A.M. to 7.35 A.M. and from 11.16 A.M. to 12.30 P.M., when the Spanish flag on the government buildings at Cavite was hauled down and, a white flag appearing in its place, the firing ceased.⁵

As the American ships were withdrawing during the intermission,⁶ they could see that the Spanish ships were in great distress, some of them being on fire, and others seeking protection behind Cavite Point. Confident of the outcome, Commodore Dewey signalled his ships that the crews, who had had but a cup of coffee at 4 A.M., should now have their breakfast.⁷

¹ *Autobiography of George Dewey, Admiral of the Navy*, 195, New York, 1913. (Hereafter cited, Dewey.)

² Dewey, 195, 196.

³ Shortly after noon, April 27.

⁴ Dewey, 205-13.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁶ The intermission was due to the withdrawal of the American squadron because of the incorrect transmission to Commodore Dewey of a report which, as received, was to the effect that but fifteen rounds of ammunition per gun for the five-inch battery of the flagship Olympia remained, while the report should have read that fifteen rounds had been fired per gun. (Dewey, 219.)

⁷ Dewey, 219.

The engagement was resumed and all the Spanish ships that had not burned were sunk. 'The order to capture or destroy the Spanish squadron had been executed to the letter.'¹

The American casualties were none killed, and only seven men very slightly wounded. The Spanish casualties, including those on shore at Cavite, as reported by Admiral Montojo, were three hundred and eighty-one men killed and wounded.² Speaking of his ships Commodore Dewey said that 'several of the vessels were struck and even penetrated, but the damage was of the slightest, and the squadron is in as good condition now as before the battle.'³ The Spanish flagship *Reina Cristina* and two other ships were sunk, and the remaining vessels of the Spanish squadron were burnt. Two large tugs and several small launches were captured.

On paper the relative strengths of the two squadrons were not far different, somewhat inclining in favor of Spain with seven ships against six in the American squadron. The Americans, however, had greater tonnage and more guns, and their ships were of higher class and superior in armament. These advantages were more than offset by the shore batteries of seventeen heavy rifled guns at the entrance to Manila Bay and forty other guns in the fortifications at Cavite and Manila. None of the ships, either American or Spanish, was armored. Brown powder ammunition was used by both squadrons.⁴

Thus, on the 1st of May, 1898, Commodore Dewey had destroyed the Spanish Philippine squadron.

He immediately informed the Spanish Captain-General at Manila that he would destroy the city if another shot were fired at the American ships from the Manila batteries, and that, if he were allowed to transmit messages by the submarine cable to Hongkōng, the Captain-General would also be permitted to use it. Assurances were promptly received that the Manila forts would not fire on the American ships

¹ Dewey, 223.

² On the flagship the Spanish casualties included Admiral Montojo, wounded, and one hundred and fifty killed and ninety wounded, among whom were the captain and several officers. (Dewey, 217, 307.)

³ Dewey, 299.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 187, 203.

unless it became evident that the latter were to bombard the city, and with this assurance, which placed him in virtual control of the situation,¹ Commodore Dewey anchored his ships for the first time since they had entered the Bay.

As the Captain-General refused the offer about the cable, Commodore Dewey cut it, and telegrams from Manila had to be taken by dispatch steamer to the cable station at Hongkong, over seven hundred miles, for transmission.

It was not until May 4, 'when all the aftermath of the details of the victory had been cared for,'² that Commodore Dewey found it convenient to send to Hongkong for transmission to Washington the complete news of what the squadron had accomplished three days previously. Various reports, however, of the battle had been dispatched before the cable was cut, including one by the cable operator at the Manila station. The American morning newspapers of May 2 were able to publish a brief account of the victory. At once the United States was ringing with Commodore Dewey's exploit.

Congress by joint resolution thanked him 'for highly distinguished conduct in conflict with the enemy' and 'the officers and men under his command for . . . gallantry and skill.'³ He was immediately given the rank of acting rear-admiral,⁴ and later other honors were conferred on him, including that of the rank of admiral during his lifetime by special act of Congress.⁵ His reception, when later he returned home, has rarely been equalled in the annals of the United States.

In his 'Autobiography,' Admiral Dewey stated:

The effect of the victory precipitated a new element in the mastery of the Pacific and in the international rivalry for trade advantage in the populous Orient. Hitherto the United States had been considered a second-class power, whose foreign policy was an unimportant factor beyond the three-mile limit of the American hemisphere. By a morning's battle we had secured a base in the Far East at a juncture in international relations when the parcelling out of China among the European powers seemed imminent.⁶

¹ Dewey, 223-24.

² *Ibid.*, 227.

³ Joseph L. Stickney: *Admiral Dewey at Manila*, 163, Chicago, '1899. (Hereafter cited, Stickney.)

⁴ Dewey, 228.

⁵ March 2, 1899. (Dewey, 286.)

⁶ Dewey, 250-51.

Certain European countries, especially Germany, were more favorably disposed toward Spain than toward the United States during the events leading up to the war and until the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris in December, 1898.¹ Japan had not yet entered into alliance with Great Britain nor taken her later standing as an important world power.²

Neither Germany, Austria, nor Portugal had declared neutrality and there were rumors of intervention by one or another of these powers in the war between the United States and Spain. Admiral Dewey said that such intervention before the destruction of the Spanish fleet in the Atlantic, or any serious reverse to American forces elsewhere, might have resulted in 'grave consequences for us, while the Philippines were a rich prize for any ambitious power; or, if they remained Spanish, they were still under the sovereignty of a nation which could hardly be expected to play an important part in the affairs of China.'³

From German archives evidence is now available that shows the extent of Germany's interest in the Philippine Islands. Unwilling to take action herself, her diplomats manoeuvred to bring about the intervention of other powers. Prince Henry of Prussia, then commanding the Asiatic squadron, cabled Von Bülow, the German Secretary of State for foreign affairs, later Chancellor, from Hongkong on May 11

¹ It later appeared that all the principal European governments, especially Germany, Austria, France, and England, had given serious consideration to the relations developing between the United States and Spain, seeking to prevent the war and seriously concerned themselves as to the disposition of the Philippine Islands. The lack of definite policy at Washington in regard to the Islands, and other important features of this period, including the desire of Germany for territorial cessions in the Philippine Islands, are reviewed, in the light of authoritative material which became available in the archives of the German government following the World War, by Professor Lester B. Shippee in an article, 'Germany and the Spanish-American War,' in *The American Historical Review*, xxx, No. 4, July, 1925. (Hereafter cited, Shippee.)

Professor Shippee wrote: 'During the Spanish war German public opinion as expressed in newspaper items, in magazine articles, and in other ways was generally, although not universally, sympathetic with Spain rather than with the United States.' (Shippee, 763.)

² The Anglo-Japanese alliance was signed in 1902. It was superseded by one signed in 1905, which in turn was amended in 1911.

³ Dewey, 251.

that a German merchant had advised him of the probable success of the rebellion in the Philippine Islands and that 'the natives would gladly place themselves under the protection of a European power, especially Germany.' The German consul in Manila, Krüger, a day or two later cabled that local opinion was that the Filipinos would be best off as a kingdom and that 'the matter will probably terminate with an offer of the throne to a German prince.'¹

Von Bülow, in referring these messages to the German Emperor, entered into a long discussion as to the merits of this situation, in the course of which he said: '... in my humble opinion, the control of the sea in the end may rest on the question of who rules the Philippines, directly or indirectly.' On the margin of his minister's letter, the German Emperor agreed with Von Bülow and expressed the opinion that the Philippine Islands, wholly or in part, must not pass to another power 'without Germany's receiving an equivalent compensation.'²

Later these documents revealed that the least Germany expected to insist upon was a naval station in the Islands,³ and Baron von Richthofen reported that he was advised that the Germans would want 'one or two positions in the Philippine group and the Sulu Archipelago ...'⁴

The Honorable Andrew D. White, then American Ambassador to Berlin, took it upon himself to express his personal opinion that the United States would not annex the Philippine Islands, but that the extension of the German colonial system was desirable because it meant the spreading of civilization.⁵

These revelations in a measure explain the activity of the German admiral in Philippine waters during that period.

Admiral Dewey's greatest, though less famous, triumph was as a diplomat following his naval victory. Within ten days of the battle, naval vessels representing foreign powers assembled in Manila Bay, including two British vessels, two

¹ Shippee, 764.

² *Ibid.*, 765.

³ Von Holleben, the German Ambassador to the United States, was cabled: 'His Majesty the Emperor deems it a principal object of German policy to leave unused no opportunity which may arise from the Spanish-American War to obtain maritime fulcra in East Asia.' (Shippee, 767.)

⁴ Shippee, 770.

⁵ *Ibid.*

German cruisers, a French and a Japanese cruiser. Other German naval vessels soon followed, including another cruiser, the *Kaiserin Augusta*, the flagship of Vice-Admiral von Diederichs,¹ whose higher rank and offensively arrogant attitude greatly increased the difficulties of Acting Rear-Admiral Dewey's position. This was none too secure, as it was known that a Spanish squadron of armored cruisers and destroyers had left Spain via the Suez Canal for Manila, where the American squadron lay at anchor with but little ammunition and without access to any base of supplies.² Moreover, the Washington government had as yet formulated no policy as to the Philippine Islands in the event of winning the war. Thus, Admiral Dewey was left practically to his own resourcefulness until the signing of the Treaty of Paris seven months later.³

The Germans, meanwhile, had assembled in Manila Bay a naval force of five men-of-war including three cruisers, also a naval transport with fourteen hundred men, the latter a force in itself nearly equal to the total number of men in the American squadron.⁴ Thus the German admiral had a force strongly superior to Admiral Dewey's command.

The German admiral took occasion in the course of a conference with Admiral Dewey in which reference was made to the presence of so large a German force,⁵ to reply, 'I am here by order of the Kaiser, sir.'⁶

Nations possessing commercial interests, according to international usage, had the right to have their interests protected by men-of-war whose duty it was to observe the operations of the belligerents, but such neutral naval vessels were

¹ Dewey, 254-56.

² *Ibid.*, 257-58.

Admiral Dewey and the Board of Strategy had recommended to the Secretary of the Navy that a squadron be sent to make a demonstration on the coast of Spain. This proved unnecessary by reason of the destruction of the Spanish fleet off Santiago, Cuba, releasing Admiral Sampson's ships for any emergency. The Spanish squadron under Admiral Camara returned to European waters, thus relieving Admiral Dewey of this menace. (Dewey, 258-61.)

³ The Treaty of Paris was signed December 10, 1898.

⁴ Dewey, 256-57.

⁵ The German commercial interests at that time were represented by one commercial house in Manila. (Dewey, 257.)

⁶ Dewey, 257. See *ante*, 65, where the Kaiser's cable to Von Holleben is quoted.

expected to report their arrival to the commander-in-chief of the blockading forces, ask where they should anchor, and carefully abstain from interference with the course of affairs between the belligerents, especially in a way which could be helpful or prejudicial to either side.

The British, French, and Japanese appear to have conducted themselves throughout with obvious propriety.¹ The Germans, however, insistently ignored the laws of blockade and the proprieties of their proper relation toward both belligerents. Their officers frequently landed in Manila. Admiral von Diederichs officially visited the Spanish Captain-General in Manila, who returned the call.² No other senior foreign naval officer had exchanged visits with the Captain-General. German officers, including Prince Lowenstein, visited the Spanish troops and outposts, and also the insurgent Filipinos. German boats took soundings off the mouth of the Pasig River and German seamen for some days occupied the lighthouse at the mouth of the Pasig. The Germans 'landed their men for drill at Mariveles Harbor . . . at the entrance to the bay and took possession of the quarantine station, while Admiral von Diederichs occupied a large house which had been the quarters of the Spanish officials.'³ Early in July the German cruiser *Irene* visited the Spanish garrison at Subig, and interfered with the operations of the insurgent Filipinos at that point.

This conduct was so clearly in violation of international law and courtesy that Admiral Dewey, following the American naval victory at Santiago and the recall of the Spanish fleet to Spain, asserted formally by letter to the German admiral his rights in the blockade of Manila Bay. Admiral von Diederichs, denying these rights, notified Admiral Dewey 'he would submit the point to a conference of all the senior officers of the men-of-war in the harbor. But only one officer appeared, Captain Chichester, of the British *Immortalité*.'⁴ He informed the German admiral that Admiral Dewey was acting entirely within his rights, and furthermore that the instructions from the British government were for him to comply with even more rigorous restrictions.

The German admiral, however, was not convinced and con-

¹ Dewey, 254.

² *Ibid.*, 262.

³ *Ibid.*, 263, 264.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 266.

tinued crowding until an American vessel found it necessary to fire a shot across the bows of a German cruiser which failed to stop when requested to do so by Admiral Dewey's dispatch boat. The following day Admiral von Diederichs sent a staff officer with a memorandum of grievances, to which Admiral Dewey replied so vigorously that, as he remarked later, 'There was no further interference with the blockade or breach of the etiquette which had been established by the common consent of the other foreign commanders. Thus, as I explained to the President, after the war was over, a difference of opinion about international law had been adjusted amicably, without adding to the sum of his worries.'¹

Captain Sir Edward Chichester, Commander of the British Naval Forces at Manila Bay at that time, is quoted as having said:

Your Admiral accomplished by tact, firmness, and good judgment in Manila Bay what many naval men would have thought only possible by war. Dewey is a natural fighter, but true fighter that he is, he prefers to win a peaceful victory. He is a great man.²

The friendly attitude of the British authorities, in contrast to the repeated provocations of the Germans, was one of the bright spots in this period and showed how strongly the ties of blood relationships bind the American and British peoples. The British commander not only supported Admiral Dewey's interpretation of international law,³ but later placed his ships between the German and American squadrons when the latter took its position to attack the outer fortifications of

¹ Dewey, 267.

In recognition of Admiral Dewey's management of so important foreign relations during this period, the Secretary of State communicated to Admiral Dewey, by dispatch from the Secretary of the Navy of July 24, 1898, his 'high appreciation of your character as a naval officer, and of the good judgment and prudence you have shown in directing affairs since the date of your great achievement in destroying the Spanish fleet.'

² These words were used by Captain Chichester in Hongkong, November, 1898, in speaking of Admiral Dewey to Mr. John Barrett, former United States Minister to Siam, who was a special war correspondent with Admiral Dewey at Manila, May, 1898, to March, 1899. (See John Barrett: *Admiral George Dewey*, 113, New York, 1899.)

³ Dewey, 266.



ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY

Manila. Of all the foreign naval commanders present, only the British, Captain Chichester, acknowledged by firing the national salute, with the American ensign at the main, receipt of official notification of the occupation of the city of Manila and the opening of that port.¹

Never were the evil effects of unpreparedness more abundantly exemplified than in the management of the Philippine campaign. Had the United States had adequate preparation² in men, equipment and ships, it should not have taken a month to have brought in an equipped, trained, and seasoned army which might have captured Manila and maintained peace throughout the Islands without the long, bloody, and costly insurrection, with the resultant ill-feeling, and later untold millions of pension expenditure. Although the Spanish fleet was sunk on the 1st of May, it was sixty days before the first American troops arrived under General Anderson. The second expedition, under General Francis V. Greene, came about two weeks later. On the 25th of July, General Wesley Merritt, commander of all the expeditionary forces, arrived at Cavite; and six days later, General Arthur MacArthur came with the third expedition.³

It then appeared probable that Admiral Dewey might be successful in negotiations for the peaceful capitulation of the city of Manila which he had initiated with the Spanish Captain-General through the medium of M. Edouard André, the

¹ Dewey, 280.

² General Otis, who was in command of the mobilization camp at San Francisco from May 17, 1898, also charged with the equipment and dispatch of the expeditionary forces to Manila, remarked in his report:

'The proper equipment of these troops was attended with great difficulty. Suddenly called to meet an expected emergency in a far distant portion of the world, no preparations had been made to receive them. The supply departments, not anticipating any concentration of forces on the Pacific coast, had made no provisions for furnishing arms, ammunition, clothing, subsistence, or other war material with which an army about to operate 7000 miles from its base must necessarily be supplied. Indeed, at the time these troops arrived at San Francisco such property, usually kept in moderate quantities on the Pacific coast, had been sent to the East for the army destined to invade Cuba and Porto Rico. The volunteer organizations were supposed to report equipped and uniformed, but a large majority of the arms they presented were worthless, and in some instances entire organizations had to be rearmed. Their clothing had evidently been in use for a long time in State service, was worn out, and many of the men were dressed as civilians.' (*Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, p. 2.)

³ *Report of the War Department*, 1898, I, part 2, pp. 39, 41, 54, 55.

Belgian Consul. The circumstances as stated by Admiral Dewey were as follows:

Owing to the restriction of the blockade and to the investment of the city on the land side by the insurgents, the people of Manila were in a bad way for supplies. Soon after the victory of May 1, . . . General Don Basilio Augustin Davila, through the British consul, Mr. Rawson-Walker, had intimated to me his willingness to surrender to our squadron. But at that time I could not entertain the proposition because I had no force with which to occupy the city, and I would not for a moment consider the possibility of turning it over to the undisciplined insurgents, who, I feared, might wreak their vengeance upon the Spaniards and indulge in a carnival of loot.

During July the British consul was very ill. His death, in fact, occurred early in August. When the negotiations with the captain-general tending to a surrender were again broached it was M. André who acted as intermediary, transmitting all messages (always verbal ones) from the captain-general to me and from me to the captain-general. I was almost alone in believing in the sincerity of these negotiations. General Merritt was sceptical, but ready to defer to my judgment, and so were my chief of staff and my flag-lieutenant. Nevertheless, I felt confident of the outcome, in which I consider that I was fully justified by later events.

While M. André's work had begun with Don Basilio on July 24, a cable from Madrid had summarily dismissed Don Basilio from office, with orders to turn over his authority to General Fermin Jaudenes. This cable presumably was sent to the Spanish consul in Hong Kong, whence it was transmitted through the mails, reaching Don Basilio about August 1. It was in reply to a message from Don Basilio to the home government, in which he had pointed out the critical condition of affairs in Manila and the hopelessness of its defence, the exhausted state of his troops, the shortness of provisions in the city, the rapid augmentation of the American forces, and the utter despair that existed on all sides since the receipt of the news of Camara's return to Spain. In view of these considerations he declined the responsibility of the situation, and the government's answer was his relief from command.

However, André continued with General Jaudenes the negotiations begun with Don Basilio. These progressed with varying success and numerous side issues, but always with the stipulation on the part of the Spaniards that if they surrendered the insurgents should be kept out of the city. Finally, without making any definite promise, General Jaudenes agreed that, although he would not surrender except in consequence of an attack upon the city, yet, unless the city were bombarded, the Manila batteries would not open on our ships. Moreover, once the attack was begun he would, if willing to surrender, hoist a white flag over a certain point in the

walled city from which it could be seen both from Malate and from the bay.

In other words, his attitude differed from that of Don Basilio only in that he wished to show the form of resistance for the sake of Spanish honor; or, as the Chinese say, to 'save his face.'

It was also understood that before this white flag was shown the Olympia should fly the international code signal 'D.W.H.B.,' meaning 'Surrender,' and a sketch of the signal flags to be hoisted was given by M. André to General Jaudenes. Although there were some further negotiations concerning the terms of surrender, nothing was definitely agreed upon; while it was impressed on General Jaudenes that the generosity of the terms granted would depend upon the brevity of his resistance. Indeed, these pourparlers continued until the day before the capture of the city.¹

On August 7, General Merritt and Admiral Dewey jointly served notice upon the Spanish Captain-General that 'operations of the land and naval forces of the United States against the defenses of Manila may begin at any time after the expiration of forty-eight hours from the hour of receipt by you of this communication, or sooner if made necessary by an attack on your part.

'This notice is given in order to afford you an opportunity to remove all non-combatants from the city.'²

The Spanish Captain-General immediately replied acknowledging receipt of the notification, expressing his thanks 'for the humane sentiments you have shown,' and stating 'that, finding myself surrounded by insurrectionary forces, I am without places of refuge for the increased numbers of wounded, sick, women and children, who are now lodged within the walls.'³

To this reply was made pointing out how helpless was the position of the Spaniards and how clearly it was the Captain-General's 'duty to save the city from the horrors of bombardment. He demurred and begged time in which to consult his government, a request which was promptly refused.'⁴

Manila fell on the 13th of August, 1898, after a brief bombardment of the outer fortifications by the fleet, and attack by the troops. Almost simultaneously, through the mediation of the French Ambassador at Washington, the United

¹ Dewey, 272-75.

² *Ibid.*, 317.

³ *Ibid.*, 318.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 275.

States and Spain had signed the protocol suspending hostilities.¹

The first American to ride into the fortifications of Manila was Colonel Henry B. McCoy, of the Colorado Volunteer Infantry, who was afterward Collector of Customs. General Francis V. Greene, who entered before the firing had ceased, was the first American within the walled city.²

At 11.20 A.M. Admiral Dewey made out 'a white flag flying on the appointed place on the southwest bastion of the city wall.' A preliminary agreement of the terms of capitulation was signed by General Merritt and the Captain-General. American troops then entered the city, the Spanish colors were hauled down by Flag-Lieutenant Brumby, of Admiral Dewey's staff, and the American flag raised over the walled city. 'The guns of all our ships thundered out a national salute, while the band of one of our regiments, which happily chanced to be passing the citadel, played the "Star-Spangled Banner," the troops saluted, officers uncovered, and the Stars and Stripes, as it was raised for the first time over Manila, was greeted with all the honor so punctiliously given the flag on ceremonious occasions both by the army and the navy.'³

General Arthur MacArthur was appointed Provost-Marshal-General and civil governor of the city.

General Francis V. Greene⁴ was charged with affairs pertaining to captured public funds and property, and the administration of public revenues. Other officers of notable experience in private business were assigned as his assistants.

The conduct of the American troops in their occupation of the city of Manila was admirable and greatly to their credit and that of their commanders.⁵

¹ 'Had not the cable been cut there would have been no attack on the 13th, for while our ships . . . were moving into position and our troops were holding themselves in readiness for a dash upon the Spanish works the protocol was being signed at Washington.' (Dewey, 282.)

The armistice protocol was signed at Washington, August 12, 1898. The difference in time between Washington and Manila is taken into account by Admiral Dewey in his comment quoted above.

² Stickney, 108-09.

³ Dewey, 279-80.

⁴ There will be occasion later to comment upon the fine service performed by General Greene's son in the development of public works. During the war with Spain he served as a seaman in the United States Navy, participating in the destruction of Admiral Cervera's fleet off Santiago de Cuba.

⁵ See Colonel G. I. Younghusband's tribute quoted on p. 109.

The American casualties of August 13, incident to the occupation of the city of Manila, were four men killed, and three officers and thirty-two men wounded; also, in the course of the investment of the city the American forces had suffered losses of thirteen men killed, and seven officers and fifty-seven men wounded.¹

The total casualties in killed and wounded in the Spanish forces are stated as forty-nine killed and three hundred wounded.²

The operations had been carried on during a period of heavy rains involving great discomfort to the American troops occupying hastily constructed trenches in mud and without adequate shelter, and notwithstanding the efforts of the commanding generals, there had been spirited exchanges of shots between the American trenches and near-by Spanish fortifications.

The American army forces which had arrived in the Islands prior to the occupation of Manila comprised 470 officers and 10,464 enlisted men, of whom 335 officers and 8595 enlisted men participated directly in the attack on the city of Manila.³

Filipino participation in the siege of Manila will be considered in subsequent pages.

In the occupation of the city 13,000 prisoners of war, 22,000 arms and \$900,000 public funds were taken by the American forces.⁴

On the following day formal articles of capitulation were arranged and signed by officers representing the American Land and Naval Forces and the Spanish Captain-General, determining 'the details of the capitulation of the city and defenses of Manila and its suburbs and the Spanish forces stationed therein. . . .'⁵ Of especial and immediate importance, as will be seen, was the final paragraph, or Article 7, of this protocol:

7. This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments, and its private property of all de-

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1898, I, part 2, p. 503.

² Severo Gomez Nuñez: *La Guerra Hispano-Americana*, 233, Madrid, 1902.

³ *Report of the War Department*, 1898, I, part 2, pp. 71, 84.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, part 2, p. 44.

⁵ For full text of this protocol, see Appendix III.

scriptions are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the American army.

Due to this provision, upon which the Spanish authorities had insisted, there could not be joint occupation of Manila by American and insurgent Filipino forces. The exclusion of armed Filipinos from within the American lines, and the extension of these lines to include the suburbs of Manila, ensued with consequent protests by the Filipino leaders.

On August 29 General Merritt, who had been ordered to the United States, was relieved by Major-General Elwell S. Otis as Military Governor of the Philippine Islands.¹

The city of Manila and its suburbs were occupied by American forces under the articles of capitulation; Manila Bay, the naval establishment at Cavite which had been captured on the 1st of May, and the fortifications at the mouth of Manila Bay, were held by Admiral Dewey with his fleet, an army garrison under General Anderson being stationed in the town of Cavite.

The part played by General Aguinaldo and the insurgent forces he organized to attack the Spanish army on land before the United States troops could arrive was recognized by American military and naval commanders. Admiral Dewey in his 'Autobiography' stated:

The insurgents fought well. Their success, I think, was of material importance in isolating our marine force at Cavite from Spanish attack and in preparing a foothold for our troops when they should arrive. By the end of May they had entirely cleared Cavite Province of the enemy, and had so nearly surrounded Manila as to cause a panic among the inhabitants.²

General Merritt reported:

The Filipinos, or insurgent forces at war with Spain, had, prior to the arrival of the American land forces, been waging a desultory warfare with the Spaniards for several months, and were at the time of my arrival in considerable force, variously estimated and never accurately ascertained, but probably not far from 12,000 men. These troops, well supplied with small arms, with plenty of am-

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, pp. 3, 4.

For a list of Military Governors and Commanding Generals of the United States Army forces in the Islands, see Appendix XI.

² Dewey, 248.

munition and several field guns, had obtained positions of investment opposite to the Spanish line of detached works throughout their entire extent . . . ¹

In the final period of the operations leading up to the occupation of the city of Manila, the American forces occupied the line from the beach south of Manila eastward and northward as far as Singalon. The Filipinos' longer line, on the east and north of the city, held the Spaniards from escaping from the forward movement into Manila during the advance of American troops following the reduction of the southern fortifications by the navy.

The peace protocol signed at Washington, August 12, 1898 (August 13, Manila time), suspending hostilities between the United States and Spain ² and contemplating the formal treaty which eventually was signed at Paris, December 10 following, provided among other things that the United States should 'occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition and government of the Philippines.' Thus the *de jure* sovereignty of Spain continued over the Philippine Islands until the Treaty of Paris, signed December 10, 1898, had been ratified by both governments.³

Meanwhile, with Cavite and Manila occupied by the Americans, and central, western, and northern Luzon by Filipino insurgents, the Spanish authorities endeavored unsuccessfully to maintain a *de facto* government elsewhere in the Islands.

General Diego de los Rios, governor of Mindanao, became Spanish Military Governor of the Philippine Islands with headquarters at Iloilo, and continued under appointment as Acting Captain-General until June, 1899. Thereafter, until December, 1900, a commission under General Nicolas Jaramillo remained in Manila to conclude the repatriation of Spanish officials and troops and the shipment of war material to Spain in accordance with the Treaty of Paris.⁴

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1898, I, part 2, p. 40.

² For full text of protocol, see Appendix II.

³ This treaty was ratified by the Congress of the United States, February 6, and by the Spanish Cortes, March 19, 1899.

⁴ Severo Gomez Nuñez: *La Guerra Hispano-Americana*, 232.

The pressure of popular revolt and lack of supplies soon forced General Rios to withdraw outlying garrisons and other government personnel in the Visayas and Mindanao, concentrating gradually all his forces at Iloilo and finally at Zamboanga. No American troops were available to replace these garrisons, and Filipino insurgents occupied the rich seaport city of Iloilo on its evacuation by the Spaniards, December 24, 1898.¹ This evacuation was effected under orders from Madrid two weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, and nearly eight months after the battle of Manila Bay.

At the end of 1898, all Luzon, except the post at Baler, which was held by a small Spanish garrison, and all the Visayas, had been evacuated by the Spaniards and government assumed by Filipinos. And by the end of May, 1899, all Mindanao had likewise passed to native control.

Considerations of international law caused the Spaniards to remain at Jolo until relieved by an American garrison May 19, 1899, pursuant to an agreement between the American and Spanish authorities.²

The loyal efforts of the Spaniards, unsupported from Madrid, to maintain the dignity and fulfill the obligations of their government during this long period of national humiliation merit the highest praise. Severe losses of lives and property were suffered, and many acts of individual gallantry and collective bravery and fortitude occurred of which few have come to public notice. The severe fighting at both Iloilo and Zamboanga to hold those important base points against insurgent Filipinos, and the fatal wounding of General Montero while embarking his troops in the evacuation of Zamboanga in May, 1899, after vainly awaiting relief by American forces, are but incidents of the efforts made by Spain honorably to carry out her undertaking of cession of the Philippine Islands to the United States.

The heroic defense of its post by the Spanish garrison at Baler on the Pacific coast of Luzon aroused the admiration

¹ *Report of the War Department, 1899, I, part 4, p. 56.*

² *Ibid.*, 1903, III, p. 433.

The exceptional circumstances of sovereignty in the Sulu Archipelago will be discussed in Chapter XV, 'Moros.'

of both friend and foe. In April, 1899, at the request of the Spanish Acting Captain-General, Diego de los Rios, Admiral Dewey sent the gunboat *Yorktown* to endeavor to rescue the garrison of three officers, eighty soldiers, and two priests, who for many months had been besieged by several hundred insurgent Filipinos. The landing party was overwhelmed by the insurgents and the survivors were held as prisoners until, many months later, a vigorous pursuit by American troops caused their abandonment by their captors in the mountains of northern Luzon. The siege of Baler was raised and the Spaniards permitted to go at liberty by an order signed by the insurgent General Aguinaldo at Tarlac, June 30, 1899, in recognition of the display by the garrison of 'valour and constant heroism worthy of universal admiration.'¹

Among the earlier and most regrettable consequences of American unpreparedness was the necessity under which Admiral Dewey found himself of placing Spaniards as prisoners in the hands of the insurgent Filipinos.² Later, General Otis, although under strong pressure from the Holy See and Madrid through the government at Washington, and from the personal appeals by relatives and friends at Manila, found himself unable for more than a year to complete the rescue of these unfortunate victims.

Meantime public sentiment in the United States was greatly divided in regard to the Philippine Islands. The idea of a dependency on the farther side of the Pacific was wholly new to the majority of the American people and to many of them repugnant. It was obvious from the beginning that they did not want to give the Islands statehood with a vote that might hold the balance of power between their own parties in the United States and thus enable the Filipinos to wield an undue influence in affairs with which they had little concern. Moreover, the government in Washington was poorly organized for the care of dependencies. There was no trained personnel able to administer the Islands, no department of the government to which dependencies naturally pertained, the word 'colonial' was abhorrent to the American people due to their own unfortunate history as a colony, and many thoughtful people viewed with grave concern the

¹ Foreman: *The Philippine Islands*, 494.

² Dewey, 265; and Stickney, 288.

entrance by their country upon a policy, the liabilities attaching to which they could not foresee, but which might involve them in political entanglements and possible wars with which otherwise they would have no concern.

President McKinley¹ looked with serious eyes on all aspects of the problem, and was reluctant to embark upon the policy of expansion. A diplomat representing one of the great European powers is said to have urged him to retain control of the Islands, intimating that such a course was in the interests of world peace and that the passing of these Islands to other control might create a situation not without its alarming results.

The protocol of August 12, 1898, suspending hostilities between the United States and Spain, provided that the two belligerent governments should 'appoint not more than five commissioners to treat of peace, and the commissioners so appointed shall meet at Paris not later than October 1, 1898, and proceed to the negotiation and conclusion of a treaty of peace, which treaty shall be subject to ratification according to the respective constitutional forms of the two countries.'²

On the designated date, the peace commissioners³ met. On October 28, 1898, the Secretary of State cabled to a member of the American peace commission in Paris outlining President McKinley's views as to what should be done with the Islands:

¹ For a review of President McKinley's administration and policies, see excerpts from President Taft's speech before the Ohio Society, January 29, 1913, in Appendix XXIII.

² Article V of peace protocol. See Appendix II.

³ Those representing the United States were the Honorable William R. Day of Ohio, former Secretary of State of the United States; Honorable Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, a senator of the United States; Honorable William P. Frye of Maine, a senator of the United States; Honorable George Gray of Delaware, a senator of the United States; and Honorable Whitelaw Reid of New York, former Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to France. John Bassett Moore, Esquire, of New York, was appointed secretary and counsel, and Mr. Arthur W. Fergusson, interpreter of the commission.

King Alfonso XIII of Spain, through the Queen Regent, Doña Maria Cristina, was represented by Don Eugenio Montero Ríos, President of the Senate; Don Buenaventura de Abarzuza, Senator of the Kingdom and ex-Minister of the Crown; Don José de Garnica, Deputy to the Cortes and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; Don Wenceslao Ramirez de Villa-Urrutia, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Brussels; and Don Rafael Cerero, General of Division. (Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, pp. 3, 281.)

... The sentiment in the United States is almost universal that the people of the Philippines, whatever else is done, must be liberated from Spanish domination. . . .

Consequently, grave as are the responsibilities and unforeseen as are the difficulties which are before us, the president can see but one plain path of duty — the acceptance of the archipelago. Greater difficulties and more serious complications — administrative and international — would follow any other course.¹

After protracted negotiations, the terms of peace were definitely settled upon and the commissioners reached an agreement embodied in the document executed at Paris, December 10, 1898, known as the Treaty of Paris.²

By the terms of the treaty, Spain, besides relinquishing her West Indian possessions, ceded to the United States the island of Guam³ in the Marianas or Ladrone Islands, and by Article III ceded 'to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands,' and specifically described in terms of latitude and longitude the boundaries within which the ceded islands were located.⁴ Article III further provided:

¹ As reported in the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, April 21, 1913.

² This treaty, together with copies of pertinent documents, was transmitted to the Senate with a message from the President January 4, 1899; all these papers are available as Senate Document No. 62, part 1, 55th Congress, 3d Session, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1899. For full text of treaty, see Appendix V.

³ Guam has an area of about two hundred and twenty-five square miles and a total population of nearly 17,000. It is 1506 miles from Manila and 5053 miles from San Francisco.

⁴ Shortly after the ratification of the Treaty of Paris it was discovered that the description of the territory ceded to the United States did not include Cagayan de Sulu, Sibutu, and adjacent small islands. By treaty signed in Washington November 7, 1900, by Secretary of State John Hay in behalf of the United States and by the Duke de Arcos, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain, Spain relinquished to the United States all title and claim of title which she may have had at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace at Paris, to any and all islands belonging to the Philippine Archipelago lying outside the lines described in that treaty and particularly to the islands of Cagayan de Sulu and Sibutu and their dependencies, in consideration of which the United States paid to Spain \$100,000. (For text of this treaty, see Appendix VIII.)

Some of the smaller of these islands are so close as to belong geographically to British North Borneo, one of them being near the entrance of the harbor of Sandakan, one of the two capitals of that colony. By arrangement with the British government, these have been administered by the government of Borneo, although the property of the United States. Thus a curious complication arose when the British government desired to build lighthouses on these islands, United States territory, and arrangement had to be made between the two governments as to the ownership of such structures.

At the southeastern extremity of the territory ceded by Spain in the Treaty of

‘The United States will pay to Spain the sum of twenty million dollars (\$20,000,000), within three months after the exchange of ratifications of the present treaty.’¹

By Article IV, it was provided: ‘The United States will, for the term of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, admit Spanish ships and merchandise to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States.’

The treaty called for the return to Spain at the expense of the United States of Spanish soldiers taken as prisoners of war on the capture of Manila by the American forces, the arms of these soldiers being restored to them. Stands of colors, uncaptured war vessels, and other war material of the land and naval forces of Spain in the Philippine Islands and Guam were to remain the property of Spain. There was also provision for return of prisoners and mutual relinquishment of claims for indemnity. The necessary provisions were included to prevent the impairment of private property rights and to assure appropriate disposition of the archives and records of government, both executive and judicial, ‘which relate to said islands or the rights and property of their inhabitants.’

European Spaniards residing in the territory over which Spain relinquished or ceded sovereignty were given the right

Paris is the island of Palmas, or Miangas, as it is sometimes called. This small island while pertaining to the Philippine Archipelago was found to be under *de facto* government by the Dutch East Indies authorities at the time of the first reported visit by a representative of the United States, General Leonard Wood, in January, 1906, General Wood at that time being Governor of the Moro Province. Assertion of United States jurisdiction over Palmas brought forth protests by the government of Holland, and the matter rested with the Dutch authorities continuing to administer Palmas pending determination by arbitration proceedings, which were formally entered upon by agreement of January 23, 1925. (The Island of Palmas Arbitration before the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, Memorandum of the United States of America, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1925, 6 ff., 206.) Decision in favor of Holland was announced in April, 1928.

The island contains about eleven hundred acres of land and less than seven hundred inhabitants. There is no fresh water on the island. A small amount of hemp and copra is produced: food production is inadequate, and yaws and other diseases prevalent. The dialect of the people resembles those spoken in adjacent Philippine Islands.

¹ On the acquisition of the Islands from Spain none of the bonded indebtedness was assumed by the United States, the payment to Spain of \$20,000,000 apparently being understood to cover that among other considerations.

by the treaty to remain in such territory or remove therefrom, without prejudice to their property rights, becoming 'subject in respect thereof to such laws as are applicable to other foreigners.'¹

'The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants' of the territories ceded to the United States were left to determination by the Congress.

The free exercise of religion was assured to the inhabitants of the territories over which Spain relinquished or ceded sovereignty.

Appropriate provisions were made as to the jurisdiction of courts and the conclusion of judicial proceedings pending at the time of the exchange of ratifications of the treaty.

On February 14, 1899, the United States Senate passed the following resolution:

RESOLVED that by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States; but it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands, to prepare them for local self-government and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of said islands.²

¹ Such as remained in the relinquished or ceded territory and desired to preserve their allegiance to the Crown of Spain should, within a year from the date of exchange of ratifications of the treaty, make before a court of record declaration of their decision to preserve such allegiance, in default of which they would be held to have renounced allegiance to the Crown of Spain and to have adopted the nationality of the territory in which they resided.

² The Honorable Henry L. Stimson quoted this (in an article entitled, 'Future Philippine Policy under the Jones Act,' in *Foreign Affairs* [New York], April, 1927) and said that in it what 'we proposed to do was stated with wisdom and foresight.' He added:

'Note that this resolution made no promise of independence but rather of progressive local self-government and non-incorporation into the integral territory of the United States. This was a promise which pointed more clearly in the direction of the development of a self-governing colony than anything else, and its final clause recognized the dual interest of the people of the United States and the people of the Islands, and assumed that those two interests were consistent and not antagonistic.'

On April 30, 1924, the Attorney-General of the United States, in response to a request from the Chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, expressed the opinion that Congress has complete control over insular possessions and may do with them as it may see fit, granting them complete or limited independence, or incorporating them as a territory of the United States. (Hearings before the Committee on Insular Affairs on H. R. 8856, 68th Congress, 1st Session, 57.)

Throughout these early months the Filipinos themselves had been by no means inactive. It is necessary to trace in some detail the negotiations between the American and Philippine leaders in order to get an understanding of the unfortunate series of events which ensued. It has already been told how under the terms of the Peace of Biac-na-bato between the Spanish Captain-General and the insurgent leaders headed by General Emilio Aguinaldo, the latter with forty of his leaders had been expatriated and were living in Hongkong. However, the insurrection in the Islands against the authority of Spain had by no means been suppressed. The American Consul Williams at Manila reported to the Secretary of State on February 22, 1898:

... Conditions here and in Cuba are practically alike. War exists, battles are of almost daily occurrence, ambulances bring in many wounded, and hospitals are full. Prisoners are brought here and shot without trial, and Manila is under martial law.

The Crown forces have not been able to dislodge a rebel army within 10 miles of Manila, and last Saturday, February 19, a battle was there fought and 5 dead left on the field. . . .

A republic is organized here, as in Cuba. Insurgents are being armed and drilled; are rapidly increasing in numbers and efficiency . . .¹

Three reports in March gave additional details, in one of which Consul Williams said:

Insurrection is rampant; many killed, wounded, and made prisoners on both sides. . . .

Rebellion never more threatening to Spain. Rebels getting arms, money, and friends, and they outnumber the Spaniards, resident and soldiery, probably one hundred to one.²

General Aguinaldo himself had started for Europe and had gone as far as Singapore at the time war between the United States and Spain broke out. United States Consul-General Pratt at Singapore arranged for a secret meeting, at which a certain Mr. Bray acted as interpreter, and he urged General

¹ Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, pp. 319, 320.

² *Ibid.*, 320, 321.

Aguinaldo to proceed to Hongkong,¹ telegraphing Commodore Dewey:

Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hongkong arrange with Commodore for general coöperation insurgents Manila if desired. Telegraph.

Commodore Dewey replied:

Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible.²

On the strength of this telegram General Aguinaldo proceeded immediately to Hongkong, but arrived too late to see Commodore Dewey before his departure.³ General Aguinaldo impressed the Consul 'as a man of intelligence, ability, and courage, and worthy the confidence that had been placed in him.'⁴

Consul-General Pratt further reported that he had enjoined upon General Aguinaldo the necessity 'of exerting absolute control over his forces . . . as no excesses on their part would be tolerated by the American Government . . .

'To this General Aguinaldo fully assented,' giving assurance that he was perfectly able to hold his followers in check 'and lead them as our commander should direct.'⁵ He spoke in this interview of expecting to establish a government of their own.

There is no doubt that General Aguinaldo felt entirely free to take up arms again, as he felt the conditions of the Peace of Biac-na-bato had not been complied with on the part of Spain. There is also no doubt that General Aguinaldo hoped to establish his own government with the assistance of the United States. Filipino political exiles in Hongkong

¹ Consul-General Pratt cabled the Secretary of State at Washington of date, April 27, 1898: 'General Aguinaldo gone my instance Hongkong arrange with Dewey coöperation insurgents Manila.' (Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, p. 341.)

² Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, p. 342.

³ Dewey, 246.

⁴ Consul-General Pratt further reported: 'I think that in arranging for his direct coöperation with the commander of our forces, I have prevented possible conflict of action and facilitated the work of occupying and administering the Philippines.' (Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, p. 342.)

It was not long before Consul-General Pratt had reason to see that his action was as injurious to the situation as he had hoped it would be helpful.

⁵ Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, pp. 342-43.

issued a proclamation, a copy of which was supplied to Washington by Consul-General Pratt, in which they said:

Compatriots: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach, and in a way the most free and independent nation could hardly wish for.

They called upon their companions to assist the Americans.¹

The State Department was evidently skeptical of the wisdom of these activities, and on June 16, 1898, Secretary of State Day cabled to Consul-General Pratt: 'Avoid unauthorized negotiations with Philippine insurgents.' Consul-General Pratt made all haste to deny he had carried on any negotiations.² The Secretary of State in a letter dated the same day made the direct statement that the Philippine insurgents had 'neither asked nor received from this Government any recognition.'³

These official records establish the fact that a state of insurrection against the Spanish government actually existed in an important portion of the Islands, especially the vicinity of Manila, at the time that war broke out between the United States and Spain, and that General Aguinaldo, after representing that the aim of the Filipinos was their own government, was invited to proceed to Hongkong for conference with Commodore Dewey. Having failed to get to Hongkong in time, by Admiral Dewey's orders he and thirteen companions were given transportation on a United States naval vessel to Cavite, where General Aguinaldo arrived on May 19, and established himself under the protection of the American squadron.⁴

¹ Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, p. 346.

² Conclusive evidence in support of the statements of Admiral Dewey, Consul-General Pratt, and other representative American officials that they had made no engagement on behalf of the United States government to recognize Philippine independence or otherwise is to be found in an original document, which fell into the hands of the American authorities, signed by the distinguished Mabini, president of General Aguinaldo's cabinet, and his chief adviser. This state paper is one of instructions to a commissioner sent upon a secret mission by the insurgent government, is dated January 4, 1899, and in part reads as follows:

'The chief of the Philippine people has not made any agreement with the Government of the United States, but inspired by the same idea of destroying the sovereignty of Spain in these Islands, they have mutually assisted each other.' (Elihu Root: *Military and Colonial Policy of the United States*, addresses and reports, collected and edited by Robert Bacon and James Brown Scott, 37, Cambridge, 1916.)

³ Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, pp. 354, 355.

⁴ Dewey, 311, 312.

General Aguinaldo afterward claimed that Consul-General Pratt promised that the Philippine Islands should have their independence if he (General Aguinaldo) assisted the Americans in the Philippine Islands in their war against Spain.¹ This the Consul-General denied, nor is there any evidence in the documents of any such promise. Even if Consul-General Pratt made such representation to General Aguinaldo, it is obvious that no consular officer has any power to make promises as to what his country will or will not do under future conditions, particularly when these promises involve matters which can be decided only by the highest governing bodies.

On the 26th of May, the Secretary of the Navy by telegraph advised Admiral Dewey that he was expected to exercise full discretion in all matters, and be governed according to circumstances, but that it was desirable, so far as possible, 'not to have political alliances with the insurgents or any faction in the Islands that would incur liability to maintain their cause in the future.'²

In acknowledging receipt of these instructions, Admiral Dewey replied that his action from the beginning had been in accord with the spirit of those instructions, and that he had 'entered into no alliance with the insurgents or with any faction.'³

The Secretary of the Navy, in a dispatch dated, Washington, June 14, 1898, called on Admiral Dewey for a full report of 'any conferences, relations, or coöperations, military or otherwise, which you have had with Aguinaldo.'⁴

Admiral Dewey replied that he had refrained from assisting the insurgent leader in any way with the force under his command, stating that 'the squadron could not act until the arrival of the United States troops'; that Aguinaldo had 'acted independently of the squadron,' but kept him advised 'of his progress, which has been wonderful'; that he had allowed Aguinaldo to 'pass by water recruits, arms and ammunition, and to take such Spanish arms and ammunition

¹ Worcester, I, 26-27, quoting from *Reseña Verídica de la Revolución Filipina*, by Emilio Aguinaldo.

² Dewey, 311.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

from the arsenal as he needed.¹ . . . My relations with him are cordial, but I am not in his confidence. The United States has not been bound in any way to assist insurgents by any act or promises, and he is not, to my knowledge, committed to assist us. I believe he expects to capture Manila without my assistance, but doubt ability, they not yet having many guns. In my opinion, these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba and I am familiar with both races.’²

On May 24, General Aguinaldo issued a proclamation addressed to the Philippine people, in the course of which he referred to the ‘North American nation’ as ‘considering us as sufficiently civilized and capable of governing for ourselves our unfortunate country.’³ On June 18, General Aguinaldo proclaimed dictatorial government; on June 23, he proclaimed the establishment of revolutionary government; and on August 6, he appealed to foreign governments to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands.⁴

Under instructions from Washington, Admiral Dewey, and subsequently General Wesley Merritt, commanding the United States land forces in the Philippine Islands, refrained from official relations with General Aguinaldo, who did not call on General Merritt on his arrival.⁵

Although requested by General Thomas M. Anderson in a letter dated July 4, 1898, to coöperate with the American authorities, General Aguinaldo in his reply said nothing about coöperation and conducted his operations independently.⁶ Although he drove out the Spaniards from many of their posts, his armies were not well organized and it was hardly to be expected that they would be trained in what modern civilized people regard as the ethics of war.

The pride of the Filipino soldiers was deeply hurt when the American generals, upon the capture of Manila, declined to

¹ This sounds somewhat inconsistent with his statement above that he had refrained from assisting Aguinaldo in any way.

² Dewey, 312.

See Admiral Dewey’s later estimates of Filipino capacity, *post*, 89.

³ Dewey, 312.

⁴ Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, p. 422.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 423.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 390.

allow them to enter their own capital city. As before mentioned, the Spaniards in surrendering Manila had expressly stipulated that the city was to be under the protection of the American army, and with a large Filipino population within and a soldiery without, expecting, as the American officers had reason to believe they did, to loot the city, the situation would very quickly have come beyond the control of the meagre United States forces, and it is questionable if the insurgent leaders themselves could have restrained their men.

There is no doubt that the course taken by the American generals was required by prudence and humanity,¹ although it aroused resentment² and hostility which presently led to actual warfare.³

By December 21, 1898, relations had become so strained that President McKinley felt it incumbent to issue a pro-

¹ The testimony of Benito Legarda, former member of General Aguinaldo's cabinet, before the Schurman Commission in Manila, August 12, 1899, confirms this:

'Q. Was there any disappointment among the troops of Aguinaldo that they were not permitted to plunder the city? Was there any plan to plunder the city? — A. Yes, sir; there had been such a plan.

'Q. Tell us about that plan. — A. They wished, of course, to come into Manila, after having robbed it, for there was a plan to rob the whole city. Aguinaldo himself, while in Bacoar, pointed out crowds of people to me passing, carrying sacks, who, he said, were on their way to Manila to sack the city when they were able. His plan was to come in with the Americans and to make arrangements to get the arms of the Spanish prisoners and attack the Americans from the inside after the city had been occupied, if Americans didn't give the independence of the Philippines.'

(*Report of the Philippine Commission* [Schurman], 1900, II, 383.)

² There appeared in the *Cablenews*, October 11, 1905, an address by General James F. Smith (an eye-witness) on the progress of events in the Islands. He said of American conduct of the war:

'Up to the time of the surrender of Manila it may be said that on the whole friendly relations existed between the insurgents and the American troops. The refusal, however, to permit the former to enter the city with the American troops unquestionably embittered the Filipino leaders, who, in their turn, communicated their feelings to the common people and led them to believe that such action on the part of the military authorities who represented the United States boded the country no good. The fact that the order excluding Filipino troops from entrance to the city was not actuated by any desire to wound the feelings of the Filipino people and had no motive other than to protect the helpless city from acts of aggression which might well be committed by troops, many of whom were as yet entirely undisciplined, was not given the weight to which it was entitled.'

³ The relations between the Americans and the Filipinos during this period have been very thoroughly studied by the Honorable Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior in the Philippine government, and member of both the Schurman and Taft Commissions, in his admirable book, *The Philippines Past and Present*.

clamation, which with certain softening modifications was published by General Otis, the military governor, January 4, 1899.¹ The next day General Aguinaldo issued a counter proclamation reciting alleged grievances against the American authorities, announcing the rupture of 'amicable relations with the Army of the United States of America in these islands,' and threatening 'to open hostilities if the American troops attempt to take forcible possession of the Visaya Islands.' This proclamation was withdrawn, and on the same date another was issued and posted protesting against the proclamation of President McKinley as an 'intrusion of the United States Government in the administration of these islands,' and alleging the American authorities had brought General Aguinaldo from Hongkong to make war against Spain, not for their benefit but for the liberty and independence of the Filipinos, 'to which end,' the proclamation read, 'the said authorities verbally promised me their active support and efficacious coöperation.'²

General Otis, reporting on the attitude of the mass of the people, wrote: 'Even the women of Cavite province, in a document numerously signed by them, gave me to understand that after all the men were killed off they were prepared to shed their patriotic blood for the liberty and independence of their country.'³

In the words of Admiral Dewey: 'Mr. McKinley's proclamation of "benevolent assimilation" fell on ears which had long since learned to distrust the beneficent and grandiloquent proclamations of which the Spanish were masters. It was a time for statesmanship if we were to avoid a conflict. As Washington seemed to be in the dark about the real situation on shore, I cabled on January 7, 1899, stating that affairs were very disturbed and that a small "civilian commission composed of men skilled in diplomacy and statesmanship should be sent to adjust differences."'⁴

Admiral Dewey, in a private letter at the same time, expressed the fear that despite General Otis's forbearance

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, pp. 66-69, 355.

For full text of this proclamation, as issued by General Otis, see Appendix VI.

² *Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, pp. 359-62.

³ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁴ Dewey, 284-85.

the United States was drifting into a war with the natives, and that the occasion appeared to be one 'for a triumph of statesmanship rather than of arms.' And referring to the Filipinos, with representative individuals of whom he had now had several months' experience, Admiral Dewey advised: 'They should be treated kindly, exactly as you would treat children, for they are little else, and should be coerced only after gentler means of bringing them to reason have failed.'¹

It is to be noted that this estimate of Filipino capacity was premised on experience and more mature judgment than his remark previously quoted that the Filipinos were more capable of self-government than the Cubans, made in an earlier dispatch before he had had opportunity to familiarize himself with their characteristics. Subsequently, however, in a memorandum for the Peace Commission he confirmed his first estimate of Filipino capacity.²

Although the President acted promptly on Admiral Dewey's advice and announced within a week the appointment of an investigating commission, as will be seen later in the chapter, yet before the civilian members of the commission could arrive in Manila war with the Filipinos had broken out.³

During the period of peace negotiations resulting in the Treaty of Paris, the ill-feeling between Filipinos and Americans increased. General Aguinaldo's emissaries sought official recognition, appealing without success not only to the Washington government, but also to foreign powers.

Meanwhile General Aguinaldo and his associates organized a government with headquarters at Malolos, twenty-five miles to the north of Manila.⁴ There on September 15, 1898, the Congress of the revolutionary government began its

¹ Dewey, 285.

² Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, p. 383.

³ In the words of Admiral Dewey, 'the growing anger of the natives had broken into flame. Now, after paying twenty millions for the islands, we must establish our authority by force against the very wishes of the people whom we sought to benefit.' (Dewey, 285.)

⁴ An account of the organization of the insurgent or revolutionary government, with references to available source material, is to be found in the chapter 'The Malolos Constitution' of *The Constitutional Law of the Philippine Islands*, by George A. Malcolm, Manila, 1920. Mr. Malcolm was an Associate Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court.

sessions. The occasion was one of great festivities; the town was thronged with thousands of people from the provinces and large numbers also from Manila, including prominent lawyers and merchants of the city. Several Americans, including the press correspondents, attended and were entertained at luncheon, during which speeches were made by prominent members of the Malolos Congress, and in spite of the growing ill-feeling in certain quarters, warm expressions of friendship were interchanged. Don Pedro Paterno, who had negotiated the pact of Biac-na-bato in 1896 between the Spanish Governor-General and the insurgent leaders under General Aguinaldo, was the President of the Congress.

As President of the revolutionary republic, General Aguinaldo named as cabinet officers and councillors many of the ablest Filipinos of the day. The brilliant and irreconcilable Apolinario Mabini exercised a predominant influence in determining the policy pursued by his chief leading up to and following the rupture of friendly relations with the Americans. Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, later member of the Taft Commission, and Don Cayetano Arellano, who became Chief Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court, were named by General Aguinaldo in the department of foreign affairs in his first cabinet. Don Gregorio Araneta, who was Secretary of Justice in the Malolos cabinet, was later appointed by General Otis Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Afterward he became Attorney-General and finally in 1908 Commissioner and Secretary of Finance and Justice. Don Benito Legarda, an able official of General Aguinaldo's department of revenue, later became a member of the Taft Commission, from which he was elected one of the first two Resident Commissioners from the Philippine Islands at Washington. All of these, with the exception of Mabini, withdrew from the Malolos government prior to the outbreak of hostilities with the United States. They represented the conservative, well-educated class, and following them many others in minor posts also withdrew from the Malolos government and brought their families within the American lines at Manila, as they saw the unfortunate trend of insurgent organization toward armed resistance to American sovereignty.

General Antonio Luna, who held the post of Secretary of War in the Malolos cabinet, strongly supported Mabini's insistence upon independence at any cost. As Mabini was considered the 'brains' of the insurrection, so Antonio Luna was the 'firebrand' of that conflict. He seemed to have drawn from his education in Paris something of the spirit of the French Revolution, as he was popularly charged with being the author of certain drastic measures, such as the order of February 15, 1899, to massacre all foreign residents of Manila, and the burning of the town of Malolos and other towns and villages upon evacuation by the insurgents. Following the failure of the Malolos government to obtain recognition by any foreign power and its subsequent reverses, he was credited with aspirations to displace General Aguinaldo, but was curtly told in a note from his chief, whose life he is said to have threatened, to limit himself to army affairs. Shortly after General Luna was killed by guards loyal to General Aguinaldo.¹

Negotiations were carried on and efforts made by the leaders on both sides to avoid resort to arms, but in spite of these efforts on the night of February 4, 1899, American troops opened fire upon a Filipino patrol which had approached within the lines and this fire was returned.² Armed conflict ensued, and the war continued with varying degrees of intensity for the ensuing two years and a half.³

It was not practicable to exclude noncombatant Filipinos from Manila, and it soon became known to the American authorities that there were secret hostile organizations planning to burn and sack the city while American troops were

¹ General Luna's brother, while Governor of the province of La Union, told one of the American Commissioners that in his opinion his brother's death was not planned by General Aguinaldo but by some of the other leaders. (Journal, II, 118-19, October 8, 1906.)

² Captured insurgent orders and records of conclusive significance beginning with the signed minutes of the meeting of General Aguinaldo and other insurgent leaders at Hongkong, May 4, 1898, and including General Aguinaldo's order of January 9, 1899, to prepare for attack on the Americans in Manila, are quoted in Root: *The Military and Colonial Policy of the United States*, 40 ff.; *Report of the War Department*, 1900, I, part 4, pp. 199 ff.; Worcester, I, 39 ff., 139 ff.

³ Detailed accounts of overtures of peace are given in *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 3-7; and *Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, pp. 119, 148, 149.

engaged on the lines of defense. At least three thousand effective troops, therefore, were required as provost guard for police duty.¹ On February 22, 1899, a concerted rising of Filipinos occurred within the city, under instructions to massacre all Americans and Europeans.² Due to the precautions which had been taken, this attempt was promptly suppressed and the 300,000 Filipinos³ residing within the American lines were placed under strict police control. Until the arrival of additional forces from the United States, the situation in Manila was one of great responsibility for the American authorities and of constant nervous strain for the foreign residents and peaceably disposed Filipinos.

At the beginning of armed hostilities the total effective land forces of the United States at Manila were about 14,000⁴ including the provost guard of 3000. It is apparent that the troops available could make but a very thin line of defense against the force of armed insurgents,⁵ which, accord-

¹ This was not a large force to police the city when one takes into account that the area of Manila was about fourteen square miles.

² *Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, pp. 109, 362.

³ The city was at that time thronged with Filipino refugees from the provinces and Spanish troops and their families, and these swelled the normal population of about 200,000 to the figure given above.

⁴ *Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, p. 93.

The aggregate United States forces at that time were about 20,000, comprising in addition to the effective forces of 14,000 at Manila, the garrisons at Cavite and Iloilo, the sick, and the officers and men engaged in administrative and staff duties. (*Five Years of the War Department following the War with Spain, 1899-1903*, as shown in the annual reports of the Secretary of War, 8. Hereafter cited, *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*.)

⁵ 'The closest estimate that can be made of the available armed insurgent force is based upon the number of arms recently captured from the Spanish militia, from the arsenal at Cavite, from Spaniards captured in battle, and bought from Jackson and Evans. Together with the number it is fair to estimate were in the hands of Filipinos, who got them in previous insurrection, this foots up about 40,000, as follows:

From militia	12,000
From arsenal	2,500
From Jackson and Evans	2,000
From Spanish	8,000
In hands of Filipinos (about)	15,000
Total	39,500

'From this number there should probably be deducted several thousand guns recaptured by the Spanish and turned in under the provisions of a proclamation offering \$50 and amnesty to each insurgent who would come in and give himself and his rifle up to the Spaniards.' (Report of Major J. Franklin Bell, in charge of Office of Military Information, August 29, 1898, in Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, p. 379.)

ing to the best sources of information, greatly exceeded the American forces in number of rifles, a yet greater number being armed with bolos.¹ The Filipino forces included several thousands of former native militia, volunteers, and regular troops of the Spanish army, and of these a large number were veterans of campaigns against the Moros in Mindanao and Sulu. Furthermore, the insurgents were armed largely with Mauser rifles and smokeless powder ammunition captured from the Spanish troops in the outlying provinces during their operations since the arrival of General Aguinaldo the preceding May. The American volunteer troops at the time had the disadvantage of being armed with rifles using black powder.²

In the engagement which began on the night of the 4th of February, 1899, the Filipinos were driven back and the American lines extended on an arc which ran from the beach at Pasay on the south of the city of Manila through San Pedro Macati on the Pasig River, to the beach near Caloocan on the north of the city. American troops, entrenched on this line, remained on the defensive awaiting the arrival of reënforcements.

Matters were further complicated for the American commanders by the early expiration of the term of enlistment of many of the volunteer troops, who had enlisted for the duration of the war with Spain and became entitled to discharge upon the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace on April 11. Practically all these troops, however, showed their patriotism by consenting to stay in the field until replacements should arrive.³

On February 11, the city of Iloilo, then the second port of importance, was occupied by American troops, but before they landed the insurgents withdrew, setting fire to the city.⁴

¹ A bolo is a short sword or side knife carried very generally by Filipinos and used for agricultural and industrial purposes.

² Troops having smokeless powder could shoot without revealing the exact spot from which they were firing — an important advantage.

³ *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 8, 9.

⁴ *Report of the War Department, 1899*, I, part 4, p. 106.

The Filipino insurgents, in withdrawing before the American troops, set fire to several large cities besides Iloilo, notably Daraga, an important town in Albay, and Malolos, with the mistaken idea that this would embarrass the operations of the Americans. The Philippine Commission reported: 'In some parts of the islands the

The navy occupied the city and port of Cebu which was garrisoned February 28 by United States troops.¹

Government was at once reëstablished by the military authorities and commerce resumed upon occupation of these cities.

On March 4, 1899, Colonel James F. Smith (later Governor-General) with a battalion of California Volunteer Infantry, occupied the city of Bacolod, capital of the provisional republic of Negros, which had been organized by the natives of that island in opposition to General Aguinaldo, and had sought the protection of American authorities.²

While these extensions of American occupation had been going on in the Islands to the south of Luzon, Congress on March 2, 1899, authorized an increase in the regular army to 65,000 enlisted men and a force of 35,000 volunteers to be recruited from the country at large for the suppression of the Philippine insurrection.³ Three regiments of these volunteers were organized in the Islands, chiefly of officers and men from the State volunteers who decided to continue in the military service because of the insurrection. Volunteer regiments recruited in the United States did not begin to arrive in the Islands until October, 1899.⁴

Major-General Henry W. Lawton, with the 4th Regiment and one battalion of the 17th Regiment of Infantry of the regular army, arrived at Manila March 10, from New York, the first United States troops to pass through the Suez Canal. Other reënforcements came from San Francisco.⁵ With these additional forces the American troops in the Islands, constituting the Eighth Army Corps, were reorganized. The First

people had heard that Napoleon's great army was defeated in its undertaking against Russia by the burning of Moscow, and burned some of their principal towns as a means of checking the advance of the Americans. They were surprised to find that this means was not effective, that the Americans could sleep out of doors, and that they brought their own food with them.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, 877.)

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, p. 122.

² On November 12, 1898.

³ *Five Years of the War Department*, 1899-1903, 5, 6.

⁴ *Report of the War Department*, 1900, I, part 4, p. 210.

⁵ The 20th and 22d Regiments of Regulars had arrived from San Francisco February 23 and March 5 respectively, and within a week of General Lawton's arrival the remaining battalions of the 17th Regiment came from San Francisco.

Division, General Lawton commanding, and the Second Division, General MacArthur commanding, were to operate out from Manila on the Island of Luzon. The troops at Cebu, Iloilo, Jolo, and elsewhere south of Luzon, operated as a separate brigade.

American lines were advanced eastward along the Pasig River by troops under the immediate command of Brigadier-General Lloyd Wheaton, and General Lawton personally extended operations to the Laguna de Bay district bringing the lake as well as the Pasig River under his control, thus cutting off movement of insurgent troops and material between Cavite and the other provinces on the south of Manila and General Aguinaldo and his organization in the provinces to the northward. General MacArthur's troops entered Malolos, the insurgent capital, March 31.¹

With the approach of American troops the insurgent government withdrew from Malolos within two months of the breaking-out of hostilities, moved northward to Tarlac, and finally broke up on the American occupation of that town November 21, 1899.

A general movement northward was begun April 22, jointly by Generals Lawton and MacArthur, and the insurgents driven back, until on April 28 the Rio Grande was crossed and the town of Calumpit occupied. The insurgent Lieutenant-General Antonio Luna in person commanded the Filipino forces of about four thousand soldiers in fortifications on the north bank of the river. In the successful attack and advance, Major Richard W. Young with a battery of the Utah Volunteer Artillery, and Colonel Frederick Funston with his regiment, the 20th Kansas Volunteer Infantry, gained especial distinction. Major Young's accurate fire drove the insurgents back from the river bank, and Colonel Funston, with his Kansas men swimming the rapid river, was able to secure boats from the northern bank for the immediate transportation of additional forces to hold the position, the insurgents having dropped into the river one span of the only bridge.²

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1899, 1, part 4, p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, 115. See also Frederick Funston: *Memories of Two Wars*, 279-89, New York, 1911.

These heroic exploits, with their many casualties, were characteristic of the services rendered by the State volunteers mustered into the Federal service for the war with Spain, who, in spite of the expiration of their term, had elected to continue to serve their country.

No less heroic though less spectacular work was done by an American scout organization composed of men from North Dakota and Oregon State volunteers and the 4th United States Cavalry, who offered their services for this extremely dangerous duty under General Lawton's direction. Twenty-five especially qualified men were accepted for this organization and placed under the immediate charge of William H. Young, an experienced frontiersman and civilian scout. In addition to capturing enemy outposts and performing other scouting duty, these men preceded the advance guard of the main column of troops, and by adroit manœuvres simulating a much larger force drove back the insurgent troops from town to town until they were halted at San Isidro, May 17, by reason of lack of men with which to garrison occupied towns and maintain their lines of communication. Chief Scout Young was fatally wounded in the occupation of San Miguel de Mayumo and his successor, Private J. Harrington, of the 2d Oregon Volunteers, was killed in a severe engagement at a river crossing south of San Isidro. As these casualties occurred, there were never lacking volunteers to fill the vacancies. Of the surviving scouts, twenty-three were recommended once, and nine on two occasions, for the Congressional medal of honor.¹

Hard campaigning during the extreme hot season had severely tried the physical stamina of the troops, and almost constant exposure to enemy fire, together with the delay in arrival of reënforcements, had proved an exhausting strain for the State volunteers. The surgeon of one of these regiments reported thirty per cent of its officers and men sick in Manila hospitals, thirty per cent sick at station at San Fernando, Pampanga, and of the entire regiment but ninety-six were fit for duty. General MacArthur reported on four of these regiments:

For four months these men have been continually under arms

¹ *Report of the War Department, 1899, 1, part 5, pp. 83-99.*

night and day, exposed in a relaxing climate to a scorching sun, almost as destructive and much harder to bear than the enemy's fire, until apparently the severe, unremitting, and almost unexampled strain has told upon whole organizations to such an extent that they are now completely worn out and broken in health.¹

Regular regiments as they arrived from America replaced the State volunteers at the front, the volunteers being brought in to Manila. Invalid officers and men were returned to the United States, and beginning early in June the State regiments were returned on transports which brought out regular regiments. General MacArthur restored the railway bridges which the insurgents had destroyed between Manila and San Fernando, and early in June General Lawton began a series of movements against insurgents to the east and southward of Manila.²

On June 13, after a hard day's march driving the insurgents from the Pasig River southward through the tall grass and jungle, the enemy were encountered strongly entrenched at the bridge crossing the Zapote River on the main highway leading south from Manila. Under a cloudless sky and with no air stirring, the American troops, but recently disembarked from the transports which had brought them from the States, suffered a temporary loss of fully fifty per cent from heat exhaustion. The insurgents assembled at least three thousand men in well-constructed trenches at the crossing where in 1896 they had gained a great victory over the Spaniards. Many of them had vowed to defeat the Americans or die in the attempt. General Lawton, reconnoitering the insurgents' position, was fired on from front and flanks from the brush and by extreme good fortune was not wounded. The topography was such that the main attack was made on the bridge, where by great daring a gun was placed flanking part of the enemy's trenches. The Filipinos had five pieces of artillery well served by gunners, of whom some were reported to be Spaniards. The engagement began in the morning and at close range, the Filipinos coming boldly into the open ground and advancing to within one hundred yards. Shortly after three in the afternoon General Lawton reported to General Otis: 'We are having a beautiful battle. Hurry up ammuni-

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, p. 121.

² *Ibid.*, 135, 136.

tion; we will need it'; and at four o'clock: 'We have bridge. It has cost us dearly. Battle not yet over. It is a battle, however.' The American loss was reported as some forty killed and wounded; the insurgent loss was over one thousand in killed, wounded, and captured.¹

This impressive defeat of the insurgents and at the place they firmly believed themselves invincible caused great demoralization among the masses of the Filipinos in Cavite and adjoining provinces. It is not uncommon among the Filipinos to prepare for battle with superstitious ceremonials under the influence of which they work themselves into a frenzy and delude themselves into the belief that they are invulnerable, invincible, or divinely inspired. For example, the delusion of the people in the provinces to the south of Manila, who had not yet come in contact with the American troops, was such that on one occasion a battalion of young boys appeared among the insurgent forces, 'whose mission was to throw stones at the enemy under the guidance of Providence; but one or two of the little fellows were wounded, and the desire for self-preservation being stronger than their religious enthusiasm, they were seen no more.'²

On the north of Manila tribal peoples from the mountains of northern Luzon were brought with their spears and cutting weapons to participate in the destruction of the American forces and witness the triumph of the more civilized Filipino insurgents. The mountaineers were instructed to assume their most threatening grimaces when attacking, as these would be sufficient to overcome the Americans with fright. The first engagement quickly convinced the mountaineers that they had been deceived and they returned precipitately to their hills.

The exigencies incident to the return of volunteers after the expiration of their enlistment and the substitution of newly enlisted forces delayed operations. The insurgents in northern Luzon were believed then to have perhaps twenty-five thousand rifles, and their plan was, if worsted in the lowlands, to retire to the mountains, where they believed they could prolong the war indefinitely. Pending the arrival of additional troops, it was deemed by General Otis unwise to

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1899, 1, part 4, pp. 137-39.

² *Ibid.*, 134.

pursue the insurgents, as territory gained could not be occupied and public order maintained.¹

While thus occupied by armed hostilities in Luzon and confronted by increasing insurgent organization in Cebu, Panay, and other Visayan islands, it appeared that the situation in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago demanded immediate attention, especially relations with the Sultan of Sulu. He was reported as having gained the impression from the Spaniards that they were turning sovereignty back to him upon the withdrawal of their garrisons there, although that at Jolo had been relieved by American troops. It was also reported that the Sultan had been placed in possession at Siasi when the Spanish post was evacuated. However, the American troops had been able to enter upon friendly relations with the representative Moros whom they had placed in charge of local affairs on the island of Jolo.²

A definite and amicable agreement in writing with the Sultan of Sulu was deemed of urgent importance. Brigadier-General John C. Bates was sent by General Otis early in July, 1899, to accomplish this difficult mission, which he did and placed American garrisons at Siasi and Bongao.³ This agreement, which came to be known as 'The Bates Treaty,' and the development of relations with the Sulu people and other Mohammedan Filipinos will be discussed in a later chapter.⁴

On the arrival of the new regiments of volunteers from America, beginning in October, the general movement northward in Luzon was resumed, General Lawton again advancing through the eastern part of the central plain and foothills and General MacArthur along the railway.⁵

The insurgents were driven northward until, on November 12, 1899, American troops entered Tarlac and the insurgent organization dissolved. General Aguinaldo, retiring with his bodyguard into the mountains of Benguet, narrowly escaped capture by the advance point of General Lawton's column under Brigadier-General Samuel B. M. Young, near Pozor-

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1900, I, part 4, pp. 211, 212.

² *Ibid.*, 1899, I, part 4, pp. 132, 133.

³ *Ibid.*, I, part 4, pp. 152-57.

⁴ Chapter XV, 'Moros.'

⁵ *Report of the War Department*, 1900, I, part 4, pp. 238, 239.

rubio, November 15. The insurgent secretary of state, Don Felipe Buencamino, other high insurgent civil officials, and General Aguinaldo's mother and son were captured or sought the protection of the American troops against the people of that region who were hostile to the Tagálogs.¹

Nearly a month later the brilliant young insurgent General Gregorio del Pilar conducted the rear guard action which enabled his chief again to escape.² General Aguinaldo with a very few companions crossed slowly through the extremely mountainous country to the Pacific coast, his whereabouts being unknown until a short time before his capture in March of the following year.³

The field operations necessarily were carried on during the extremely hot season and renewed during the season of torrential rains. The American troops were not acclimated to the tropics; many regiments had but recently arrived from America. There was no practicable means of transportation under conditions following the heavy rains, when the roads became quagmires, rivers overflowed their banks, and much of the central plain of Luzon, which was the main theatre of operations, became a morass. Bringing supplies to troops at a distance from the railway was a superhuman undertaking, and the Filipinos felt confident of their advantage.

American troops on both the east and west flanks and General Lawton's headquarters were often beyond reach of supplies, except ammunition, and were compelled to subsist on buffalo meat and rice. Clothing and shoes could not withstand constant marching through the swamp jungles and

¹ *Report of the War Department, 1900, I, part 4, pp. 250-68.*

On November 24, General Otis reported the situation as follows:

'Claim to Government by insurgents can be made no longer under any fiction. Its treasurer, secretary of the interior, and president of congress in our hands; its president and remaining cabinet officers in hiding, evidently in different central Luzon provinces; its generals and troops in small bands scattered through these provinces, acting as banditti, or dispersed, playing the rôle of "Amigos,"^a with arms concealed.' (*Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903, 14.*)

^a The Spanish word *amigo*, in English 'friend,' was that used by Filipinos desiring to pass as noncombatants in their contact with American soldiers.

² General Pilar was killed, while defending the escape of his chief, in an engagement with a column of General Young's forces, the 33d United States Volunteer Infantry, under Major Peyton C. March, near Kayan in the province of Lepanto, December 7, 1899. (*Report of the War Department, 1900, I, part 4, p. 319.*)

³ See *post*, 103-04.

fording the swollen rivers. Casualties from drowning included Lieutenant Maximilian Luna, 34th United States Volunteers, of the personal staff of General Lawton, whom he was accompanying while crossing the Agno River.¹

Many officers and men, both from the regular regiments and the new volunteers, were disabled by malaria and other diseases due to exposure, exhaustion, and lack of wholesome food as well as from bites of insects and skin abrasions becoming infected, and many had to be invalided back to America.

All important points in central and northern Luzon had been occupied by American garrisons, and more than three thousand Spanish prisoners liberated.²

The most important task remaining was the capture of General Aguinaldo. The campaign had succeeded in breaking up the central organization of the insurgents, leaving as the only forces of consequence those to the southward of Manila in the provinces of Cavite and Batangas. Against these a vigorous campaign was directed early in January, 1900,³ in the course of which the insurgents were severely punished, their organizations destroyed, and towns occupied by American garrisons. Following these operations American troops drove out the insurgent garrisons and occupied towns in the remaining southern provinces of Luzon, releasing about one thousand two hundred Spanish prisoners.⁴

The only point to the south of Manila where strong resistance was met was at the port of Legaspi in the province of Albay, but there the insurgents were thoroughly defeated, and surrendered. Little resistance was then offered by the insurgents in the Visayan Islands or in the occupation by American garrisons of the more important coast points in Mindanao.

Following the occupation of the southern provinces of Luzon, American garrisons were placed in Samar, Leyte, and other islands of the Visayan group and in Mindanao, Cebu and Iloilo, as has been seen, having been previously occupied.

By the end of March, 1900, the occupation of all large towns in the Islands had been effected and the important

¹ *Report of the War Department, 1900, 1, part 4, p. 263.*

² *Ibid.*, 334.

³ *Ibid.*, 369.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 394, 395.

ports opened to commerce.¹ On May 5, 1900, General Otis was relieved at his own request and returned to the United States.² General MacArthur was designated to succeed him in command of the Division of the Philippines and as Military Governor of the Islands.

In his annual report of 1900, Secretary of War Root stated:

... formal and open resistance to American authority in the Philippines terminated, leaving only an exceedingly vexatious and annoying guerrilla warfare of a character closely approaching brigandage, which will require time, patience, and good judgment to finally suppress. As rapidly as we have occupied territory, the policy of inviting inhabitants to return to their peaceful vocations, and aiding them in the reestablishment of their local governments has been followed, and the protection of the United States has been promised to them. The giving of this protection has led to the distribution of troops in the Philippine Islands to over 400 different posts, with the consequent labor of administration and supply.³

The Secretary of War further reported:

The most efficient measures for the reduction of the number of posts, and consequently of the number of troops, necessary in the Philippines will be the construction of roads, making possible rapid communication, so that each post may effectually protect the people of a larger section of country; the establishment of personal relations between our officers and the people of the country with whom they are brought in contact, so that we can tell who are trustworthy sources of information and who are not, the gradually growing appreciation of the benefits of our control and the sincerity of our professions of good intention, which will naturally follow the benefits of good civil government, and the organization of native troops under American officers.⁴

In this unequal warfare between the Americans, well commanded, energetic, well armed and equipped and amply supplied, though young in warfare, and the Filipinos, comparatively without leadership, resources, and equipment, the inevitable had occurred, the Philippine organization had been defeated and the pacification resolved itself into an endeavor to infuse order into a hostile-minded and suspicious people, told they had been misled as to the intention of the United States and believing that the Americans were acting

¹ *Report of the War Department, 1900*, I, part 4, p. 399.

² *Ibid.*, 199.

³ *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 85.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 85, 86.

in bad faith. The guerrilla bands mentioned by the Secretary of War hid in the outskirts of the populous areas and subsisted on the people by forced contributions. They attacked American scouting parties or supply trains when favorable occasion offered. Remembering the large number of islands, their area, and the fact that the Americans were dealing with a population amounting to over six millions, it is surprising that the progress made was as great as it was and proves the spirit and efficiency of the American officers and men. It was also inevitable that as a result of the fighting, mutual recriminations and misunderstandings, much racial animosity should have been engendered, which took long to abate.

The service of the American army in the Islands was replete with acts of gallantry, heroism, and endurance, some of which received recognition by Congressional medals of honor, certificates of merit, citations, and extraordinary promotions. One of the most notable individual achievements was that of J. Franklin Bell, who entered the war with the rank of first lieutenant and came out of it with the rank of brigadier-general, forcing his way upward by a series of dare-devil acts of heroism. The crowning exploit, however, was that of Frederick Funston of Kansas,¹ who also reached high command and who effected the capture of General Aguinaldo. This he did by entrusting himself and a group of his officers to the good faith of a body of Filipinos, principally Macabebes,² who brought them bound hand and foot as though captives to the insurgent general's camp. At the appointed time General Funston and his officers were freed of their

¹ For account of his exploits, see his *Memories of Two Wars*, New York, 1911.

² 'Macabebes,' so-called, are natives of the town of Macabebe and adjacent villages near Manila Bay in the province of Pampanga. In physical appearance and in dialect they are similar to other natives of that province. However, they have been distinguished as partisans of the Spanish, and subsequently, American government as against other Filipinos. The explanation of this may be found in the fact that the 'Macabebes' are presumably descendants of American Indian troops brought from the west coast of Mexico and California by the Spaniards during the seventeenth century and upon completion of military service permitted to settle in the region where the town of Macabebe and adjacent villages are now located. These foreign ex-soldiers and their descendants, although of Filipino mothers, naturally looked to the constituted government for protection against the natives of the country and this attitude became traditional.

bonds, given their weapons, and enabled to surprise and capture the Philippine leader. On being taken back to Manila, General Aguinaldo took the oath of allegiance to the United States, April 19, 1901, and by proclamation advised his people to stop fighting the Americans.¹ Since that time as a distinguished private citizen he has coöperated in the further pacification of his country and adherence to the American régime.² Although in his early environment a man of limited opportunity, General Aguinaldo is a remarkable character,³ and since taking the oath of allegiance to the United States he has supported measures looking to the economic development of his country.⁴ He has stated that he regarded the problem as an economic one, and that he hoped no further recourse to violence would occur.⁵ It is worthy of note that he sent two of his older children, a son and daughter, to obtain their education in the United States, the son, bearing his father's name, going to the military acad-

¹ The Filipino people were not ready to accept the proclamation of General Aguinaldo, and, although it was intended solely for the best interests of his people, there is no doubt that among elements favorable for carrying on the struggle against the United States, General Aguinaldo lost much of his position and leadership, as they were not ready to acknowledge the complete collapse of their cause.

General Aguinaldo had been well and courteously treated, his action was one taken wholly of his own free will, and in his decision to take it, it is believed that Don Cayetano Arellano, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, had great influence.

² See Chapter XVII, 'Attitude of Filipinos,' for General Aguinaldo's expression of the cordial relations between Americans and Filipinos.

³ General (then Major) J. Franklin Bell, in August, 1898, as officer in charge of military information, reported his estimate of General Aguinaldo: 'Honest, sincere, and poor, not well educated, but a natural leader of men, with considerable shrewdness and ability; has the power of creating among the people confidence in himself, and is undoubtedly a very popular man, highly respected by all.' (Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, p. 381.)

General Funston, who had had exceptional opportunities to form an estimate of General Aguinaldo during active field operations, in his *Memories of Two Wars* took occasion to say: 'It was well known that he was a man of humane instincts, and had done all he could to prevent the horrible atrocities committed by some of the guerilla bands that now made up his forces; but under the circumstances his control over them was limited.' (Funston, 421, 422.)

⁴ This view is also supported by ex-Governor-General Harrison. (Francis Burton Harrison: *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence*, 35, New York, 1922.)

⁵ 'To a remark that the Filipinos were getting independence in a different way, Aguinaldo replied "Ojala!" a favorite expression of his which means, "Would that it were so," or perhaps better, "I hope so"; and then said that he hoped the day of bloodshed had passed, and that there was to be no more of it, that all future development would be peaceful in its nature.' (Journal, II, 263, July 19, 1907.)

emy at West Point for a time, but leaving to enter the field of business. It was an interesting coincidence that the boy entered West Point in the same class with the son of his father's captor, Frederick Funston.

The Philippine Legislature in 1920 granted General Aguinaldo a life pension of six thousand dollars per annum.¹ General Aguinaldo has been president of an organization of the veterans of his army.²

The cost of the Philippine campaign in American lives was small as compared with that of the Filipinos, but included very gallant men, the most noted of whom was General Lawton, who, after a distinguished army record dating from the Civil War, came to the Islands as a major-general.³ His field service in the Islands was continuous and most eventful from the 10th of March until the 18th of December, 1899, when he fell pierced by a bullet from the insurgent lines, while leading his troops near San Mateo in the island of Luzon. Secretary of War Root, in announcing the death of General Lawton on the field of battle, said:

The swift and resistless movement of his column up the Rio Grande and across the northern boundary of the plain of central Luzon, which had just been completed, was the chief factor in the destruction of the insurgent power, and was the crowning achievement of his arduous life.

He fell in the fullness of his powers, in the joy of conflict, in the consciousness of assured victory. He leaves to his comrades and his country the memory and the example of dauntless courage, of unsparing devotion to duty, of manly character, and of high qualities of command which inspired his troops with his own indomitable spirit.⁴

¹ Act No. 2922, Philippine Legislature, March 24, 1920.

² Declining to join in the coalition of political parties in 1925, he lent his influence in support of Governor-General Wood and there resulted a division in the ranks of the Veterans of the Philippine Revolution, the more radical elements having formed a separate organization.

³ Noted for distinguished gallantry in the Civil War, in which he had won the rank of colonel and a medal of honor, he earned repeated citations during Indian campaigns and was commissioned major-general for distinguished service in Cuba in the war with Spain. (*Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 81, 82.)

⁴ *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 82.

See also Worcester, I, 320 ff. Mr. Worcester, who was closely associated with Generals Otis and Lawton during this period in the Philippine Islands, gives some very interesting discussion of the abilities and characteristics of both of these distinguished officers.

Great as was the loss of General Lawton to the military service, even greater was the loss of his genius and capacity for sympathetic administration which would have been invaluable in the establishment of civil government.¹ His is the credit of having organized the first municipal government with the exercise of popular suffrage by Filipinos on May 6, 1899, at the town of Baliuag, Bulacan.²

General Lawton had the vision to see the necessity of co-operation between the army in its civil administration and members of the Schurman Commission in the effort to conciliate the Filipinos and end hostilities by the policy of attraction.

In coöperation with the Honorable Dean C. Worcester, of President McKinley's investigating commission, General Lawton rapidly organized municipal government with Filipino officials in all towns occupied by his troops, and at the time of his death was planning more general organizations. This plan was subsequently followed by the military government.

It is worthy of note that chief among the young officers of the staff of General Lawton was Clarence R. Edwards, then Lieutenant-Colonel, United States Volunteers (1st Lieutenant, United States Infantry), who later earned the rank of brigadier-general, United States Army, by brilliant service to the Islands as Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs at Washington.

The casualty list contained many names of men of prominence and distinction, among whom are to be noted Colonel John M. Stotsenberg of the Nebraska Volunteer Infantry, Colonel Harry C. Egbert, 22d United States Infantry, Major Guy Howard, Quartermaster, United States Army, and Major John A. Logan, 33d United States Volunteer Infantry.

The protection of peaceful and unarmed inhabitants from guerrillas, and the reestablishment of local civil government, necessitated the distribution of the United States forces

¹ When the Philippine government finally decided to prepare its own postage stamps, the portrait of General Lawton was placed on one of the stamps of more general use, and on one of the bills of its currency.

² *Report of the War Department, 1899, I, part 5, p. 88.* See also Chapter IV, 'Civil Government,' *post*, 152.



MAJOR-GENERAL HENRY W. LAWTON

until there came to be in the year 1901 as many as 639 garrisoned towns and stations.¹ As a matter of policy, people contributing to the support of guerrillas were rarely interfered with by the Americans, and even members of the bands were often released immediately after being disarmed. This, instead of inducing a friendly attitude on the part of the Filipinos, was regarded by them as a sign of weakness. 'It was therefore,' as the Secretary of War reported, 'decided to apply more rigidly to the residents of the archipelago, the laws of war touching the government of occupied places.'² This decision was announced in a proclamation by the Military Governor (then Major-General MacArthur) December 20, 1900, 'fully explaining the law, supplemented by letters of instruction, and followed by more vigorous field operations. It was followed immediately by the deportation to the island of Guam of about fifty prominent Filipino insurgent army officers, civil officials, insurgent agents, sympathizers, and agitators.'³

The army continued its vigorous field work until all prominent insurgent leaders with their commands were captured or surrendered.

After the capture of General Aguinaldo, the command of the insurgent army devolved upon General Miguel Malvar, of Batangas. Prominent Filipino leaders one by one surrendered. General Manuel Tinio, of Nueva Ecija, who later gave the American civil government admirable service as governor of the province of Nueva Ecija and Director of Labor, and Generals Trias, of Cavite, and Cailles, of Laguna, came in with their followers.⁴

The Secretary of War, in his report for 1902, mentioned 'the important bearing which the continuous offer and bestowal of civil rights and local self-government as the result of pacification had upon the attitude of the people toward the insurrection.' The report continued:

It is evident that the insurrection has been brought to an end both by making a war distressing and hopeless on the one hand and by making peace attractive, through immediate and present demon-

¹ *Report of the War Department, 1902*, ix, 196.

² *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 172, 173.

³ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴ Later pages will record the fine service given the government by Generals Tinio and Cailles.

stration of the sincerity of our purpose to give to the people just and free government, on the other . . .

There was at one time in the public press and on the floor of Congress much criticism of the conduct of the army in the Philippines, as being cruel and inhuman. All wars are cruel. This conflict consisted chiefly of guerrilla warfare. It lasted for some three years and a half and extended over thousands of miles of territory. Over 120,000 men were engaged upon our side ¹ and much greater numbers upon the other, and we were fighting against enemies who totally disregarded the laws of civilized warfare, and who were guilty of the most atrocious treachery and inhuman cruelty. It was impossible that some individuals should not be found upon our side who were unnecessarily and unjustifiably cruel. Such instances, however, after five months of searching investigation by a committee of the Senate, who took some three thousand printed pages of testimony, appear to have been comparatively few, and they were in violation of strict orders, obedience to which characterized the conduct of the army as a whole. . . .

Governor Taft, in his testimony under oath before the Philippine Committee of the Senate on the 4th of February last, said:

‘After a good deal of study about the matter (and although I have never been prejudiced in favor of the military branch, for when the civil and military branches are exercising concurrent jurisdiction there is some inevitable friction), I desire to say that it is my deliberate judgment that there never was a war conducted, whether against inferior races or not, in which there was more compassion and more restraint and more generosity, assuming that there was war at all, than there have been in the Philippine Islands.’

Vice-Governor Luke E. Wright [who had seen active service for four years in the Confederate Army] says, in a letter written on the 20th of July last [1901]:

‘General Chaffee, as a matter of course, had no patience with any acts of oppression or cruelty, and whenever his attention has been called to them has at once taken proper steps. The howl against the Army has been made mainly for political purposes, and the cruelties practiced have been largely exaggerated. Of course, numerous instances of this character have occurred. There never was and never will be a war of which the same may not be said; but taken as a whole, and when the character of the warfare here is considered, I think the officers and men of the American Army have been forbearing and humane in their dealings with the natives, and the attempt to create a contrary impression is not only unjust, but, it seems to me, unpatriotic as well.’ ²

¹ This was, of course, the total number of American troops sent to the Islands in the course of the insurrection, not the maximum strength at any given time.

² *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 258-59.

In an address quoted in the *Cablenews*, October 11, 1905, General James F. Smith

From May, 1900, to June 30, 1901, there had been more than a thousand contacts between the American troops and the insurgents, in which the insurgent casualties were:

Killed, 3,854; [ascertained] wounded, 1,193; captured, 6,572; surrendered, 23,095; with a total of 15,693 rifles and nearly 300,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition captured and surrendered. Our casualties during the same period were: Killed, 245; wounded, 490; captured, 118; missing, 20.¹

During 1901, pacification of the Islands progressed at a rate that made it evident in Washington that civil government could be established. Although the army felt that the time had not arrived, by the end of June, as will be seen, executive authority was transferred from the military to a civil governor in the greater part of the Islands. On July 4, Major-General Adna R. Chaffee relieved General MacArthur in command of American troops and as military governor of the territory not yet organized under civil government.²

Although the early period of civil government is dealt with in a separate chapter, it is appropriate to record here the sequence of events dealing with operations of the army in completing the pacification of the Islands.

The United States Army, having reached a maximum strength in the Islands of 2367 officers and 71,727 enlisted men, was reduced to 1111 officers and 42,128 enlisted men, by the latter part of 1901,³ through the return of the United States Volunteer regiments to America for discharge.

said: 'Nevertheless it must be conceded that never in the history of the world was an insurrection more mercifully dealt with. Those who fought openly with arms in the hands were treated as prisoners of war. None were executed by order of the military authorities except after careful trial, and then only when they had been found guilty of inhuman and revolting crimes — generally against the people of their own race. Even while both peoples were locked in conflict, while angry passions might be expected to dominate and rule human action, the military constantly endeavored to gain the confidence of the people, to persuade them against the folly of further resistance and to give to the new sovereign an opportunity to prove its beneficent purposes by deeds and not words.'

Colonel G. I. Younghusband, of the Corps of Guides of the British Indian Army, in his book *The Philippines and Round About* says of the work of the American Army in the Philippine Islands (in the first years of occupation):

'... I feel bound to record the fact that a better behaved, more orderly set of men than these eighteen thousand volunteers could not be found in any captured city ...' (As quoted in the *Manila Times*, October 5, 1905.)

¹ *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 174. ² *Ibid.*, 208. ³ *Ibid.*, 175.

The United States regular army underwent a general reorganization in 1901 with provision for a permanent force of not to exceed 100,000 men. In the act of Congress authorizing the reorganization ¹ provision was made for a body of Filipino troops not to exceed 12,000, which was given the designation of Philippine Scouts, with Filipinos, as non-commissioned officers and other enlisted men, under the command of American officers.² The history and significance of these troops will be discussed in the chapter on 'Public Order.'

In three provinces transferred to civil control, Batangas, Cebu, and Bohol, the disturbances of public order increased to an extent that made it necessary to return them to military control within three months.³ After active field operations which resulted in the surrender of the insurgent leaders, Maxilom in Cebu, and Samson in Bohol, these provinces were returned to civil administration some months later.⁴ In Samar, the garrison of the town of Balangiga was surprised and massacred by bolo men; three officers and forty-three men were killed and eleven wounded.⁵ General Jacob H. Smith conducted operations on that island, and on Leyte, against the outlaw bands under the leadership of General Vicente Lukban, who was captured in February, 1902, and his successor, Guevara, who surrendered the following April. By June of that year the island of Samar was placed under civil administration.⁶

Simultaneously operations were being conducted in five disturbed provinces ⁷ immediately south of Manila in the island of Luzon, and in the large neighboring island of Mindoro, where insurrection persisted under General Miguel

¹ Act of Congress approved February 2, 1901.

² These officers were specially commissioned men chiefly from American non-commissioned officers of the army who had rendered meritorious service in the Philippine Islands.

³ Act No. 173, Philippine Commission, July 17, 1901.

⁴ Cebu was restored to civil authority January 1, 1902, and Bohol, April 1, 1902. (*Report of the War Department, 1902, ix, 186, 187.*)

⁵ September 28, 1901. (*Report of the War Department, 1902, ix, 148, 627 ff.*)

⁶ June 17, 1902. (*Report of the War Department, 1902, ix, 189.*)

⁷ The province of Batangas, and adjacent districts of Cavite, Tayabas and Rizal, and Laguna.

Malvar. Negotiations having failed to bring about the latter's surrender, Major-General Chaffee directed Brigadier-General J. Franklin Bell to enter upon active field operations. These resulted in the surrender of General Malvar¹ and the restoration of order.²

These operations had resulted in the surrender or capture of nearly ten thousand persons, actively engaged in one capacity or another in the insurrection, together with 4186 firearms, many thousand cutting weapons, and a large quantity of ammunition.³

In Mindanao the situation in the Lanao region which had never been brought under control by the Spaniards required extensive field operations, the most important of which was the assault on May 2 on the *cotta*, or fort at Bayan.⁴ All Mindanao, except the north coast provinces of Misamis and Surigao, together with the Sulu Archipelago, continued under purely military government until given a special form of provincial organization as the Moro Province, June 1, 1903,⁵ and thereafter the commanding general of army forces stationed in those regions was also provincial governor until December, 1913.

Public opinion in the United States was divided as to the wisdom of extending sovereignty to the Philippine Islands. The uncertainty in the public mind was manifested in the discussions leading up to the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, February 6, 1899, in the public press, and in the clause in the platform of the Democratic Party in the presidential campaign of 1900 that imperialism was regarded 'as the paramount issue.' These, together with public utterances of

¹ April 16, 1902. (*Report of the War Department*, 1902, ix, 190-92.)

Nine years later, when General Malvar died, the Governor-General of that day entered in his journal:

'Yesterday General Malvar died. He was a very strong and fine Filipino, and his death is a great loss. I am particularly sorry, as I wanted to use him on what I thought to be a very important work.' (Journal, v, 62, October 14, 1911.)

² Civil government was reestablished in Batangas July 4, 1902; the provinces of Mindoro and Laguna had been organized under civil authority in June and July; the other provinces involved had continued under nominal civil control during the military operations in Batangas.

³ *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 257.

⁴ *Report of the War Department*, 1902, ix, 488.

⁵ Act No. 787, Philippine Commission.

partisans during that campaign, encouraged the Filipino leaders to believe that the stronger the demonstration they made of opposition to the United States continuing in the Islands, the greater the certainty of American public opinion insisting upon withdrawal of sovereignty.

Abundant documentary evidence of this was found among captured insurgent documents and records. An interesting document of this class was cited by Secretary of War Elihu Root in his address of October 24, 1900, at Canton, Ohio, as follows:

General Order to the Philippine Army, No. 202

As I have in previous letters directed that all Commanders of Guerrillas are free to attack any detachment or post of the enemy, and continually molest the same: I reiterate the order the more strongly, because its fulfillment just now is very necessary for the advantage of the cause of independence of the Philippines in the approaching Presidential election in the United States of America, which takes place in the early part of the coming month of September¹ of the present year; on account of which, it is imperative that before that day comes, that is to say, during the months of June, July, and August, we give such hard knocks to the Americans that they will resound in our favor in all parts, and set in motion the fall of the Imperialist party, which is trying to enslave us.

Date, 27th of June, 1900.

Signed by the Captain-General,
E. AGUINALDO²

Following that order and before October 15, eighty-nine American officers and men were killed and many more seriously wounded.³ Statistics as to the total casualties on both sides prior and subsequent to the announcement of the result of the presidential election of November, 1900, are not available. General Lawton said of these activities in the United States:

If the so-called anti-imperialists would honestly ascertain the truth on the ground and not in distant America, they, whom I believe to be honest men and misinformed, would be convinced of the error of their statements and conclusions and of the unfortunate effect of their publications here.

¹ General Aguinaldo was undoubtedly misinformed as to the month. The election was held in November.

² Elihu Root: *Military and Colonial Policy of the United States*, 51.

³ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

If I am shot by a Filipino bullet, it might as well come from one of my own men, because I know from observations confirmed by captured prisoners that the continuance of fighting is chiefly due to reports that are sent out from America.¹

The success of the Republican Party in the election in 1900 did not end opposition in Congress to the Philippine policy. In an address delivered by Secretary of War Root at Peoria, Illinois, September 24, 1902, he said:

The principal, indeed almost the sole attack by the representatives of the Democratic party, which occupied the greater part of the last session of Congress, was violent denunciation of the Administration's policy in the Philippines, and of the execution of that policy.²

It was not surprising that the Filipinos, who had never had any experience of freedom of speech, should attach undue importance to these partisan utterances during the election campaign. There is little doubt that the result was a prolongation of the struggle and much suffering and loss in lives and in money both to the Filipinos and to the United States.

Some of the bitterest opponents to American acquisition of the Philippine Islands organized the Anti-Imperialist League, with headquarters in Boston, which raised money and undertook an active campaign, even going so far as to send representatives to the Islands. The men selected for this service were neither trained administrators nor were they disposed to give fair consideration to the difficulties of the situation. They looked for things which they could criticize, and returned extremely bitter reports of the conditions they found, which were published and given wide circulation, sometimes in pamphlet form, by the Anti-Imperialist League. American troops operating in the field against insurgents captured papers which proved that some of this literature had found its way into the hands of the Filipinos and was giving aid and comfort to those bearing arms against the United States.

There is no doubt that these misguided activities, which added to the length and costliness of the insurrection, were

¹ Root: *Military and Colonial Policy of the United States*, 52.

² *Ibid.*, 67.

undertaken with the loftiest motives and by men of the highest standing, and it was a curious anomaly that they and the representatives of the beet-sugar States and the tobacco interests should be found side by side opposing the continuance of American administration in the Philippine Islands — the one on the ground that they were champions of the Philippine people, and the other frankly taking the position that they did not care to have their own interests jeopardized by Philippine competition.

Bishop Charles H. Brent, the lofty-minded and able Episcopal Bishop of the Philippine Islands, who devoted so large a part of his time and energies to the welfare of the Filipinos, stirred by some fulmination of the Anti-Imperialists, wrote on March 29, 1913, to the Secretary of the Anti-Imperialist League, in the following terms:

I have received your appeal to me to support you in a movement which, after more than eleven years of experience in the Philippine Islands, I am convinced is faulty in its conception, unfair in its methods, and disastrous in its consequences.

Civil administration by Americans under direction of military commanders began in the Philippine Islands immediately following the occupation of the city of Manila, August 13, 1898.

Under instructions from Washington the civil and criminal laws of the Spanish administration were continued in force,¹ amended from time to time by order of the Military Governor as appeared necessary to modify provisions that were repugnant to American principles of administrative practice and justice.

As the Washington government did not contemplate permanent nor long-continued occupation of the Philippine Islands, there accompanied the army no civil personnel for these administrative duties. Army officers with business experience proceeded, however, to organize the important functions of police, revenue collection, and other essential administrative activities of government.

For the security of life and property and the maintenance of good order, police service was provided by a provost guard,

¹ Proclamation by the Commanding General, Wesley Merritt, August 14, 1898. See Appendix IV.

with the result that within four days after the occupation of the city, commercial houses and even the banks were open for business with the public.

The custom house and related duties with reference to regulation of commercial shipping and the harbor were organized under military officers as Collector of Customs and Captain of the Port, the navy taking charge of the lighthouse service.

The collection of internal revenue, with the incidental regulation of commerce and industries, was placed under an officer detailed as Collector of Internal Revenue, who proceeded at once to the organization of these services.

The officer detailed to take over from the Spaniards the funds and other valuables in the treasury became the treasurer of the government.

An auditor was provided by the detail of an officer from the pay department, and strict orders issued by the Military Governor, September 5, 1898, requiring that all receipts and expenditures of funds derived from customs, taxes, and other revenues in the Philippine Islands, be reported to that officer, who was required to investigate and report upon expenditures of all public funds.¹

The office of auditor in the Philippine Islands was created by order of the President on May 8, 1899, rules and instructions issued, and April 1, 1900, a civilian appointed by the Secretary of War arrived in Manila and took over the office.² A civilian assistant auditor had taken charge of accounts of customs revenues and expenditures about July 1, 1899.³

The public schools in Manila were reopened within a month after the occupation of the city, and other public schools were reopened as American military occupation extended to other cities and towns. By July 1, 1900, one hundred thousand pupils were attending primary schools established by the army.⁴

The work of organization performed during the military

¹ Report of Colonel E. H. Crowder, Secretary to the Military Governor in the Philippine Islands, 1900, House Document No. 2, 56th Congress, 2d Session, 39 ff. (Hereafter cited, Crowder, 1900.)

² Walter G. Coleman.

³ Crowder, 1900, 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 26.

period in matters of courts, postal service, schools, and health is dealt with in later chapters.

The surrender of Manila brought into the possession of the United States for control not only the municipal affairs of the city, but to a great extent the commerce, shipping, and a large share of the trade revenues of the entire archipelago. As to foreign commerce, immigration, and the persons and properties of foreigners in the city of Manila, the United States stood in place of Spain during the period of occupation until the ratification of the Treaty of Paris. The remainder of the archipelago was in part controlled by Filipino insurgents and in part the machinery of government still remained in the hands of the Spaniards. Spanish sovereignty continued *de jure* throughout the entire archipelago until the exchange of ratifications of the treaty in April, 1899.

During this period of military occupation, between the armistice of August 12, and the ratification of the treaty transferring sovereignty from Spain to the United States, numerous important questions arose bearing upon international relations as well as those incident to the administration of local affairs. Following the transfer of sovereignty, which occurred shortly after the outbreak of the insurrection, the responsibilities of reconstitution of all the functions of government rested upon the Military Governor.¹ To deal with these numerous and complex problems, General Otis, who, in addition to being a Regular Army officer, was also a qualified lawyer, surrounded himself with other talented lawyers whom he found among the regular and volunteer officers of his command, and Filipinos: Colonel Enoch H. Crowder, Majors Richard W. Young and J. Biddle Porter, Captain William E. Birkhimer, and other Americans; Chief Justice Cayetano Arellano, 'a native of the islands, a profound lawyer, and probably the best-posted man living, whether Filipino or Spaniard, in Spanish political colonial

¹ '... The coasting trade was regulated; burdensome taxes imposed by Spanish law were abolished; the schools, which were established immediately upon our occupation of Manila, were extended and improved; a quarantine law was enacted and put in force; the customs and insular revenues were greatly increased, and a rigid high license and early closing law was enforced upon the saloons in the city of Manila.' Also patent and trade-mark laws were adopted similar to those in the United States. (*Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 101.)

history — at least, in so far as the Philippines are concerned';¹ Associate Justices Florentino Torres, Manuel Araullo, and Gregorio Araneta, and other Filipino lawyers of established high professional standing at the time of American occupation.

The necessary branches of civil administration were organized opportunely by orders of the Military Governor,² and the office of secretary of the military government created as chief of staff of civil administration to the Military Governor, to which office Colonel Enoch H. Crowder, Judge Advocate, United States Army, was detailed. He had been one of the signers of the protocol of the surrender of the city of Manila, and thereafter devoted his untiring energies and great talents to the development of the administration of civil affairs.

American and foreign observers have found much to commend in the civil administration of the Philippine Islands by the military authorities. Senator Sergio Osmeña, who at the time of the insurrection was a newspaper man ardently hoping for the ultimate independence of his country and who for a time was within the insurgent lines, made the following comments in regard to this period in an address in the United States in 1925:

... In the midst of war the government necessarily had to be of a military character, in which executive, legislative, and judicial powers were concentrated in one head, although the exercise of his functions could, if he so desired, be delegated to different persons or entities.

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1900, 1, part 4, p. 449.

² By June 30, 1900, the military government had organized the following departments of civil administration:

- '1. Judicial department.
2. The general customs and internal-revenue services, with their several provincial and local dependencies.
3. Postal department.
4. Office of the captain of the port of Manila and its several branches.
5. Treasury department.
6. Auditor's department.
7. Municipal governments.
8. Public instruction.
9. Department of public works, including works of the port of Manila.
10. Office of patents, copyrights, and trade-marks.
11. Mining bureau.
12. Forestry bureau.
13. Department of island prisons.' (Crowder, 1900, 5.)

It is to the credit of the American military commanders of the time that it is possible to say of them that they considered extremely dangerous a government of concentrated powers without the intervention of the people and that they desired to establish, even in the midst of armed resistance, the foundations of civil institutions. Filipinos were called upon to make recommendations regarding a system of municipal government which would be popular and eminently democratic. This system was immediately instituted in the towns occupied by American military forces. In the judicial branch, in which many Filipinos had distinguished themselves during Spanish rule, native judges and magistrates were appointed. The best known native jurist was placed at the head of our highest tribunal of justice. The public schools, the basis of order and progress, also received immediate attention. The Filipinos will never forget the inspiring spectacle of American soldiers leaving their guns and, as emissaries of peace and good will, with book in hand, repairing to the public schools to teach Filipino children the principles of free citizenship. Thus, in the earliest period of the military régime, when it would have been easy to find legalistic grounds for governing the Filipinos by pure force, there was established, as far as possible, the milder sway of civil government. Instead of excluding the natives from the government against which the people were still in open rebellion, the representatives of the United States considered it a duty to enlist their coöperation and to listen to their counsel.¹

Meantime the administration in Washington had not been idle in regard to the civil aspects of their problem. The investigating commission, previously alluded to,² which President McKinley had appointed comprised five members. The chairman was Jacob Gould Schurman, then President of Cornell University, later successively Minister to China and Ambassador to Germany. As colleagues he had, representing the navy, Admiral George Dewey; representing the army, Major-General Elwell S. Otis; and from civil life, Colonel Charles Denby, who had served as United States Minister to China for nearly fifteen years, and the Honorable Dean C. Worcester, at that time a member of the zoölogical department of the University of Michigan, who had twice visited the Islands on expeditions in the interests of science, and had

¹ Address delivered before the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor December 14, 1925. (Quoted from Extension of Remarks of the Honorable Leonidas C. Dyer, of Missouri, in the House of Representatives, January 5, 1926, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1926.)

² *Ante*, 89.

in 1898 published a book about them.¹ Mr. Worcester was the only member of this Commission to be carried on into the next Commission, which later assumed legislative and executive work. He served in the Islands throughout the successive Republican administrations in Washington,² later resigned in 1913, and went into business in the Philippine Islands, and finally died there.³

The Schurman Commission arrived at Manila March 4, 1899, just one month after the beginning of the insurrection. Insurgent troops everywhere faced American lines on the outskirts of the city, and, as the Commission reported, 'the sound of rifle fire was frequently audible at our house. A reign of terror prevailed. Filipinos who had favored Americans feared assassination, and few had the courage to come out openly for us. Fortunately, there were among this number some of the best men of the city.'⁴

The Commission in Manila had its offices in the large building previously occupied by the Spanish *Real Audiencia* and subsequently by the Philippine Supreme Court. Regular daily sessions were held in which visitors were received, witnesses examined, and other business transacted. The investigations were necessarily limited to territory within American lines in the city of Manila and its suburbs. Nevertheless, there appeared before the Commission, representative men who were prominent as bankers, merchants, lawyers, physicians, shipowners, educators, and public officials, Americans, Europeans of various nationalities including Spaniards, also Chinese, as well as Filipinos.⁵

The Commission dealt with all subjects touching the Islands and their people. It also made efforts to conciliate the Filipinos and terminate hostilities. These efforts, however, were subordinated to the military authority, the supremacy of which was constantly recognized.⁶

¹ Dean C. Worcester: *The Philippine Islands and Their People*, New York, 1898.

² In an interview with the Governor-General in September, 1912, President Taft spoke of Commissioner Worcester with appreciation and enthusiasm, saying that he was true blue and always to be relied upon, and that he had made the Congressman who had tried to criticize the Philippine administration look very small. (From recollections of this interview, written September 25, 1912.)

³ April, 1924.

⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 176.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 180-81.

On April 4, the Commission 'issued a proclamation setting forth the principles by which the United States would be guided in exercising the sovereignty which Spain had ceded to us over the Philippine Islands, and assuring the people not only of their rights and privileges, but also of the largest participation in government which might be found compatible with the general welfare and reconcilable with the sovereign rights and obligations of the United States.'¹

The Commission, in its preliminary report of November 2, 1899, stated that the public sentiment of the native population in Manila which 'had been strongly anti-American, underwent a palpable change, and currents of peace and conciliation were set in motion until they found a response in the ranks of the insurgents themselves.' The report continued:

Aguinaldo sent a delegation to Manila to confer with the Commission, and while the commission steadfastly refused to discuss his proposal to suspend hostilities, as being a military matter, assurances were given of the beneficent purposes of the United States and the President's readiness to grant the Philippine peoples as large a measure of home rule and as ample liberties as were consistent with the ends of government, subject only to the recognition of the sovereignty of the United States. . . .

The so-called congress of Aguinaldo voted for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the commission's proclamation; and Mabini, the irreconcilable head of the so-called cabinet, was replaced by Paterno, the former mediator between the Spanish Government and Aguinaldo. But nothing came of negotiations, as Aguinaldo's emissaries were without powers, and merely came and came again for information.²

After conferences between the Commission and representative Filipinos, and communication with the authorities in Washington, a proposed plan of government³ was authorized

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 180.

This proclamation, with the distribution of which the troops were charged outside the city of Manila, met the disapproval and ill-disguised contempt of many of the officers and men in the American forces. Posted in public places in Manila, it was torn down or defaced by insurgent sympathizers. (*Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, pp. 148, 149.)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 180-81.

³ With the authority of President McKinley, Secretary of State Day cabled Commissioner Schurman on May 5, 1899, as follows:

' . . . You are authorized to propose that under the military power of the President,

by the President to consist of an appointed Governor-General with cabinet, an elective advisory council, with independent judiciary of Americans or Filipinos appointed by the President. The President expressed the desire that the Filipinos 'shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order.'

This plan was announced, and each of its features separately discussed with emissaries sent in to Manila by General Aguinaldo. The Filipino emissaries apparently approved the propositions by the Commission, and took up the question as to whether an arrangement could be made by which the Filipino army could be taken over into the United States military service, to which answer was made by one of the Commission that no doubt some of the regiments might be taken into the service of the United States, but that it was not possible the whole army could be so employed. The suggestion was made by another Commissioner that work might be found for the soldiers in building roads or in other public works, which would enable them to support themselves. The Commission requested the emissaries to inform General Aguinaldo of their great desire to discuss personally with him any matters that might conduce to peace, offering to meet him at such suitable place as he might appoint, or to receive him in Manila, assuring him safe-conduct from the military authorities. The emissaries promised consideration of all these matters and agreed to come again in three weeks, but they never returned.¹

While military operations were still in full swing — although the back of the insurrection had been broken — the

pending action of Congress, government of the Philippine Islands shall consist of a Governor-General appointed by the President; cabinet appointed by the Governor-General; a general advisory council elected by the people; the qualifications of electors to be carefully considered and determined; and the governor-general to have absolute veto. Judiciary strong and independent; principal judges appointed by the President. The cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard to fitness. The President earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed, and that the people of the Philippine Islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of local self-government consistent with peace and good order.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission* [Schurman], 1900, I, 9.)

It is to be noted this scheme of government, rejected by the Filipinos in 1899, is essentially that welcomed by them seventeen years later in 1916. See Chapter XXII, 'Government by Filipinos.'

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 9, 10.

Commission returned to Washington, where, on January 31, 1900, they rendered their final report,¹ in which they discussed at length existing conditions, and gave in detail the organization and administration of government under the Spanish régime.

The Commission reported: 'While the people of the Philippine Islands ardently desire a full measure of rights and liberties, they do not, in the opinion of the Commission, generally desire independence.' Further: '... it would be a misrepresentation of facts not to report that ultimate independence — independence after an undefined period of American training — is the aspiration and goal of the intelligent Filipinos who to-day so strenuously oppose the suggestion of independence at the present time.'²

The Commission found that the most insistent demand was for the withdrawal of the friars and the substitution of Filipino clergy in the parishes, and the guaranty of fundamental human rights, but that the demands of the Filipinos for local autonomy were not such as would if granted endanger the authority of the general government.³

The Commission reported that 'it will be safe and desirable, in the opinion of the commission, to extend to the Filipinos larger liberties of self-government than Jefferson approved of for the inhabitants of Louisiana,' and quoted the text of the Act of Congress of 1804, which 'has been the model for all subsequent bills of Territorial organization.'⁴ This with reference to Luzon, the Visayas, and the 'coasts of Mindanao,' assuming that in the Sulu Archipelago and in such portions of Mindanao and Palawan as were still occupied by tribal peoples the government would be conducted through the agency of their sultans, datus, or chiefs.⁵ The Com-

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 4 vols., January 31, 1900, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1900.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 82, 83.

It is believed that the growth of the independence desire has come very largely as a result of propaganda by Filipinos during the last few years of American administration.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 84, 91.

A most interesting discussion of governmental reforms desired and the plan of government proposed by the Filipinos is to be found in this report, I, 43-121.

⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 109.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 109.

mission expressed the belief that the people of the regions first mentioned, 'under suitable property and educational classifications should be permitted to elect at least the members of the lower branch of the Territorial legislature.'¹

The conclusions of the Schurman Commission as to government were as follows:

1. The United States cannot withdraw from the Philippines. We are there and duty binds us to remain. There is no escape from our responsibility to the Filipinos and to mankind for the government of the archipelago and the amelioration of the condition of its inhabitants.

2. The Filipinos are wholly unprepared for independence, and if independence were given to them they could not maintain it.

3. As to Aguinaldo's claim that he was promised independence or that an alliance was made with him, Admiral Dewey makes the following communication to the Commission:

'The statement of Emilio Aguinaldo, under date of September 23, published in the Springfield Republican, so far as it relates to reported conversations with me, or actions of mine, is a tissue of falsehoods. I never, directly or indirectly, promised the Filipinos independence. I never received Aguinaldo with military honors, or recognized or saluted the so-called Filipino flag. I never considered him as an ally, although I did make use of him and the natives to assist me in my operations against the Spaniards.'

4. There being no Philippine nation, but only a collection of different peoples, there is no general public opinion in the archipelago; but the men of property and education, who alone interest themselves in public affairs, in general recognize as indispensable American authority, guidance, and protection.

5. Congress should, at the earliest practicable time, provide for the Philippines the form of government herein recommended or another equally liberal and beneficent.

6. Pending any action on the part of Congress, the Commission recommends that the President put in operation this scheme of civil government in such parts of the archipelago as are at peace.

7. So far as the finances of the Philippines permit, public education should be promptly established, and when established made free to all.

8. The greatest care should be taken in the selection of officials for administration. They should be men of the highest character and fitness, and partisan politics should be entirely separated from the government of the Philippines.²

Even before the publication of this report, President

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 109. ² *Ibid.*, 121.

McKinley had in his message to Congress on December 5, 1899, said:

... As long as the insurrection continues the military arm must necessarily be supreme. But there is no reason why steps should not be taken from time to time to inaugurate governments essentially popular in their form as fast as territory is held and controlled by our troops. To this end I am considering the advisability of the return of the commission, or such of the members thereof as can be secured, to aid the existing authorities and facilitate this work throughout the islands.

Carrying out his policy of transferring authority gradually from military commanders to civil officers, he then appointed a second Commission, which was, in his own words, 'to continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities, subject in all respects to any laws which Congress may hereafter enact.'¹

Beginning with the first day of September, 1900, all legislative power of the government was to be exercised by this Commission, all of whose actions were subject to approval by the Secretary of War, and it was to report to the Secretary of War when conditions in the Islands were such that the central administration could safely be transferred to civil control.

President McKinley used great care in the selection of its members. As President of the Commission he selected the Honorable William H. Taft, of Ohio, a federal judge, who gave up his judicial duties with much reluctance to accept the onerous and trying task that confronted the Commission in the Philippine Islands. Judge Taft's second in command and Vice-Governor was the Honorable Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee, a Democrat, and ex-Confederate soldier who had fought four years in the Civil War and come out at the age of nineteen with the rank of captain in command of a battery, later Attorney-General of Tennessee, a man of great wisdom, sterling character, and vision. He was appointed later by President Roosevelt to be Civil Governor, then became the first Governor-General of the Islands, later still was ap-

¹ For full text of these instructions by President McKinley, April 7, 1900, see Appendix VII.

pointed by President Roosevelt Ambassador to Japan, and subsequently Secretary of War, and, when Colonel Roosevelt was seeking the presidency on the Progressive ticket, ex-Governor-General Wright was asked by him to take the position of Vice-President and to be his running mate on that ticket. The other members of this Commission were the Honorable Dean C. Worcester, who, as mentioned earlier, had been a member of the Schurman Commission, the Honorable Henry Clay Ide, of St. Johnsbury, Vermont, previously Judge in the United States Court in Samoa, where he knew Robert Louis Stevenson; and the Honorable Bernard Moses, professor of the University of California, a writer of note on the history of the Spanish colonies in America.

The Commissioners, with their secretarial staff and families, arrived in Manila June 3, 1900. Military operations in the field were still actively in progress. From a military point of view their advent was unquestionably premature. From a political point of view it was sagacious; and the result soon justified its wisdom. But no one could expect the men responsible for the military conduct of affairs to look at it from the political point of view, and the resentment felt by higher officers of the army at the inevitable impairment of their powers following the transfer of executive control of the Islands to the hands of civilians was entirely natural.¹

The Military Governor after consultation with the Commission and with the President's approval issued a notice of

¹ At a gathering of the Military Order of the Carabao in Washington in January, 1911, President Taft said of his arrival in the Philippines:

'... We landed in the Philippines on the 3d day of June, and we got off at the Anda Monument and went up solemnly and quietly between files of soldiers. The populace that we expected to welcome us was not there, and I cannot describe the coldness of the Army officers and the Army men who received us any better than by saying that it somewhat exceeded the coldness of the populace. But between the Commissioners and Secretary Root there was devised a provision in the order issued by President McKinley, in which we were given the right to make appropriations from the money which was the result of taxation in the Philippines. At first that seemed an unimportant matter, but as time went on and the expenditure of that money became more and more important, the power that was exercised under the order of Mr. McKinley by the Civil Commission became appreciable and the respect for the Commission on the part of the Army and the head of the Army grew as it dawned upon most of them that we held the purse-string. Afterwards we got on better and the Commanders of the Army and Navy and the civil authorities worked, shoulder to shoulder, for the common cause of good government, and the team work was most effective.' (Quoted in the *Cablenews-American*, February 23, 1911.)

amnesty June 21, 1900, with a supplementary public statement July 2, 1900, in accord with instructions to the Commission. More than five thousand persons who had participated in the insurrection presented themselves and took the prescribed oath of allegiance.¹ Among this number were many of the most prominent officials of the former Malolos government.²

The Taft Commission began the exercise of its legislative powers on the first day of September, 1900, with a published statement in part as follows:

.

The policy of the Commission will be to give the fullest opportunity for public consideration and criticism of proposed measures of legislation affecting the people of these islands. . . .

The Commission will hold public meetings at its offices . . . for the consideration of proposed bills, and at such meetings citizens of the Philippines and others interested will be given opportunity to make suggestions and criticisms in respect to the proposed measures if, upon the day previous to the meeting, application be made to the president for assignment of time.

WM. H. TAFT
DEAN C. WORCESTER
LUKE E. WRIGHT
HENRY C. IDE
BERNARD MOSES

A. W. FERGUSSON, *Secretary* ³

The Commission was so 'impressed with the fundamental necessity of promptly opening up lines of land communication' ⁴ and the urgent need in some districts for wage-paid employment until food crops could be harvested, that its first act was the appropriation of \$1,000,000 for the construction and repair of highways and bridges. Almost im-

¹ The required oath was as follows:

'I hereby renounce all allegiance to any and all so-called revolutionary governments in the Philippine Islands and recognize and accept the supreme authority of the United States of America therein; and I do solemnly swear that I will bear true faith and allegiance to that Government; that I will at all times conduct myself as a faithful and law-abiding citizen of said islands, and will not, either directly or indirectly, hold correspondence with or give intelligence to an enemy of the United States, neither will I aid, abet, harbor, or protect such enemy. That I impose upon myself this voluntary obligation without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, so help me God.' (*Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 102.)

² *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 102.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900*, 121.

⁴ Worcester, I, 332.

mediately followed acts for the establishment and maintenance of an honest and efficient civil service; appropriations for public instruction, for the relief of widows and orphans of Filipino civil officials who had been assassinated because of loyalty to American sovereignty, \$1,000,000 for the improvement of the port of Manila, and amounts required for current governmental purposes, including many expenses of the army of occupation. Acts also were passed for the organization of the bureaus of audits, education, forestry, health, mines, statistics, supply, treasury, and weather; for the better administration of justice and public revenues; and for the simplification of regulation of commerce. Organic laws or general charters were enacted for municipal and provincial governments, and most of these governments had accordingly been organized before the executive authority in the insular government was relinquished by the Military Governor July 4, 1901, pursuant to the President's order. In all one hundred and fifty-seven acts were passed by the Commission during the period it exercised legislative powers under military government — September 1, 1900, to July 4, 1901.

Friendly relations were soon developed with representative Filipinos of all classes. An organized movement for peace was undertaken by the formation of the Federal Party¹ in November, 1900, and through its local organizations in the provinces most of the important insurgent leaders still in arms became convinced of the beneficent purposes of the United States government and the futility of continuing armed resistance.

As has been seen,² the army late in 1900 entered upon more vigorous enforcement of 'the laws of war touching the government of occupied places.' The masses of the people less willingly gave supplies and protection to guerrillas. General Aguinaldo was captured and on April 19, 1901, issued his peace proclamation. The army offered a cash bonus for each insurgent firearm brought in; deported a number of prominent irreconcilables to Guam; released large numbers of political prisoners in recognition of the surren-

¹ This is dealt with in detail in Chapter XVIII, 'Philippine Political Parties.'

² *Ante*, 107.

ders of insurgent leaders of especial prominence; and otherwise encouraged the acceptance of American sovereignty.

Congress, by what is known as the Spooner Amendment to an act approved March 2, 1901, authorized the President, who up to that time had acted under his war powers, to proceed with the establishment of civil government.¹ By the following June conditions in Luzon and the Visayas and in the northern part of Mindanao were deemed by the President to be such as to justify the transfer of the executive authority in pacified territory from the military to a civil governor. An order² was issued directing that this transfer be made July 4, 1901.

A year later military government was terminated by the following order:

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON, *July 4, 1902*

The insurrection against the sovereign authority of the United States in the Philippine Archipelago having ended, and provincial civil governments having been established throughout the entire territory of the archipelago not inhabited by Moro tribes, under

¹ For text of the Spooner Amendment see Appendix IX.

² 'WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, *June 21, 1901*

'On and after the 4th day of July, 1901, until it shall be otherwise ordered, the president of the Philippine Commission will exercise the executive authority in all civil affairs in the government of the Philippine Islands heretofore exercised in such affairs by the military governor of the Philippines, and to that end the Hon. William H. Taft, president of the said Commission, is hereby appointed civil governor of the Philippine Islands. Such executive authority will be exercised under and in conformity to the instructions to the Philippine Commissioners dated April 7, 1900, and subject to the approval and control of the Secretary of War of the United States. The municipal and provincial civil governments which have been or shall hereafter be established in said islands, and all persons performing duties appertaining to the offices of civil government in said islands, will in respect of such duties report to the said civil governor.

'The power to appoint civil officers, heretofore vested in the Philippine Commission or in the military governor, will be exercised by the civil governor with the advice and consent of the Commission.

'The military governor of the Philippines is hereby relieved from the performance, on and after the said 4th of July, of the civil duties hereinbefore described, but his authority will continue to be exercised as heretofore in those districts in which insurrection against the authority of the United States continues to exist or in which public order is not sufficiently restored to enable provincial civil governments to be established under the instructions to the Commission dated April 7, 1900.

'By the President:

'ELIHU ROOT, *Secretary of War*'

(*Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 208.)

the instructions of the President to the Philippine Commission, dated April 7, 1900, now ratified and confirmed by the act of Congress approved July 1, 1902, entitled 'An act temporarily to provide for the administration of affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes,' the general commanding the Division of the Philippines is hereby relieved from the further performance of the duties of military governor, and the office of military governor in said archipelago is terminated. The general commanding the Division of the Philippines, and all military officers in authority therein, will continue to observe the direction contained in the aforesaid instructions of the President, that the military forces in the Division of the Philippines shall be at all times subject, under the orders of the military commander, to the call of the civil authorities for the maintenance of law and order and the enforcement of their authority.

By the President:

ELIHU ROOT, *Secretary of War* ¹

On the same day President Roosevelt issued his proclamation of peace and amnesty.²

¹ *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 257.

² For text of this proclamation, see Appendix X.

CHAPTER IV

CIVIL GOVERNMENT

ON July 4, 1901, the Honorable William H. Taft was inaugurated Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands, and the administration of the executive functions of government was taken over by the Civil Commission.

President McKinley's letter of instructions¹ for the Commission is a model of constructive statesmanship, filled with inspiration, and vitally important in its bearing on Philippine history. It was prepared for his signature by Secretary Elihu Root,² one of the ablest statesmen in United States history.

After naming the members of the Commission and designating the Honorable William H. Taft as president, the letter advises the Secretary of War, to whom it is addressed, as follows:

You will instruct the Commission to proceed to the city of Manila, where they will make their principal office. . . . Without

¹ For full text of this document see Appendix VII.

² The following is taken from notes by Governor-General Forbes of an interview with President Taft in the summer of 1912:

'I asked the President what the history of the formation of the Philippine policy was, who it was that had written the instructions by President McKinley to the Taft Commission. He informed me that this was the work of Secretary Root, who wrote the letter of instructions, after which he had read them over to him (Judge Taft) and other members of his Commission, and that some suggestions and modifications were made but that the main work was intact.

'He stated that the control of the purse string was something that had been suggested by some member of the Commission, he thought probably Ide; that the Taft Commission had refused to go out unless they were given some definite powers. . . . I then asked him what was the history of the formation of the organic law; who were the authors of it? To that he replied that Secretary Root and he were the joint authors of it; that he (Judge Taft) was the father of the Assembly part of the bill and that that bill put into definite effect the letter of instructions of President McKinley to the Taft Commission and made it part of the law. He said that by this means it would be found that the Secretary of War had veto over the acts of the Philippine Legislature. He stated that part of the letter of instructions gave the power of veto to the Secretary of War over the legislation by the Commission and later the organic act, by making that letter of instructions an integral part of the law, carried on the veto power of the Secretary of War, and it would thus be found that the Secretary of War could veto any act of the Philippine Legislature.'

See also Appendix XXIV, where this matter is touched upon by ex-President Taft.



THE HONORABLE WILLIAM H. TAFT

hampering them by too specific instructions, they should in general be enjoined, after making themselves familiar with the conditions and needs of the country, to devote their attention in the first instance to the establishment of municipal governments in which the natives of the Islands, both in the cities and in the rural communities, shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control which a careful study of their capacities and observation of the workings of native control show to be consistent with the maintenance of law, order, and loyalty. The next subject in order of importance should be the organization of government in the larger administrative divisions, corresponding to countries, departments, or provinces, in which the common interests of many or several municipalities falling within the same tribal lines, or the same natural geographical limits, may best be subserved by a common administration.

The Commission is given power to pass laws for the raising of revenue, the establishment of an educational system and civil service, organization and establishment of courts, and local governments; also the power to appoint judicial, educational, and civil service officers.

After dealing with the relation between the Commission and the military officers during the continuance of executive control by the army, the letter goes on:

In the distribution of powers among the governments organized by the Commission, the presumption is always to be in favor of the smaller subdivision, so that all the powers which can properly be exercised by the municipal government shall be vested in that government, and all the powers of a more general character which can be exercised by the departmental [provincial] government shall be vested in that government . . . following the example of the distribution of the powers between the States and the National Government of the United States, . . . [retaining for the central government] only such supervision and control over local governments as may be necessary to secure and enforce faithful and efficient administration by local officers.

The letter further provides:

That in all cases the municipal officers who administer the local affairs of the people are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way natives of the Islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties they are to receive the offices in preference to any others. It will be necessary to

fill some offices for the present with Americans, which, after a time, may well be filled by natives of the Islands. As soon as practicable a system for ascertaining the merit and fitness of candidates for civil offices should be put in force. An indispensable qualification for all offices and positions of trust and authority in the Islands must be absolute and unconditional loyalty to the United States, and absolute and unhampered authority and power to remove and punish any officer deviating from that standard must at all times be retained in the hands of the central authority of the islands.

In all the forms of government and administrative provisions which they are authorized to prescribe, the Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government. At the same time the Commission should bear in mind, and the people of the Islands should be made plainly to understand, that there are certain great principles of government which have been made the basis of our governmental system, which we deem essential to the rule of law and the maintenance of individual freedom, and of which they have, unfortunately, been denied the experience possessed by us; that there are also certain practical rules of government which we have found to be essential to the preservation of these great principles of liberty and law, and that these principles and these rules of government must be established and maintained in their islands for the sake of their liberty and happiness, however much they may conflict with the customs or laws of procedure with which they are familiar. It is evident that the most enlightened thought of the Philippine Islands fully appreciates the importance of these principles and rules, and they will inevitably within a short time command universal assent. Upon every division and branch of the Government of the Philippines, therefore, must be imposed these inviolable rules:

That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; that excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted; that no person shall be put twice in jeopardy for the same offense or be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that the right to be secure against unreasonable

searches and seizures shall not be violated; that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime; that no bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed; that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press or of the rights of the people to peaceably assemble and petition the Government for a redress of grievances; that no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever be allowed.¹

The letter goes on to direct that 'the principle of our Government which prohibits the taking of private property without due process of law, shall not be violated; that the welfare of the people of the Islands, which should be a paramount consideration, shall be attained consistently with this rule of property right. . . .'

Religious freedom is assured in the following words:

that no form of religion and no minister of religion shall be forced upon any community or upon any citizen of the Islands; that, upon the other hand, no minister of religion shall be interfered with or molested in following his calling, and that the separation between state and church shall be real, entire, and absolute.

Education and the provision for English as the language of the Islands are dealt with as follows:

It will be the duty of the Commission to promote and extend and, as they find occasion, to improve the system of education already inaugurated by the military authorities. In doing this they should regard as of first importance the extension of a system of primary education which shall be free to all, and which shall tend to fit the people for the duties of citizenship and for the ordinary avocations of a civilized community. This instruction should be given, in the first instance, in every part of the Islands in the language of the

¹ This letter contains the first bill of rights given to the Philippine people. These rights were given legislative sanction by Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, and were repeated and amplified in the Jones Law (Act of Congress, August 29, 1916). The Act of Congress of 1902 added prohibitions against imprisonment for debt, the enactment of any law impairing the obligation of contracts, the granting of any title of nobility, the payment of money out of the treasury except in pursuance of appropriation by law, and against the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus except in cases of rebellion or invasion, and provided that all persons before conviction should be bailable except for capital offenses. The Jones Law confirmed the bill of rights contained in the previous act and added prohibitions against any law of primogeniture, against the appropriation or use of public money or property directly or indirectly for the benefit of any religious entity or its representative as such, and against polygamous or plural marriages.

people.¹ In view of the great number of languages spoken by the different tribes, it is especially important to the prosperity of the Islands that a common medium of communication may be established, and it is obviously desirable that this medium should be the English language. Especial attention should be at once given to affording full opportunity to all the people of the Islands to acquire the use of the English language.

In any changes which the Commission may make in taxation they are charged 'to bear in mind that taxes which tend to penalize or repress industry and enterprise are to be avoided; that provisions for taxation should be simple, so that they may be understood by the people; that they should affect the fewest practicable subjects of taxation which will serve for the general distribution of the burden.'

The Commission is enjoined to maintain with as little interference as possible the main body of the laws which regulate the rights and obligations of the people.

And toward the end of the document is this final injunction:

Upon all officers and employees of the United States, both civil and military, should be impressed a sense of the duty to observe not merely the material but the personal and social rights of the people of the Islands, and to treat them with the same courtesy and respect for their personal dignity which the people of the United States are accustomed to require from each other.

It is believed that a critical analysis of the acts, speeches, and lives of the members of the Philippine Commission will prove that they lived up to the spirit of these instructions at least throughout the first twelve years of American civil government.

Congress by Act approved July 1, 1902, confirmed the action of the President in creating the Philippine Commission and authorizing it to exercise the powers of government as set forth in his letter of instructions. The Act also made provisions for the administration of the affairs of civil government in the Islands.

The powers of the Governor-General were extremely wide, much more so than is usual in democratic countries where the power is derived by delegation from the people. The

¹ The Americans began giving instruction in English almost from the beginning. Very little instruction was given in the native dialects, as even if it had been desired, it would have been difficult owing to the non-existence of textbooks or literature.

Organic Act of Congress of 1902 granted the Governor-General certain powers in addition to those remaining in the Military Governor after the transfer of the legislative power to the Commission September 1, 1900. Except as otherwise provided by Congress, these were the powers of the Spanish Governor-General, the scope of which has been indicated in a decision of the United States Supreme Court as to the legality of an act of the Spanish Governor-General. The court decided that the act was legal unless there was a law or order specially prohibiting it, and held that ‘the existence of power, being usual, will be presumed, and the absence of it, being exceptional, must be shown.’¹

During the period of pacification of the Islands the Philippine government naturally found its Washington home in the War Department. Afterward there were so many questions constantly arising between the army and the civil government that this arrangement persisted. The policy followed is that the Philippine Islands should be governed locally rather than from Washington.

The Islands were most fortunate in the character of the men chosen to hold the position of Secretary of War.² Presi-

¹ Jover vs. The Insular Government of the Philippine Islands and the City of Manila, Cases 112 and 113, October Term, 1910, U.S. Supreme Court.

The decision reads in part as follows:

‘Considering then that the [Spanish] governor general, within the territory committed to his charge, possessed all the powers of his master, the king, save where it was otherwise specially provided, the question whether the grant was within or in excess of the authority of the governor general is to be determined, not by inquiring whether there was a law or order specially confiding to him the disposal of tide land, but by inquiring whether there was a law or order specially prohibiting such a disposal; that is to say, the existence of power, being usual, will be presumed, and the absence of it, being exceptional, must be shown.’

² The complete list of Secretaries of War since 1899, and the Presidents under whom they served, is as follows:

President	Secretary of War	Date appointed
McKinley	Elihu Root	1899
Roosevelt	“ “	1901
“	William H. Taft	1904
“	Luke E. Wright	1908
Taft	Jacob M. Dickinson	1909
“	Henry L. Stimson	1911
Wilson	Lindley M. Garrison	1913
“	Newton D. Baker	1916
Harding	John W. Weeks	1921
Coolidge	“ “ “	1923
“	Dwight F. Davis	1925

dent McKinley's appointee was the Honorable Elihu Root, who was succeeded in President Roosevelt's day by the Honorable William H. Taft, fresh from the governorship of the Philippine Islands, and who in turn was succeeded, unfortunately for only a brief term, by the Honorable Luke E. Wright, who had been Vice-Governor and Governor-General of the Islands.

The need for an office within the War Department with machinery to care for the interests of this far-flung dependency was early recognized. This office was created by order of Secretary Root in December, 1898, as the 'Division of Customs and Insular Affairs,' and was given legislative recognition as the 'Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department' in the Organic Act of the Philippine Islands, passed by Congress July 1, 1902. In the words of Secretary Root,¹ it performed 'with admirable and constantly increasing efficiency the great variety of duties which in other countries would be described as belonging to a colonial office.'²

At the same time an entirely different policy was adopted for Porto Rico, which was given an organic act providing that the various activities of government should be conducted under the direction of the corresponding several departments of the United States government. The confusion which resulted brought it to pass that in 1905 and 1906, Governor Beekman Winthrop, who had seen service in the Philippine Islands previous to his appointment as Governor of Porto Rico, urged that all these supervisory functions be placed in one central bureau in Washington. This was taken up by President Roosevelt, who recommended in his special message to Congress, December 11, 1906:

All the insular governments should be placed in one bureau, either in the Department of War or the Department of State. It is

¹ In his annual report for 1901.

² There has been from time to time agitation for the creation of a special department to care for all dependencies. (See Chapter XXVI for discussion of this matter.) This was urged upon President Harding in a letter from ex-Governor-General Forbes to the Honorable Myron T. Herrick of Ohio, dated December 16, 1920; and Colonel Carmi A. Thompson in his report of December 4, 1926 (Senate Document No. 180, 69th Congress, 2d Session, 5), recommended to President Coolidge a separate office or department for the Philippine Islands.

a mistake not so to arrange our handling of these islands at Washington as to be able to take advantage of the experience gained in one when dealing with the problems that from time to time arise in another.

It was not until 1909 that, under authorization from Congress,¹ President Taft was able to designate a single department to supervise Porto Rico. He named the War Department, and within the War Department this function was assigned to the Bureau of Insular Affairs. The Bureau of Insular Affairs has also been called upon to organize a customs service in Santo Domingo,² to take over supervision of the Haitian customs service, to advise in the organization of customs services in Nicaragua, Liberia, and elsewhere, and to recommend personnel to supervise these services.

A very important part played by the bureau in the development of government in the Philippine Islands has been its active participation in the preparation of important acts of Congress affecting the insular government. The bureau has done noteworthy work in connection with Philippine trade relations with the United States. It contributed constructively and painstakingly to all important Philippine tariff legislation until unlimited free trade between the United States and the Islands was secured in 1913. Since then, it has effectively brought influence to bear to prevent legislation either in Washington or Manila adverse to these favorable trade relations.

To avoid endless confusion and to assure a successful government of the Philippine Islands, it was essential that general laws passed by Congress for the United States should not be made applicable to the Islands. United States laws provide for supervision by other departments than the War Department, or machinery for carrying their provisions into effect which is nonexistent in the Philippine structure of government, as, for example, the federal courts. The Bureau of Insular Affairs acted as the watchdog for the Philippine Islands, and vigilantly guarded against the frequent thought-

¹ Act of July 15, 1909, Section 2.

² An impressive result has been the complete liquidation in nineteen years of the fifty-year \$20,000,000 bond issue of 1908, by the Government of Santo Domingo under the supervision of the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

less as well as occasional insistent efforts of Senators and Congressmen so to word general legislation as to extend its operation to the Philippine Islands. So effective was the work of the bureau in this respect that no Congressional legislation has been enacted carrying clauses that were seriously embarrassing to the Philippine administration. Whenever it seemed desirable, as in the case of the Pure Food Law, the Philippine Commission enacted appropriate legislation, practically identical with that passed by Congress, but adapted to the existing machinery of the Philippine government.

Among other valuable and varied services of the bureau have been the advantageous sale of short-time notes of the Philippine government for the purchase of silver bullion, arrangements for minting the new Philippine currency and engraving and printing the paper currency, internal revenue and postage stamps, advertisement and sale of Philippine government bonds, delicate negotiations for interesting capital in the construction of railroads, the maintenance of a purchasing agency in New York, the securing of new employees, especially teachers, and filling requisitions for experts required for every class of service. The noteworthy absence of political favoritism in the selection of appointees to the Philippine service is due, in large part, to the high standards and efficiency of the bureau. It also advises Congress and the executive departments on matters concerning insular possessions and makes immediately available information in reply to queries from them or from the public.

In all these activities the Islands were fortunate in the brilliant executive capacity of the officer selected as first Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Colonel Clarence R. Edwards, who had served as Chief of Staff to General Lawton in the Philippine Islands. In the organization of the bureau to meet its great responsibilities, he proved himself fertile in expedients and of tireless energy. The importance of his position as the liaison officer between civil administration in the Islands and the military branches of the War Department in Washington was recognized by Congress, which raised the Chief of the Bureau to the rank of brigadier-general.

General Edwards was succeeded in 1912 by Colonel Frank McIntyre, who had served as Assistant Chief since 1905, following distinguished service in both civil and military capacities in Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. In recognition of his efficiency, Congress in 1916 increased his rank to that of major-general, thereby maintaining equality of grade with that of the chiefs of other important bureaus of the War Department. General McIntyre continued the fine work inaugurated by General Edwards and has given devoted service to the interest of the various dependencies coming under the supervision of the bureau during his incumbency.

The twelve years 1901–1913 may properly be characterized as the period of the Taft policy. As Civil Governor of the Islands, then Secretary of War, and finally President of the United States, he was in a position to formulate and direct policies and insure their continuity. Associated with President Taft's name, however, in this period are those of other men whose impress upon world history has been great. President Roosevelt was President for seven and a half years of the time; Secretary Root was Secretary of War and Secretary of State for an important part of the period; and Governor-General Wright, as a member of the Commission, Governor-General — the first to hold that title — and Secretary of War, was a most potent factor. In lesser but still important positions in the Philippine Islands service are to be found the names of other men whose influence on world affairs has been great; Generals Pershing, Bliss, Wood,¹ and Harbord are among those to be noted.

It was, in the words of President Roosevelt, a programme of changing a government of Americans assisted by Filipinos into a government of Filipinos assisted by Americans, or, as expressed by Governor Taft, a policy of making a government which was at the beginning strongly paternal as rapidly as possible less so. Both under the terms of the civil service law, the instructions of President McKinley to the Commission, and the policy impressed upon all members of the government, whether Commissioners or bureau chiefs, Filipinos

¹ In a later period General Wood served the Islands in the higher capacity of Governor-General.

were to be used wherever possible in the government service and were to be appointed in preference to Americans. In practice it worked out along the careful and sane lines of a policy of steady and continued Filipinization of the service from the bottom up, promoting men as a result of proved efficiency over a protracted period of time. While not rapid enough to satisfy the ambitious young Filipino impatient for advancement, wisdom required that in this respect haste be made slowly. Carrying out these ideas, the creation of the Civil Service Bureau was one of the first constructive acts of the Commission, and examinations were given to qualify Filipinos according to the most approved modern practice.

This policy could not be inaugurated without arousing antagonism, particularly among those who came out with the army, some of whom were dependent quite largely upon army patronage for their success. The feeling against the civil government was extremely bitter. An American commercial firm in Manila even went so far in one instance as to insert in a Manila paper¹ a large-sized advertisement consisting of Governor Taft's picture and below it the words: 'This is the cause of our leaving the Philippines.' Despite this declaration, however, the firm continued profitably in business in the Islands.

Governor Taft's greatness of heart, true sympathy with the Filipinos and with their aspirations, his affection for them, and his utter unselfish devotion to the cause of good government assure him a high place in history and in the affections of the Philippine people of the future. In their first use of freedom from censorship the newspapers published by Filipinos nevertheless were prone to be unpleasantly critical.²

¹ *Manila Daily Bulletin*, September 19, 1908.

² The following, translated from *La Vanguardia* of March 9, 1910, is quoted to show the extent to which an ungrateful press could turn against its country's benefactor:

'A politician unknown in his own country before he came to these islands, he found here a stepping-stone to fortune, growing in a marvellous manner in the opinion of his country and of the entire world which he visited on a triumphal tour after a rapid political career gained in the Philippines and winning the Filipinos.

'Now that he finds himself at the pinnacle of power, he shows himself more disposed than ever to keep the fate of eight million people tied to the proud car of imperialism which implacably crushes them in denying them capacity to rule their own

During the administration of Governor Taft the débris and wreckage of what was undesirable in the Spanish system had to be cleared away. There were three lawyers and two university professors in the Commission, but no man trained in business and finance, and the lack of some one with that kind of training was felt.

The Commission, with their keen American minds, their sense of justice and dislike of delay, display, sham, and subterfuge, were turned loose upon a world of mediæval mismanagement and abuse like a group of knight-errants looking for wrongs to right and abuses to end. They found plenty of these and literally worked themselves sick in their efforts to bring into the Islands the blessing of the kind of administration to which Americans have become so accustomed that they take it as a matter of course.

With the preponderance of legal talent it is natural that much of the time of the Commissioners should have been devoted to early revision of the codes and sweeping away of the barriers to prompt and efficient justice. There had often been more injustice than justice secured from the courts by reason of the delays, and often the venality, of the judicial organization and the prosecuting officers. As will be seen in the chapter on 'Justice,'¹ they dealt effectively with these evils. Financial matters were not neglected. Currency, as will be explained elsewhere² at a greater length, was in a condition of chaos, and until it had been entirely reformed no real economic progress could be made. This knotty problem was tackled with conspicuous ability and solved. The assumption of the duty of maintaining order was ably cared for by the establishment of the insular Constabulary; beginnings were made in fighting epidemic diseases, and organizing a comprehensive system of education.

Another one of the 'palpitating' problems, to use an expression common among the Filipinos, was the ownership of the lands which had been acquired by the friars in Spanish

destinies, a denial which carries with it as inevitable consequence the indefinite continuance of the colonial system which in practice puts the honor, the life, and the purse of the native at the discretion of the colonizer who humiliates when he pretends to educate, who exploits when he pretends to preach and who oppresses when he pretends to civilize.'

¹ Chapter VII.

² Chapter VI.

days, and the right of the friars to these lands which was disputed by the tenants, who had almost risen in rebellion against them and were declining to pay the rent demanded by the religious orders. This, together with the attitude and position of the friars, became so acute that it was the occasion of a special trip on the part of Governor Taft to Rome, where he entered into negotiations which, as will be seen, later resulted in the acquisition by the government of these lands.¹

By September 6, 1901, the Commission had organized.² Several bureaus reported directly to the Civil Governor, the remainder to the four departments of Commerce and Police, Finance and Justice, the Interior, and Public Instruction, assigned to Vice-Governor Wright, Commissioner Ide, Commissioner Worcester, and Commissioner Moses, respectively. The grouping of bureaus assigned to these departments was done more with a view to meet the preferences and abilities of the secretary assigned to the head of the department than to make an ideal and logical arrangement. Bureaus formerly created by the military authorities were carried on and, as needs arose, new bureaus and offices created to take on new activities.³

The first legislative act of the Commission was the ap-

¹ See Chapter XVI, 'The Church and the State,' II, 57 ff.

² Act No. 222, Philippine Commission, September 6, 1901.

³ The following is a list of the bureaus, arranged by departments, following the recommendations of the Reorganization Committee (Act No. 1407, Philippine Commission, October 26, 1905, as amended by Act No. 1679, August 10, 1907):

Under the supervision of the Governor-	Bureau of Navigation
General (Civil Governor):	Bureau of Posts
Executive Bureau	Bureau of Port Works
Bureau of Audits	Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey
Bureau of Civil Service	Department of Finance and Justice:
Department of the Interior:	Bureau of Justice
Bureau of Health	Bureau of Customs
Bureau of Lands	Bureau of Internal Revenue
Bureau of Science	Bureau of the Treasury
Bureau of Agriculture	Department of Public Instruction:
Bureau of Forestry	Bureau of Education
Bureau of Quarantine Service	Bureau of Supply
Weather Bureau	Bureau of Prisons
Department of Commerce and Police:	Bureau of Printing
Bureau of Constabulary	Bureau of Cold Storage
Bureau of Public Works	

appropriation of a million dollars for roads, thus giving expression to its belief that this was one of the most important needs of the Islands. The fifth act of the Commission created a Civil Service Board, emphasizing an intention to protect the service from anything approximating a spoils system. New laws came in rapid succession, organizing the different offices, bureaus, and courts, and appropriating moneys for current expenses, and gradually a more orderly and better articulated governmental machine was introduced. A definite programme for the improvement of the important port of Manila was authorized and the significant sum of \$1,000,000 appropriated in October, 1900.¹ Among the other important subjects of legislation during the first year were the regulation of accounts of public revenues and property; the examination of banks; regulation of the sale of intoxicating liquors; the enactment of the municipal and provincial codes as general charters for local and provincial governments; appropriation for the employment of a thousand American school-teachers; provisions generally for the protection and improvement of public health; appropriations of gratuities to the heirs of Filipinos who were killed because of accepting office under American authority; and the enactment of a code of civil procedure to render more expeditious the dispatch of the business of the courts.

Shortly after the arrival of the Commission in 1900, Governor Taft was of the opinion that it was extremely important that there should be grouped together in the form of a political party those who favored the American régime in the Islands. His idea was to create a Filipino medium of attraction and more amicable contact with the insurgent leaders outside, as well as the unreconciled within, American military lines. This was accomplished through the agency of Major-Surgeon Frank J. Bourns, of the staff of the Provost Marshal of Manila, who spoke the Spanish language and had previous acquaintance among prominent Filipinos, having visited the Islands with Professor Dean C. Worcester in years preceding the war with Spain.

There were brought together, among others, a number of Filipinos who had participated in organizing General Agui-

¹ Act No. 22, Philippine Commission, October 15, 1900.

naldo's Malolos government and for various reasons had withdrawn and taken up residence in Manila within American lines. These included Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, and Don Benito Legarda, both of whom later were appointed members of the Philippine Commission; the Honorable Cayetano Arellano, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Felipe Buencamino, afterward first Director of Civil Service; Luis Yangco, a wealthy merchant of Manila; and Arturo Dancel, afterward Governor of the province of Rizal. Others were Florentino Torres, later a Justice of the Supreme Court, and José R. de Luzuriaga, a citizen of the Island of Negros, later appointed to the Commission. Some of these men had lived in foreign countries and most of them had held offices under or otherwise identified themselves with the Spanish government. Generally they were accredited members of the learned professions, or large property owners, or both. Others were men of minor attainments and prominence, adherents of these leaders. These, under the auspices of the American authorities, organized the Federal Party, late in 1900, with a platform in which the principal planks were peace and annexation, the immediate acceptance of American sovereignty in perpetuity, with increasing autonomy leading up to admission as a state.¹

The Americans associated with the army generally viewed with alarm or contempt this 'playing at politics,' but had been able to devise no other method than an appeal to reason capable of effectively overcoming the hostility of Filipino leaders and other influential elements.

Organizers and members of the Federal Party, at no small risk of life and property, personally urged upon the leaders of guerrilla operations, as well as upon influential unreconciled leaders in the cities and regions under control by Americans, termination of hostilities and acceptance of American rule. General Aguinaldo after his capture was, as has been seen, influenced by Chief Justice Cayetano Arellano to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and many other leaders undoubtedly discontinued active opposition because of the efforts of the Federal Party.

Secretary of War Elihu Root reported: 'The organization

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, pp. 161 ff.

of the Federal Party in the Philippines, which has extended throughout the provinces, loyally accepting the sovereignty and asserting the sincerity and beneficent purpose of the American people, has been of the utmost value.’¹

The leaders and many members of the party gained the Commission’s confidence, and recognition was given by appointments to public offices in the several branches of civil administration. Generally these appointees continued faithful to their new allegiance and seriously endeavored to acquit themselves well in the performance of their official duties. Naturally they incurred the stigma of being unpatriotic among the unreconciled Filipinos, and of place seekers among Americans not versed in the realities of practical politics — human psychology. Commissioner Worcester wrote from personal knowledge of the facts as follows:

The organization of the Federal Party caused an outburst of fury among the Insurgent leaders beside which that aroused by the organization of municipal governments was mild.

Throughout the islands the murdering of officers, members, and agents of this party was ordered and even those who sympathized with its ends were to be shot.²

This statement is borne out by citations from captured insurgent documents, notably with reference to the province of Tayabas.³

The insurgent General Cailles, in Laguna Province, a Filipino by birth but of Mexican and East Indian parents, a dramatic figure in Philippine history, distinguished by his energetic control of that region some of which was in the immediate vicinity of American garrisons, dealt with Filipinos who accepted appointment to local offices from the American authorities in the same summary manner with which he dealt with cattle thieves.⁴ It is noteworthy, however, that General Cailles ultimately became, himself, a prominent member of the Federal Party.

There is little evidence that many Filipino leaders really wanted permanent American sovereignty, but there is no doubt that all of them were actively interested in an increasing measure of participation in their government.

¹ *Five Years of the War Department, 1899–1903*, 235.

² Worcester, II, 746.

³ An important province south and east of Manila.

⁴ Worcester, II, 744–46.

Philippine property owners as well as conservative and thoughtful Filipinos were inclined to accept permanent American sovereignty, not only because unwilling to be exposed to continued dangers to life and property under a weak government, but also because the idea of nationalism was new. There was no general demand for independence among the rank and file of the populace. Irreconcilable Filipinos kept up the cry of independence, which was picked up by the leaders of the bandits, and the criminal elements were only too glad to take advantage of an opportunity to cloak their depredations under the high name of struggling for independence. These elements were in sufficient force in some regions to make it actually dangerous to avow sympathy with the objects of the Federal Party. In this they received direct encouragement from the activities of the Anti-Imperialist League in Boston.

The Civil Governor, as Governor Taft was called, had the power of appointment and his appointees very generally aligned themselves with the Federal Party and, conversely, appointments during his incumbency were generally made from members of the party. Governor Taft's wisdom in this is open to question. As the platform of the Federal Party asked for permanence of American rule, the political opponents of this party were certain to take up the increasingly popular slogan of nationalism when the time came to ask for votes. When this time finally arrived in 1907, the result of the first general elections proved conclusively that nationalism was the popular cry, and all parties found that if they were to maintain their numbers it was necessary to include it in their platforms.¹ No general elections were held during Governor Taft's incumbency.

The request of another group of prominent Filipinos for the sanction of the American administration to the formation of a second party, to be known as the *Partido Democrata*, with a platform calling for progressive extension of autonomy with ultimate consideration of independence, was disapproved, as will be set forth in the chapter dealing with the growth of political parties in the Islands.²

When Vice-Governor Luke E. Wright succeeded to the

¹ See Chapter XVIII, 'Philippine Political Parties.'

² *Ibid.*

Governor-Generalship, he had had time to familiarize himself with conditions and no more admirable choice could have been made for the position. With his fairness, impartiality, and vision he endeared himself especially to the Americans in the Islands and was the author of some very pithy epigrams which should find their way permanently into Philippine history. In his trips around the Islands he preached practical common sense. Apropos of Governor Taft's slogan of 'the Philippines for the Filipinos,' Governor-General Wright with his usual directness hit straight at the heart of the whole situation when he said that, while he believed in the policy of the Philippines for the Filipinos, 'our job just now is to make the Philippines worth something to the Filipinos.' On another occasion he said, 'You have discovered the great truth that a government to be successful must be supported by the people, and not the people supported by the government.'

One of the Spanish-owned newspapers, usually critical of Americans, especially as orators, took occasion to publish the following eulogy:

We know very few orators who excel Mr. Wright in depth, clearness, and connectedness of ideas, in propriety of language, in the marvellous art of hinging his thoughts together in such a way that from any point of view they shine splendidly and in all their roundness. Never like last night did he use his synthetic power to greater advantage, depicting in ten minutes a picture so grand and full of colors and figures; a complete program of government worthy of his elevated views, and bound as a whole to the aspirations of the country.¹

Governor-General Wright continued Governor Taft's policies with one very important modification. He recognized in his appointments of Filipinos men of both political parties, not confining himself to those who professed to belong to the Federal Party, at that time pledged to favor the continuance of American rule. Governor-General Wright sought in every instance the best man he could find for each place regardless of party.

This period was notable for the ending of the guerrilla warfare which followed the insurrection, and of brigandage,

¹ *El Mercantil*, quoted in the *Cablenews*, March 24, 1905.

and for a complete reorganization under which the government took on form, cohesion, and efficiency. At this time also an internal revenue law and a law imposing a land tax were passed.

The following two administrations were periods of steady progress marked by important improvements, such as the further extension of autonomy to the provinces, establishment of the metric system and reform of the weights and measures, which had been in a condition prolific of abuse, and most noteworthy of all — the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly. At this time also a contract was entered into with a representative of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association which resulted in the beginning of an important movement of laborers to Hawaii, a subject later dealt with at length.¹

In 1909 an event of transcendent importance occurred, namely, the passage of the so-called Payne Bill granting practically free trade between the United States and the Philippine Islands. The effect of this upon industry was magical and the resulting stimulus to business and the continuing annual increases to the revenues made the work of the administrators much easier.

By the wise and patient work of the earlier Governors and members of the Commission the foundations of progress had been laid and the time was at last ripe for the structure of American achievement to rear its first beginnings above the ground. Many observers seeing this later progress were inclined to forget that most of the credit for the structure they saw growing up was due to the painstaking wisdom of the early pioneers in American government in the Islands. They saw the roads being rapidly pushed out from the provincial ports and capitals to the producing areas that lay behind them in the provinces throughout the archipelago. They saw hundreds of permanent concrete bridges and culverts erected in all directions, and buildings of concrete for provincial administration purposes, hospitals, schools, and municipal markets erected throughout the length and breadth of the land. They saw aids to navigation constructed, buoys set out and lighthouses built, rivers dredged and

¹ See Chapter XII, 'Various Governmental Activities,' *post*, 519-22.

wharves constructed; telegraphs and telephones extended, systematized, and organized; artesian wells by the hundred rapidly being made available in the most populous centres, bringing health and strength to the people who had before become diseased and fever-ridden from drinking polluted waters; and finally they knew a comprehensive system of irrigation was being studied and the first beginnings of construction undertaken.

Through all this period it is not to be assumed that the path of American administrators in the Islands had been an easy one. It was beset with difficulties. The overworked members of the Commission one by one fell sick, exhausted by their labors. The bitter hostility to the new policy of attraction felt by men who had come out with the army, has already been commented upon. It continued and was echoed, as has been seen, by the more virulent Filipino press.¹ And in the United States the leaders of the Democratic Party did not possess the wisdom and vision to let this great altruistic experiment remain outside the domain of politics. Misled in part by the campaign of misrepresentation and detraction systematically conducted by the Anti-Imperialist League in Boston,² they seized upon the few authentic instances of maladministration which they could find and the errors committed by the sorely pressed American Commissioners, dwelt upon these and enlarged them, and, especially at the time of the presidential campaign, launched on the floor of Congress, from the platforms of public speakers, and in the press, generally bitter and sometimes extremely unjust denunciations of the work being done on behalf of humanity and civilization by their fellow-countrymen in the Orient.

Men who should have been more careful were misled into making attacks which sometimes served as a boomerang and came back to trouble those who had made them. For example, the Honorable Alton B. Parker, Democratic candidate for President of the United States running against Presi-

¹ This will be developed at greater length in Chapter XVII, 'Attitude of Filipinos.'

² Secretary Taft was quoted in a newspaper, as saying in Washington, December, 1907, of an active anti-imperialist he saw in Manila at the time he visited the Islands to open the Assembly: 'He was present chiefly and solely for the purpose of encouraging the members of the Inmediatista party to take those steps which would prove to be most embarrassing to the Government.'

dent Roosevelt, blundered into making virulent charges against the American Philippine government,¹ in the course of which he quoted a 'student of conditions' in the Islands as follows:

'Of the character of many in office too little cannot be said. At the best they have been inefficient, at the worst dishonest, corrupt and despotic. The Islands seem to have succeeded in getting the very dregs of our people.'

Judge Parker himself continued:

The situation in the Philippines to-day is so terrible that it passes the comprehension of our people at home.²

Governor-General Wright, himself a Democrat, cabled a complete answer in rebuttal, ending with the words:

All these statements are the veriest nonsense without a scintilla of fact to support them. . . . Judge Parker has evidently been grossly deceived.

President Roosevelt remarked to a visitor that Wright's answer³ had been worth a million votes to him.

¹ On October 15, 1904.

² Judge Parker said in detail: 'Agriculturally the country is for the time ruined. Land is going out of cultivation. The population is ill-fed and in some places unable to get work. The country is over-burdened with taxation. Disease is prevalent, the farm animals dead, the towns in many places in ruins, whole districts in the hands of ladrones, the price of products poor and unremunerative. Public opinion has no free expression. Newspapers are bought up and are browbeaten into silence. Men of influence who criticize the Commission are ostracized. The plays produced in the theatre are censored. There is not an organ of expression of the popular voice that is not controlled. In private life men are subject to a complete, far-reaching, thorough system of espionage. Detectives appear in the guise of servants and the oath of a single one is enough to destroy a man's reputation, property, liberty or even life itself.' (From copies of War Department cables.)

³ Governor-General Wright answered in part, October 23, 1904:

'First: Statement that any considerable number of officials have proven corrupt, inefficient or despotic does grave injustice to a body of hard-working, self-respecting Americans whose character and service will compare favorably with those of employees of the Federal or State governments. . . .

'Second: Nothing warranting the statement that towns are in ruins, lands are going out of cultivation, people ill-fed, unable to get work, and country ruined agriculturally. Towns in same state as before the insurrection, save few burned by insurgents which have been rebuilt and reoccupied. Towns generally populated as before, sanitary conditions greatly improved. Demand for labor generally equals and in some cases exceeds supply and at increased wages. . . .

'Third: Taxation is not oppressive. Customs duties average about 18 per cent ad

In compliance with President McKinley's instructions to give autonomy in the cities and rural communities, the earlier organizations set up by Americans were those of the municipalities. A municipality comprises not only one city or other principal centre of population, but also whatever villages, hamlets, and scattered habitations occur within a given geographical district which corresponds in area to a township or even a county in the United States. These municipalities are divided into districts, in charge of each of which is a member of the municipal council. These districts in turn are subdivided into *barrios*, in charge of each of which is a lieutenant, or *teniente* as he is termed in Spanish, *pangulo* in Philippine dialects. He is in a way the successor of the *cabeza de barangay*, whom the Spanish system had taken over from the organization found on their occupation of the Islands. This local chief or headman is the first point of contact of the people with the government and it is to him they appeal in case of emergency as to public order, or, if they wish, in any other matter.¹

valorem as compared with 25 per cent under Spanish régime. Industrial taxes also less than Spanish. Receipts honestly applied for the benefit of the people.

'Fourth: It is not true that there are whole districts in the hands of ladrones. . . .'

Governor-General Wright characterized as 'wholly unsupportable by facts' Judge Parker's charges that newspapers were bought up or browbeaten into silence, that men of influence criticizing the Commission were ostracized, and that there was no free expression of the popular mind. He said: 'The right of free expression of opinion through press or otherwise is recognized here as in the United States and practised with the same freedom, the only limitation being responsibility for libellous and seditious utterances, the law relative to these being drawn from Federal and State statutes of the Union. No newspaper has been subsidized or browbeaten nor has any one been ostracized for criticizing the Commission. The latter have frequently been the subject both of criticism and attack by newspapers and individuals. Political questions, including immediate independence, are every day discussed freely and without interference. Theatrical plays are not censored. The only possible excuse for such a statement is that something over a year ago a crack-brained playwright produced a play in Tagalog, full of insurrectionary utterances and culminating in the tearing down and stamping upon the American flag upon the stage, for which he and some of his fellow-actors were prosecuted and convicted. It is equally untrue that men in private life are subjected to espionage or that detectives in the guise of servants are employed. . . .' Then followed the conclusion quoted above in the text. (From copies of War Department cables.)

¹ The term *barrio* is the Spanish word meaning a territorial sub-division of a city or large town, and as such is the equivalent of the English 'ward.' In the Philippine Islands *barrio* is used to indicate a hamlet or village. The *barrio* in which the seat of municipal government is located is termed the *población*. One or more *barrios* constitute a municipal councillor's district. Each *barrio* is under the immediate charge

Already, even in the days of insurrection while military operations were in full swing, a start had been made in organizing municipal governments. The first organization under American control had been at Baliuag, Bulacan, in May, 1899, by order of General Lawton, thus putting into effect the spirit of the President's instructions to the Civil Commission. In this election the general plan of municipal organization which had been in force under the Spanish government was followed except that in the selection of officers a popular election was held in the main plaza of the town. The names of three candidates having been offered, selection was determined by the voters grouping themselves in different parts of the plaza about the respective candidates, and the candidate having the largest group was thereupon declared to be the president of the town.¹ The man elected later signalized his appreciation of the honor by becoming a colonel of a regiment of insurrectos while still performing the duties of president. For this exploit he sojourned in jail until the time of the amnesty, when he with many other political prisoners secured his release.

In August, 1899, the Military Governor promulgated in

of a lieutenant appointed by the councillor. (This organization is that adopted by the Philippine Commission in the Municipal Code of 1901, which has been continued in effect by the Legislature.) The use of the *barrio* form in the organization of government of rural communities doubtless was an adaptation of the *barangay*, which was the customary local government of the Filipinos at the time of the occupation of the Islands by the Spaniards. Under Spanish administration the headman, or *cabeza de barangay*, was held responsible for the payment of taxes by all within his jurisdiction and the consequent exactions had been so burdensome that the institution became extremely unpopular and, in accordance with the recommendations of a board, of which Chief Justice Arellano was chairman, was not continued in the reorganization of municipal government in 1900 by the Military Governor. However, the lieutenant of *barrio*, like the *cabeza de barangay* originally, must enjoy the respect of the people as a man of experience and knowledge of their customs and of the laws and ordinances of most direct and frequent interest to the masses. This 'headman,' or *pangulo*, as he is termed in many of the dialects, is the point of contact, the connecting link, between organized government and people. He communicates the laws and orders of government to the people and they look to him in the first instance for advice and protection in all matters beyond the power or knowledge of the family council. He is the first responsible authority in the maintenance of public order, but is not required to collect taxes as was the case under the Spanish régime.

¹ It was a curious coincidence that one of the Americans who assisted in conducting this election was no other than Frank W. Carpenter, then secretary to General Lawton, who later as Executive Secretary had much to do with the supervision of the administration of municipal governments throughout the archipelago.

general orders ¹ a plan of municipal organization somewhat similar to that which the distinguished Spanish statesman and patriot, Maura, put in effect in the Philippine Islands shortly before the end of Spanish sovereignty. Under this plan the military authorities organized municipal government in the towns along the railway northward from Manila and in the vicinity of Manila in the provinces of Cavite and Laguna, and, as fast as military stations were established, throughout the provinces.

In January, 1900, the Military Governor appointed a board comprising Chief Justice Arellano of the Philippine Supreme Court as chairman, and Attorney-General Torres and three American officers as members, to formulate a plan of municipal government which should be 'as liberal in character as existing conditions permit.' ² The plan of government recommended by the board was promulgated by the Military Governor in March,³ and all municipalities occupied as military stations and others, aggregating perhaps two-fifths of the total number of organized local governments under the Spanish régime, were reorganized under this plan, which placed the administration of local government in the hands of elective officials.⁴

In January, 1901, the Commission passed the Municipal Code,⁵ which served as a charter or general organic act for all local governments in the Philippine Islands except those regions inhabited chiefly by tribal peoples and Mohammedans, and the cities of Manila and Baguio, for which special charters were provided.

Under the Municipal Code, the chief executive officer, termed 'municipal president,' and the members of the municipal council, or legislative branch of government, were elected

¹ General Orders No. 43, Office of the United States Military Governor in the Philippine Islands, August 8, 1899.

² General Orders No. 18, Office of the United States Military Governor in the Philippine Islands, January 29, 1900.

³ General Orders No. 40, Office of the United States Military Governor in the Philippine Islands, March 29, 1900.

⁴ *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 101.

⁵ Act No. 82, Philippine Commission, January 31, 1901.

This was speedily put into effect in all municipalities (*pueblos*) which had been organized by the Spaniards.

by popular vote.¹ Officeholders have been limited to Filipinos and American citizens. While rarely has an American been elected municipal president, it has sometimes occurred in those municipalities where Americans of local influence had taken up residence that they have been elected to the municipal council.

The Code defined the powers of the municipal council and of its president, similar in many respects to those exercised by town and city governments in the United States, and vested power to remove municipal officials at first in the Commission and later in the Governor-General.

Provision was made for municipal revenues, and the collection of these and preparation of municipal budgets were left in the hands of the municipal authorities. Subsequently, however, it became necessary to provide for the intervention and approval of the provincial authorities.²

¹ The suffrage was given to male persons twenty-three years of age who had had a legal residence in the municipality for a period of six months immediately preceding the election, and who were not citizens or subjects of any foreign power, and who were comprised within one of the three classes: (a) those who prior to August 13, 1898 (date of American occupation of the City of Manila), held certain municipal offices; (b) those who owned real property to the value of two hundred and fifty dollars or who annually paid fifteen dollars or more of the established taxes; and (c) those who spoke, read, or wrote English or Spanish. There were sundry disqualifications, including persons delinquent in payment of taxes; those who had been deprived of the right to vote by sentence of court since August 13, 1898; those who had violated the oath of allegiance to the United States, or, on the first day of April, 1901, or thereafter, should be in arms in the Philippine Islands against the authority or sovereignty of the United States, or who had made or received contribution of money or other valuable thing in aid of any person or organization against the authority or sovereignty of the United States; and there were the usual specific disqualifications of insane and feeble-minded persons.

² Act No. 676, Philippine Commission, March 12, 1903; Act No. 699, Philippine Commission, March 23, 1903.

The municipal treasurer, at first an appointee of the municipal president, was later made the appointee and deputy of the provincial treasurer and included in the classified civil service. (Act No. 999, Philippine Commission, November 20, 1903.) In the early days all provincial treasurers were Americans and municipal treasurers Filipinos.

A fixed proportion of receipts from the tax on real property, the poll tax, termed *cedula*, market and slaughter house charges, taxes on occupations, and permits of various kinds, similar in general to the sources of municipal revenues in the United States, pertained to the municipalities. Taxes upon fisheries belonged exclusively to the municipal treasury.

Municipal revenues were first collected and immediately covered into the municipal treasuries. It was soon found, in order to assure more efficient supervision, that it was wiser to have the municipal treasurer collect municipal revenues, together

All municipal ordinances were subject to review by provincial boards, but there was a right of appeal to the Governor-General. These appeals were reviewed by the Executive Bureau, through whose agency the executive work of the Governor-General was carried out. This bureau called the attention of the proper officers to those ordinances which were contrary to law or beyond municipal jurisdiction.¹ Also, it was found that the municipalities, left to their own discretion, would almost immediately establish a salary list that would take up the whole of the revenues of the city, leaving nothing for public works and little for the purchase of supplies and material. It eventually became necessary to fix by law ² a percentage of revenues which could not be exceeded for salaries and wages in each class of municipality.³ Through the provincial boards the Executive Bureau investigated complaints against municipal officers and justices of the peace, and the officers complained of were given hearings, and suitable disciplinary action taken toward the guilty.⁴ The necessity for this work is well shown by the fact that

with other public revenues, under the supervision of the provincial treasurer and audited by a travelling deputy who made periodical visits. There is no question that the situation required the most rigid audit, and this duty was assigned to the Insular Auditor in 1905.

In this connection the following entry in the journal of the Governor-General is of interest:

'In this province [Bohol] there are a very large number of municipal treasurers in jail. Likely young lads of good family who haven't wakened up to the fact that a new order of things is in effect and that the fingers must be kept out of the till. Two young and attractive girls came to see me, both graduates of the schools here and excellent in their command of English, and both pleading for the pardon of erring husbands. I wanted to grant their petitions but Judge Wislezenus, whom I saw later, told me that in Bohol the exactions were greater than the collections and local officials made it a point to invent taxes and collect them for their own pockets, as, for example, any man wishing to leave his town had to get a permit for which he paid so much. The people of this island are hopelessly ignorant and peaceable and therefore easily deceived.' (Journal, v, 24, September 1, 1911.)

¹ Under Act No. 222, Philippine Commission, September 6, 1901.

² Act No. 1691, Philippine Commission, August 20, 1907.

³ The municipalities were at first classified on the basis of population, later (Act No. 3261, Philippine Legislature, December 7, 1925) on that of average annual revenues.

⁴ Under Act No. 222, Philippine Commission, September 6, 1901.

The frequency with which the Governor-General was called upon to act is illustrated by two paragraphs from the journal of the Acting Governor-General in June and July, 1909:

'... Carpenter [Executive Secretary] has the first right of way with the principal

during the years 1903 to 1913 no less than 2315 ¹ cases were tried, and in 1490 ² cases penalties ³ inflicted ranging from reprimands through fines and suspensions to actual dismissal from service and disqualification from holding public office.⁴ This supervision prevented much undue infringement of personal liberties, as the municipal council not infrequently undertook to regulate matters of personal behavior in a manner not consonant with American ideas of freedom of the individual.⁵

The municipalities varied in number, as they were from time to time annexed to each other or subdivided, during the first twenty-five years of American administration. The great distances which often separated populous centres in one municipality, the difficulty of communication owing to lack of roads, and rivalries of local factions each desirous of holding the highest office, resulted in much pressure being exerted on the central government to divide municipalities into lesser

problems of administration — mostly measures of punishment of local officials . . .’ (Journal, III, 176, June 22, 1909.)

‘I have the power to remove any officer and disqualify him from holding any office, and every day I either suspend or remove and often disqualify several.’ (Journal, III, 240, July 31, 1909.)

¹ Statistics for 1903–1911 are from *Handbook on the Executive Departments of the Government of the Philippine Islands*, 14, Manila, 1912; for 1912 from *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 51; for 1913 from *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 84.

² *Ibid.*

³ Provided by Act No. 83, Philippine Commission, February 6, 1901, as amended.

⁴ To give some idea of the magnitude of this task, it should be recalled that there were between 800 and 1000 municipalities ranging from cities with many thousand inhabitants, as Manila with a population of 250,000, to municipalities of fourth class with slender population. Besides these there were numerous so-called *rancherías*, little hamlets in the mountains occupied by a dozen or two families of tribal peoples, which were dealt with on an entirely different basis from the municipalities in the civilized area.

⁵ In the original law the supervision of municipalities came under the Commission, but soon passed under the Governor-General, through the Executive Secretary and the provincial governor so far as administrative matters were concerned, and through the Insular Auditor and the provincial treasurer so far as accounting matters were concerned. The transfer of duties from the Governor-General to the Secretary of the Interior was made in 1916, and was one of the measures assented to by Governor-General Harrison (who had the power of veto) and designed to lessen the degree of control exercised by the American Governor-General and to place his function in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior, who under the new law (Act No. 2666, Philippine Legislature, November 18, 1916) had to be a citizen of the Philippine Islands.

units, each with its complete municipal organization. The extent to which this was carried out is indicated by the increase of municipalities from a total of 985 ¹ at the time of the American arrival to 1035 ² in 1903. It was soon found that many municipalities had been created which were without adequate resources for maintenance of government, with the result that, after investigation as to the facts in each case by a committee of Filipinos, adjacent municipalities were consolidated to the extent of reducing the total number from 1035 to 597.³ To avoid consolidation of municipalities covering very extensive districts economies were effected by consolidation of the salaried offices of municipal treasurer and municipal secretary, and in many instances, rather than see their towns consolidated and lose their identity by merger, the municipal presidents waived in greatest part or entirely their salaries for some years.

The early municipal organizations gave opportunity for many exhibitions of personal sacrifice of life and property on the part of the municipal presidents who undertook the civil organization of their towns while lawlessness still prevailed. It has been related how the first president of Baliuag felt constrained to accept a military appointment in the insurgent army, and other instances came to light in which the municipal officials serving under American appointment also held military or civil appointments from the insurgents. Some of these served both sides, and even went so far as to give funds and supplies to bands of outlaws after these bands had abandoned all pretense of fighting for the independence of their country and were engaged solely in robbery and pillage. The presidents that refused, notably those of Los Baños, in Laguna, and Marilao, in Bulacan, were killed, and in other towns officials were killed, mutilated, and permanently crippled or similar cruelties were practiced upon their families. Others had their property destroyed.

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 19.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 52.

³ *Ibid.*

Owing in part to increased wealth and increase and redistribution of population by migration from the older coast towns to form new settlements at more or less remote points, and in part to the reconstitution of former local governments, the number of municipalities had increased by 1927 to 1173. (*Report of the Auditor*, 1926, 315.)

Occasional instances arose indicative of a fine spirit of service and sacrifice by municipal officials. Noteworthy among these is the record of the little town of San Francisco in the small group known as the Camote¹ Islands, near Cebu. The president of this town and other officials voluntarily donated their salaries to the construction of a gravity water system, and, furthermore, the work of their hands towards this construction.²

Among the records to reach the Governor-General was the story of the municipal president of the town of Jaro in the province of Leyte, who, upon assuming office, found the municipal treasury, 'the larder of the people,' empty owing to the then low price of hemp and the effects of a previous typhoon, and that his people were facing a condition of hard times. Instead of taking the usual position that taxes were excessive, he reached the conclusion that they could be paid if the people were shown how to plant to advantage and to work intelligently. Feeling that it was his duty to act as their counsellor and to treat them in a kindly, paternal way, he spent most of his time going from farm to farm throughout the municipality, which was largely agricultural, returning to his office but once a week. He instituted public meetings, had all the work animals listed, explained to the people that there must be a plough for every work animal, brought about the passage of vagrancy ordinances, applied the gambling laws to discourage idleness, and formed his people into ploughing groups. He encouraged them to plant corn so that there would be an abundance of food in case the hemp crop failed, and soon had his people methodically ploughing and planting. The result was amazing. His people had provisions, fared better than before, were better satisfied, paid their taxes more readily, and found that even so the burden was less than

¹ *Camote* is the Spanish word for sweet potato.

² The following is taken from the *Cablenews-American*, August 2, 1912:

'Yet without any hope of seeing their names in the papers or of getting their busts in the hall of fame the officials of San Francisco of the Sweet-potato islands voluntarily reduced their own salaries in order to devote the saving of the municipality to the construction of a gravity water system. More than that they worked with their own hands in taking care of the materials and constructing the pipe line.

'Seriously here is an example of public-spiritedness from the bosque that is worthy of a place among the best the world has to show.'

it had been before. In addition, he macadamized the public roads, put in permanent concrete culverts over all waterways and at street crossings, obtained money enough to build a new school, and a market partly of concrete. This active president, by name, Francisco Lastrilla, believed in the gospel of work both for himself and others.

Mention has been made of the fact that exception was made to the provisions of the Municipal Code in the cases of the cities of Manila and Baguio and municipalities in territory inhabited chiefly by tribal peoples or Mohammedans. In these latter, the political organization is a modified and more simple form.¹

Under the Spanish rule Manila had had a special organization known as an *ayuntamiento*, or 'city corporation.' Following the surrender of the city by the Spaniards, the American military authorities accepted the existing organization as they found it, substituting selected Americans for the supervisory positions and department chiefs. In June, 1901, General George W. Davis, Provost Marshal of Manila, concluded the preparation of a draft of a proposed charter² for the city of Manila, which, after due consideration, including public hearings before the Philippine Commission, was enacted into law.³

Under this charter the executive and legislative functions were vested in a board consisting of the mayor as president, two members, and a secretary, who had the supervision of the heads of departments of the city government. In order to give Filipinos participation, the charter provided an advisory board of eleven members, one representative for each of the districts or wards into which the city was divided following the subdivisions existing under Spanish administration. The government also adopted the practice of appoint-

¹ These local governments among the tribal peoples in northern Luzon are termed 'townships'; in Mindanao and Sulu they are termed 'municipal districts.' These special municipal organizations are elastic in form. Their officials may be appointed or elected without the formalities of the general election law until the training of the people warrants election according to the practice of a regularly constituted municipality. (Act No. 1397, Philippine Commission, September 14, 1905, and Act No. 2408, Philippine Commission, July 23, 1914.)

² *Report of the War Department*, 1901, I, part 4, pp. 470 ff.; and *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 28.

³ Act No. 183, Philippine Commission, July 31, 1901, effective August 7, 1901.

ing a Filipino to the position of president of the municipal board, or mayor, who retained the Spanish title of *alcalde*. City ordinances enacted by the municipal board were subject to review by the Governor-General, under whose executive control the city government was placed.¹

The charter was revised by the Legislature in 1916,² the mayor continuing to be an appointive officer but relieved from his duties as president of the municipal board. The board was reorganized to consist of ten elective members and the advisory council discontinued. Later still the supervision of the city government was transferred from the Governor-General to the Secretary of the Interior.

The city of Baguio under its special charter has a mayor who is appointed by the Governor-General and a city council whose members are in part elected by popular vote and in part appointed by the Governor-General.

¹ Owing in part to the very large proportion of non-taxable real properties, the assessed value of which is given below, in Manila belonging to the insular government and religious, charitable, and educational institutions, the revenues of the city were inadequate for the requirements of modern urban services, especially street drainage and paving and public health work, fire and police protection, public schools, etc. It was found necessary to augment the municipal revenues by an allotment from the insular treasury equal to thirty per cent of the municipal budget for expenses which were construed to include also public works. Appropriations were proposed by the municipal board and enacted by the Commission.

The allotment from the insular treasury to the city was abolished in 1925.

ASSESSED VALUE OF REAL ESTATE, CITY OF MANILA

[Sources: Report of the Philippine Commission, 1902, part 1, p. 135; Report of the Auditor, 1913, part 1, p. 161; Report of the Auditor, 1925, 321.]

Date	Value of real estate	
	Taxable	Exempt
June 30, 1902.....	\$41,005,190	\$25,502,330
June 30, 1913.....	45,111,375	29,535,438
December 31, 1925.....	122,986,029	51,083,538

OWNERSHIP OF EXEMPT REAL ESTATE, CITY OF MANILA, 1925

[Source: Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 275.]

Insular government.....	\$19,236,137
City of Manila.....	11,501,283
U.S. Army.....	3,632,197
Roman Catholic Church.....	13,587,977
Protestant Churches.....	1,967,962
Philippine Catholic Church.....	35,618
Miscellaneous.....	1,122,364
Total.....	51,083,538

² Act No. 2657, Philippine Legislature, February 24, 1916.

For purposes of coördination and supervision, municipal governments, except chartered cities, are grouped in provinces. President McKinley's instructions left the form in which the provincial governments were to be organized discretionary with the Commission. At the time of the withdrawal of Spanish sovereignty, provincial government was the connecting link between the municipal and the highly centralized insular organization. All provincial officers were appointed by the King or his viceroy, the Governor-General, usually called the Captain-General. During the period of American military control, no formal provincial organization was attempted, but the supervision of local government was exercised by the nearest military station commander, responsible through the usual channels to the Military Governor, who was also the Commanding General of the American army in the Philippine Islands.

On February 6, 1901, the Commission enacted the Provincial Government Code,¹ which provided for a provincial governor as chief executive of each province, to be elected by the councillors of the municipalities in the province, and a provincial board of three, with purely legislative functions, composed of the elected provincial governor and two appointed officers, the provincial treasurer and the provincial supervisor (engineer) in charge of public works. Provincial governors were responsible for the maintenance of public order, especially prevention of organized outlawry, in which they were to coöperate with the Constabulary. The provincial board had power to legislate for the province and had administrative supervision of municipal governments.

Following the passage of this code provincial governments were rapidly organized by the Commission, which visited the capitals of most of the provinces, appointed the first governors, and launched the new governments with appropriate ceremonies.

First elections for provincial governors were held in February, 1902, and the good judgment shown by the Commission in its first appointments was demonstrated by the fact that many of the appointees were elected by the voters. Among

¹ Act No. 83, Philippine Commission.

the provincial governors elected were three Americans, former officers in the army.¹

This organization endured till January, 1906, when the supervisor's place on the provincial board was taken by the appointive division superintendent of schools,² and he in turn gave way in the following November to an official, known as the 'third member,' elected by popular vote.³

The result of these changes was to give the Filipinos political control of the provinces, and this concession was hailed with a great deal of satisfaction by the Filipino press and the Philippine public generally. They felt that Americans were proving their good faith in their promise to grant increased autonomy to Filipinos by successive stages.

One of the duties of the provincial treasurer was to review the municipal budget and pass upon the estimate of receipts and the legality of the objects of expenditure as well as the amounts proposed to be spent. Provincial budgets were subject to review by the Executive Bureau. The results were eminently satisfactory and served to train a large number of Filipinos in good government and in up-to-date financial procedure.

As in the case of municipalities, the Executive Bureau also maintained a careful supervision over the administration of the provinces and watched all the legislative and executive acts of the officials. Provincial governors approached the central government through this bureau, and under the wise and sympathetic direction of the two successive Executive Secretaries, Arthur W. Fergusson and Frank W. Carpenter,

¹ The last instance of an American elected provincial governor was that of Governor Charles A. Reynolds in Albay, February 5, 1906.

² Relieving the engineer of his duties as member of the provincial board permitted him to devote his whole time to public works under a new administrative arrangement set forth in Chapter IX, 'Public Works,' *post*, 374.

³ Act No. 1545, Philippine Commission, October 20, 1906.

In 1916 the entire board became elective.

In territory inhabited chiefly by Mohammedans or tribal peoples a modified form of provincial government is provided, in which the governors may be elective or appointive, depending upon the degree of civilization of the majority of the people, the organization being an elastic one adapting itself to the progress of the people from the more primitive conditions to those of complete assimilation of the political organization and practice of the more highly civilized communities. (Act No. 1397, Philippine Commission, September 14, 1905, and Act No. 2408, Philippine Commission, July 23, 1914.)

provincial officials realized that they had not the stern hand of a master over them, but the warm and cordial handclasp of a friend at court when they brought their problems to Manila.

The experience gained in administering provincial governments proved helpful to the Filipinos who later reached high public office. Some of the provincial governors showed marked ability in meeting and solving their problems. The Honorable Sergio Osmeña, later for fifteen years Speaker of the lower house of the Philippine Legislature, as governor of the province of Cebu, in cordial coöperation with the Constabulary, completely cleared his province of the organized bands of fanatical outlaws which had infested it.

On the occasion of the destruction by fire of a portion of the city of Cebu, Señor Osmeña even before his election as governor, while holding the position of provincial attorney, laid out the area with new and wider streets adapted to commercial requirements which he had the vision to foresee, and adopted the most modern practices in regard to requirements for fire-proof construction. The delicate matters of settlement of property rights, exchanges of land, and assessments for betterments were adjusted with masterly skill. Señor Osmeña himself set an example by ceding to the city for street-widening his rights to valuable city property — a fine example of unselfish, constructive statesmanship.

Governor Manuel Quezon of Tayabas, who later achieved distinction as floor leader in the Philippine Assembly, Resident Commissioner, and President of the Philippine Senate, gave good service as governor of the province of Tayabas. He also assumed the initiative and used his official position beyond the legal powers of a provincial governor in requiring citizens to improve their own property by planting great areas of coconut and hemp. This extra-legal performance resulted in much greater prosperity in that region.¹

¹ On one of his journeys of inspection the Secretary of Commerce and Police learned that one of the municipal presidents had been ordering every landowner within his municipality to set out one hundred coconut trees. This order had been accepted without question and the trees set out to the great benefit of the people of the municipality. The provincial board had passed a resolution ordering all municipalities to take this action. It was manifestly illegal, and yet the results were certain to be so beneficial that it seemed to American officials almost wrong to stop it.

Many instances might be cited of provincial governors who sacrificed personal convenience and interests and showed great energy in carrying on the work of their provinces. Governor Bernardino Monreal, of the province of Sorsogon, was a conspicuous example of this sort.

There were also instances of misconduct on the part of provincial governors, chiefly as to the use of public funds and property. But in one instance only was the offense sufficiently grave as to seem to require removal from office and prosecution in the courts.

The Provincial Code¹ contained a provision that an elected governor might not take office until his election had been confirmed by the Governor-General. The Governor-General could decline to confirm on the ground of unfairness in the election, ineligibility, or disloyalty. For eight years no man was elected to the office of provincial governor concerning whose loyalty there seemed serious question. Later, on several occasions, provincial governors were elected whose antecedent record or campaign pronouncements raised serious doubt as to the sincerity of their allegiance to American sovereignty. In such instances a signed resignation with the date blank was required of the governor-elect and upon receipt of this he was confirmed by the Governor-General, but in each case he knew that the least evidence of disloyalty would result in the acceptance of his resignation. One of the important provinces on one occasion returned the election as governor of a former insurgent general, who, during the insurrection, was reputed to have permitted notorious atrocities such as to make his name a byword among Americans in the army and in many parts of the Philippine Islands. Once in office, however, he gave no reason for suspicion as to his loyalty and was fairly efficient during his period of service.

Of course the resolution had to be disapproved, but it is feared the Executive Secretary did not act on it as promptly as on other measures less generally beneficial that came before him, and a great number of trees had been planted before the official disapproval of the action of the provincial board was returned to them.

Other instances were not uncommon of extensive interference in private affairs so manifestly to the benefit of the individual that it was extremely distressing to the American officials to have to step in and interfere on the ground that these measures were not in accordance with law.

¹ As amended by Section 25, Act No. 1582, Philippine Commission, January 9, 1907.

A notable instance of refusal to confirm an election was that of a young man by the name of Ordovesa, who secured an election as governor of his province, defeating on the face of the returns General Cailles, the then incumbent. The latter charged that this election had been won by the simple expedient of bribing the inspectors of election who wrote the ballots for illiterate electors entitled to vote on the ground of their ownership of property. This charge was later much more commonly made. The case was tried in the courts, and although Ordovesa was found guilty of bribing inspectors of election, the judge rendered a decision in his favor on the ground that it was not proved that enough votes had been purchased in this way to change the result of the election. The Governor-General saw fit to refuse to confirm the election.¹

¹ 'I think I told how Cailles had come to me and explained the corrupt methods by which he was defeated — wholesale bribery. I persuaded Kincaid to take the case, which he had done pretty much out of public spirit. He has unearthed a system of corruption that staggers one, and indicates the dangers of letting these people go too far in electoral matters right now. Kincaid told me to-day of a pitiable case in which one of his best witnesses, who had shown up certain rascals absolutely, came to Cailles and begged protection, saying he was followed, and was too poor to hire guards to defend him.' (Journal, III, 407, February 1, 1910.)

'The judge found that Ordovesa (of Laguna) had paid for certain votes, and undertook to seat him because the number was not enough to have changed the election. I propose to refuse him his position because the judge (a Filipino) by indirection found him guilty of bribery, and by indirection I mean that he so worded his decision in regard to the protest against his election, as to practically assert that he had bribed.' (Journal, IV, 135, July 9, 1910.)

The following passages from the report of an agent of the Information Department of the Constabulary, dated June, 1912, give evidence of the prevalence of bribery of inspectors of election:

'The election in the province of Bulakan, where I went to view it near at hand, clearly demonstrated to me the need for a severe lesson for irresponsible demagogues in order to better it and it ends by demonstrating the capacity of the people. Those who have been elected for Bulakan were not elected by popular suffrage but by the suffrage of the election inspectors. In the towns of Obando, Polo, Meycauyan, Bocaue, Santa Maria, Bulakan, Calumpit and Malolos, which I visited in an automobile, what occurred in the election was inexplicable. The voters who lined up in front of the polling places and before entering the booth, each carried a written ballot on which appeared the names of the candidates for whom they were going to vote so that the election inspectors could copy those ballots but unfortunately instead of copying those ballots the inspectors wrote on the official ballots the names of the candidates they wanted, the result being that the men elected were not elected by the will of the voters but were the candidates of the inspectors.

'... All this is due to the fact that the inspectors were bought before the election. This combination was planned from the time of ——'s first triumph in Bulakan and

In judging the early work of municipal and provincial officials, one must bear in mind that the highly centralized Spanish system tended to discourage initiative on the part of local administrators.¹

The almost mediæval system of privilege which the Americans found and set out to break up was well manifested in the community life in the municipalities and provinces. So many devices were employed by the unscrupulous and grasping *cacique* to mulct the poor man of his profits that there was little chance for a man, even of more frugality and diligence than the average, to save anything and better his condition.

American officials, insular and local, by precept and example taught the principle, new to the Filipino, that a public office was a public trust, that a government officer was to labor for the welfare of his community, and that the public revenues were to be used for the public benefit and for no other purpose. These Americans lived honorable and upright lives among the Filipinos in the provinces, accounting for every dollar of government property they handled, and instilled the American spirit of service throughout the municipal and provincial governments.

In the light of centuries of examples of the other sort, where the appointed officials systematically enriched themselves and rendered little service in return for their pay, it was not surprising that, wherever supervision was relaxed, the old

it still continues without having been observed except when I called the attention of some voters to it when the votes were counted

.

'This occurred in all the towns which I visited and according to — the same thing occurred in Mindoro and the triumph of — with an overwhelming majority of votes was due to this combination. They buy the inspector and as the inspector was in charge of writing the votes of the illiterate voters, he falsified their will by writing the name of — on the face of their ballots. — also informed me that the election in Pangasinan of — to be delegate was due to this combination, as otherwise he would not have been elected because the people of Pangasinan did not want him.'

¹ The powers exercised by Philippine municipal governments in Spanish days were those which the Crown chose to grant them. Under American administration of the Islands, these powers were granted by the Commission under authority of the President and later of Congress, the powers that had resided in the Spanish Crown having passed to the United States government under the Treaty of Paris.

It is to be noted that in the United States the powers reside in the people, and each unit of government, municipal, state, and national, receives such of the powers as the people choose to part with and delegate to it.



CARABAO AND CART

order of things should immediately crop up again.¹ If, with the knowledge that strict supervision was being exercised, there were more than twenty-three hundred complaints against local officials investigated in ten years by the Executive Bureau, of which nearly sixty-five per cent required punitive action, it is easy to see that, with this supervision relaxed, many times that number of cases were likely to occur and the excellence of the administration of the lesser units of government to deteriorate proportionately.

Three Filipino members were added to the Commission on September 1, 1901, the anniversary of its first legislative session. Up to that time the Commission had sat almost continuously in legislative session and had to its credit an immense amount of legislative achievement obtained by dint of unceasing devotion to duty. In that period it had passed two hundred and fifteen laws, although much time had been devoted to public hearings which had been granted for important measures. The Commission lacked the intimate touch with Filipino sentiment which could only be obtained by having representative Filipinos joining in deliberation and having the opportunity by argument and by vote to express themselves in regard to measures under consideration. The three Filipinos selected for the Commission were: the Honorable Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, a distinguished and scholarly Philippine born gentleman, but of largely Spanish blood, who had been intimately associated with General Aguinaldo and his government while they were established at the town of Malolos prior to the beginning of the insurrection, and had been something of a go-between for them and the Americans, sometimes clandestinely; the Honorable

¹ The vice of gambling was fairly general among Filipinos and was one of the most frequent causes of disciplinary action against local government officials.

A Constabulary inspector, under date of June 5, 1909, reported:

'Gambling . . . in every town and barrio in the province [Cavite], is wide open and no apparent effort has ever been made by the provincial and municipal officials to stop it. Since the receipt of these papers I have been making a constant effort to secure tangible evidence against the municipal officials mentioned but they had their system so well organized that my efforts are to no avail. . . . the officials . . . had an interest in the "Jueten" games and a "rake-off" in the "monte" games. I solicited the aid of the American Chief of Police here in this case and while he acknowledged himself cognizant of the state of affairs as regards gambling he admitted his inability to obtain evidence and stated that of 50 policemen under his charge he had only one that he could trust.'

Benito Legarda, a wealthy Filipino of a prominent family, who had large and important tobacco and distillery interests in Manila; and the Honorable José de Luzuriaga, a distinguished and cultivated Filipino from the island of Negros, representing the Visayans, the second most important group in the archipelago. He had large land and sugar interests in the territory tributary to Iloilo.

The Honorable Bernard Moses resigned after a brief period of service and returned to the United States, his place being taken on January 1, 1903, by the Honorable James F. Smith, also of California, who had been a practicing attorney in San Francisco and had been elected Colonel of the First California Volunteers. He had served with distinction in the army during the insurrection and received the rank of brigadier-general, and was made civil governor of the island of Negros, the only important region which did not join the insurrection against the United States. He later was called to Manila and made Collector of Customs, and from there appointed a member of the Philippine Supreme Court. He was a Roman Catholic in religion, a gentleman with the strictest sense of honor, and was always more than scrupulous in his attitude toward the public service and the duties and responsibilities it involved.

In November, 1903, Governor Taft relinquished his post as Civil Governor and returned to the United States to take the position of Secretary of War, Vice-Governor Wright becoming Civil Governor and Commissioner Ide, Vice-Governor. The vacancy on the Commission was filled by the appointment, in February, 1904, of W. Cameron Forbes, of Boston, to be Secretary of Commerce and Police.

By act of Congress¹ the title of the chief executive of the Islands was changed from Civil Governor to Governor-General, and Governor Wright thus became the first Governor-General of the Islands. The title of Governor-General usually connotes one who has other governors under him, and, as there were between fifty and sixty provincial governors and lieutenant or district governors in the Islands, the name chosen was technically correct.

In November, 1905, Governor-General Wright returned to

¹ Approved February 6, 1905.

the United States, accompanied by Commissioner Forbes, called back to negotiate for the construction of railroads, and in February, 1906, Governor-General Wright was appointed first American Ambassador to Japan. This followed a protest to the Secretary of War made by influential Filipinos interested in distilleries and tobacco factories, against a revision by the Commission of the internal revenue law by which increased taxation was imposed on alcoholic liquors and manufactured tobacco. The opposition of these interests to the measure became bitter, and, in fact, a cabal was formed against the Governor-General, who as president of the Commission strongly supported the new law as a just and necessary measure. After rendering a decision entirely upholding the action of the Commission in imposing increased taxes, Washington made what seemed to most observing Americans in the Islands the grievous mistake of relieving Governor-General Wright, thus giving the Filipinos concerned in the cabal what they felt to be a victory. Although they had lost in the matter of the tax, they had secured the removal of the American chief executive responsible for its imposition. Thoughtful Americans felt that this was likely to result in similar attacks on future Governors-General as well as other high officials, as the success of one such campaign of unjust vilification was quite sure to encourage the local politicians to undertake others.¹ The names of the Honorables Henry C. Ide and James F. Smith were sent to the Senate to be Governor-General — Vice-Governor Ide until the first of April and until his successor, Commissioner Smith, should qualify. The latter returned to the United States for a needed leave of absence and did not return to take up his duties as Governor-General until September 20 of that year.

The Honorable W. Morgan Shuster, who had been connected with the customs service in Cuba and afterward had been Collector of Customs in the Philippine Islands, was appointed Secretary of Public Instruction to succeed Governor-General Smith.²

¹ As a matter of fact, such a movement was started against Governor-General Smith, but it was poorly organized, not nearly so bitterly waged as the former campaign, and perhaps there was a realizing sense in Washington that prompt and adequate support of the Governor-General was necessary if the government of the Islands was to hold together.

² September 28, 1906.

No Vice-Governor was designated for nearly two years.

On October 16, 1907, the first Philippine Assembly came into being and the Commission ceased to be the sole legislative body and became the upper house in legislation for the territory inhabited chiefly by the civilized and Christian portion of the population.

On June 30, 1908, a further change was made in the organization of the Commission by adding another member without portfolio, and the Honorable Rafael Palma was appointed — the first member of the Nationalist Party to receive such recognition.¹

On July 1, 1908, the Honorable Gregorio Araneta was promoted from the position of Attorney-General to that of Secretary of Finance and Justice, succeeding ex-Governor-General Ide. He was the first Filipino to receive a portfolio.

On the same day, the Honorable Newton W. Gilbert, Judge of the Court of First Instance, who had been a member of Congress from Indiana, was promoted to be a member of the Commission, taking the place made vacant by the resignation of Commissioner Legarda,² who, on December 21, 1907, had been elected Resident Commissioner at Washington.

On March 1, 1909, the Honorable W. Morgan Shuster resigned as Commissioner and Secretary of Public Instruction, and Commissioner Gilbert was promoted to the vacant portfolio. At the same time the Honorable Pardo de Tavera resigned his position as Commissioner without portfolio, and the Honorable Juan Sumulong, Judge of the Court of First Instance, and the Honorable Frank A. Branagan, Treasurer of the Philippine Islands, were appointed to be Commissioners without portfolio.

On May 7, 1909, Governor-General Smith left the Islands for six months' leave of absence, announcing that he had decided not to return. His place was taken by appointment, dated November 11, 1909, of the Honorable W. Cameron Forbes, who had been appointed Vice-Governor on July 1,

¹ This increased the membership of the Commission to nine, on the basis of five Americans and four Filipinos.

² Thus the proportion of Americans and Filipinos on the Commission remained as before, as Commissioner Araneta had succeeded to the position made vacant by Governor Ide, an American, and Judge Gilbert took the position of Commissioner Legarda, a Filipino.

1908. Commissioner Gilbert became Vice-Governor in February, 1910.¹

On February 14 of that year, the position of Secretary of Commerce and Police was filled by the Honorable Charles B. Elliot, a Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court. He left the Islands on leave of absence on June 20, 1912, and resigned December 4, 1912.

The Honorable Dean C. Worcester, after nearly fifteen years of remarkable service, resigned from the Philippine Commission and as Secretary of the Interior September 15, 1913, to engage in private business.

The changes in the personnel of the Commission after the inauguration of President Wilson in 1913 are dealt with in detail in the chapter on the 'Régime of the Democratic Party.'²

Widely divided as were the members of the Commission in race, traditions, language, religion, and views on public questions, the desire for harmonious coöperation in their deliberative work made this heterogeneous group of men an extremely efficient and coöperative body on matters of legislation. One member of the Commission during the Taft régime remembers only about three instances in a decade of legislative sittings when the Commission was divided on racial lines. Almost always on debated questions Americans and Filipinos were to be found on both sides. The decisions of the majority were accepted without bitterness in most instances, and, while among the members of the Commission debate sometimes rose to the point of heat, no ill-feeling resulted.³ Nine out of ten votes were unanimous. The sessions were usually conducted in two languages. If the discussion was in English, an interpreter sat beside the Filipino member who understood English least well and translated the debate as it progressed. Later, as the Americans became more familiar with Spanish, a very large part of the proceedings, including the debates, was carried on in Spanish. No instance is recorded of a vote later being repudiated or protested because of failure to

¹ Vice-Governor Gilbert served as Acting Governor-General during the periods from March 15, 1912, to January 17, 1913, and from September 2, 1913, until the arrival of Governor-General Harrison, October 6, 1913.

² Chapter XXI.

³ These excellent relations were also noted by ex-Governor-General Harrison in his book, *The Corner-Stone of Philippine Independence*, 65.

understand on the part of one of the Commissioners due to unfamiliarity with the language.

The Commission was a group of honest, non-partisan, hard-working men, all imbued with a desire to serve the best interests of the Filipinos, without any selfish consideration, and no instance arose during that period in which any one of them could have been even remotely suspected of having used his public position for private gain. They spent many hours a day on legislation, and during the period preceding the creation of the Assembly (September 1, 1900, to October 16, 1907), when the Commission bore the entire legislative responsibility, they passed a total of eighteen hundred acts. This work, involving long public hearings and intensive study, included organic legislation necessary to set up the structure of government in its various branches, modification of existing Spanish laws to conform with American principles of justice, the careful enactment of customs tariff and other revenue legislation, and a well-considered programme for the organization of public schools, the establishment of public order and public health, and for economic development.

Although the American forces operating in the field had never exceeded 70,000 men, expiration of the term of service, replacements, and other causes made the total figure of Americans brought to the Islands in the course of the insurrection as high as 120,000.¹ Among these there were many who were glad to leave the army and throw in their lot with the Philippine government service.

The usual complement of sutlers, hangers-on, and adventurers, and a fair sprinkling of the flotsam and jetsam of America and Europe, always are to be found wherever the elements of disorder prevail. Many of these were a very low order of white men, and did not tend to enhance the respect in which Americans were held in the minds either of the Filipinos or of foreigners doing business in the Islands. The least respectable element among these rapidly degenerated into vagabondage, and, in the parlance of white men in the Orient, were commonly spoken of as beach combers.²

¹ This was the figure estimated by Secretary Root in his report for 1902. (See *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 259.)

² How this class was dealt with will be seen in Chapter XI, 'Prisons,' *post*, 500.

On the other hand, among the available Americans there was a large number of admirable men who were eager to enter the government service and who would have done credit to any government in the world. The difficulty was to select the good from the bad, and, where good material had been selected, to train it for the work in hand, for many of these positions required the services of highly specialized assistants, and outside of purely military work, except for the doctors and army engineers, most of the Americans who came out had had no experience in the kind of service to which they were to be called in civil administration. Particularly was this the case in matters relating to the business of government. A good many years were to elapse before the United States could claim to have trained a force of highly efficient public servants. That time, however, came.

Among the earlier names that stand out most strikingly are those of the Fergusson brothers, Arthur and Rupert. Brought up in California, Mexico, and South America, where their father served for many years in the American diplomatic corps, Arthur W. Fergusson, who held the position of Executive Secretary, had a fluent and exquisite command of both Spanish and English, great oratorical power in both languages, and such genius in their use that he was constantly being called upon to act as official interpreter. It was amazing to hear the wooden, stilted, and awkward addresses of inexperienced, partially tongue-tied speakers transformed by the magic of Fergusson's eloquence into fluent Spanish with resonant tones, rolling periods, and beautiful imagery with which he alone could clothe the ideas others uttered in halting English. The marvellous part of his achievement lay in the fact that his interpretation was always absolutely true. He never changed the essential meaning sought to be conveyed. He died in the fullness of his power and usefulness and was so highly thought of that a monument has been erected and a plaza named in his honor in an important and distinguished part of Manila.

His brother Rupert, Chief Interpreter and Translator to the Philippine Commission, was almost as skillful. On one occasion a master of ceremonies forgot to ask for an interpreter before the speech-making began. At the end of a ten-

minute address, when the oversight was suddenly remembered, Rupert Fergusson arose and repeated the entire speech in Spanish, with hardly a phrase missing.

Another name standing out conspicuously is that of Frank W. Carpenter, who came to the Islands with General Lawton, became private secretary to the Military Governor and after the organization of civil government was appointed Assistant Executive Secretary. He became proficient in the use of Spanish, spoke Tagalog fluently, and so won the hearts of all Filipinos with whom he came in contact that he became an invaluable interpreter of private sentiments and of the trend of public opinion among the Filipinos. Into his willing and confiding ear were poured the grievances, personal bitter-nesses, hopes, fears, and confidences of the hosts of provincial officials who were constantly visiting Manila. They were often too much in awe of the Governor-General and the Commissioners to speak freely to them, but, when they had something deep in their hearts that they wanted to pour out, Frank Carpenter became the spokesman and champion. He succeeded Arthur Fergusson as Executive Secretary, and, still later, in December, 1913, succeeded General Pershing as Governor of the Moro Province. In all these posts he did an incalculably great service.

The second Assistant Executive Secretary, Manuel de Yriarte, was a gentleman of Philippine birth and Spanish extraction who brought to the government service sterling integrity, devotion to the service, and made a suave and pleasing contact with the better element of Spaniards and Filipinos in Manila.

The list of able and competent men who served the government is too long to give in detail. Many men come to mind: Major James F. Case, an engineer who built the water and sewer works of the city of Manila and later became Director of Public Works; Warwick Greene, son of Major-General Greene, the first Governor of Manila, who, though trained as a lawyer, proved himself great as an engineer, and as Director of Public Works planned and carried through the scientific road-building programme that has become so great a feature of American success in the Islands; Dr. Victor G. Heiser, who, from the position of Director of Health, carried through a

comprehensive health programme with pitifully small resources and during his incumbency decreased the Manila death-rate from 42.28 per thousand in 1903 to 24.66 in 1914,¹ and practically eliminated from the Islands the scourges of smallpox, cholera, and bubonic plague; Captain Charles H. Sleeper, who organized the Bureau of Internal Revenue, served well in the administration of the city of Manila, and later did fine work as Director of Lands; Major-General Henry T. Allen, who organized and trained the Philippines Constabulary and with his successors, Generals Harry H. Bandholtz and James G. Harbord, put an end to banditry and maintained good order in the Islands for fifteen years; and Drs. Paul C. Freer and Richard P. Strong, who organized the Bureau of Science, Dr. Strong later winning world fame in a series of extraordinary medical achievements.²

Among those who rendered great service and died in the Islands the names of Ellis Cromwell, a Southern gentleman, Collector of Internal Revenue, John C. Mehan, Superintendent of Transportation for the City of Manila, a loyal public servant and fine executive, and Frank R. White, Director of Education, come conspicuously to mind.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1906, one of the Commissioners wrote down among the things he was thankful for: 'The men throughout the service are clean cut, able, industrious, and in earnest, and a set of men with whom it is an honor to serve.'³

In spite of the adverse circumstances under which the

¹ Statistics furnished by the Philippine Health Service, 1927.

² These and other noteworthy figures are mentioned more at length in connection with their departments and in Chapter XX, 'Close of the Taft Régime.'

³ Journal, II, 153, November 29, 1906.

The following appears in a letter from the Governor-General to President Wilson, dated March 5, 1913: 'I believe this Government very fortunate because of the men at the head of the various Bureaus. They compare favorably with men to be found in commercial enterprises and have been selected entirely on a non-partisan basis.'

The following is taken from a speech by the Secretary of Commerce and Police in January, 1906:

'I can answer for it in my department that the chiefs of bureaus and their assistants and the personnel generally compare more than favorably with that of private corporations engaged in business. Everything is under rigid civil service, and a most insistent probing has failed to reveal any appreciable amount of graft, or misuse of government funds.'

Americans entered the Philippine Islands, those who liked the climate and the service found a charm that was most appealing to them. There had been nothing in the experience of the Americans to equip those who came to the Islands to meet the dangers carried by the climate and they had to learn how to live in the tropics by dint of costly experience. This cost included the lives of many young men and the health of more, but little by little the medical department of the army and the health organization of the civil government learned to meet these difficulties, and life in the Philippine Islands became as healthy, judged by the mortality statistics, as the average life in the States.

It also took a little time for Americans to accustom themselves to living among alien people of a different color and race from those to which they had been accustomed, and to adapt themselves to these conditions. A certain percentage of Americans were so constituted that they never could find happiness in this association, but the great majority did adapt themselves to the new conditions and learned to like them, and to many Americans their tour of service in the Philippine Islands marks the happiest time in their lives. This applies not only to the administrators connected with the civil government and others in civil life, but also, to an important degree, to men who came out with the army,¹ not only as officers, but enlisted men as well.

To the comparatively few to whom the heat of the tropics brought anæmia, nervousness, and lack of health, the recourse was, of course, to an early return to a cooler climate.

There was an immense amount of constructive work undertaken by the various members of the Commission in connection with the work of their departments. In the hurly-burly of throwing together civil government many bureaus were

¹ General James G. Harbord in his book, *Leaves from a War Diary*, 130, New York, 1925, tells of a conversation at Versailles with General Frank R. McCoy in which they talked over old times: 'We both agreed that for us, come what may, the good old days at Zamboanga and in the Islands of the East were the best. As McCoy said: "Where can you find life like that?" We lived over again the days of Panglima Hassan and his War; of Lake Lanao and the fights at Tiraca and the Romaine River; of Siit Lake and Taglibi of the Second Sulu Expedition; the trips to Basilan; the march over the mountains to the headwaters of the Agusan; of Kudarangan and Datu Ali; all names once as familiar to us as our own.'

created, their duties hastily defined, and they began working without cohesion, without any definite relations being established as between bureaus, and with no clear limits as to where the responsibilities of one bureau should end and those of the next begin. In April, 1905, Governor-General Wright appointed a committee of four members of the insular government, one Commissioner and three others selected from the insular bureaus and from the government of the City of Manila, to formulate a plan for the complete reorganization of the government, reassignment of bureaus in the departments with proper consideration of their interrelationships, and reassignment of duties as between bureaus.¹ This committee had instructions to reduce expenses to the lowest possible limit, and, after seven months' intensive work, a bill embodying their recommendations was enacted into law,² and the new order of things went into effect.³

The Committee had found in all the bureaus a tendency of each to be a complete unit, with its own transportation, machine shops, drafting room, scientific staff, etc., the chiefs apparently being unwilling to trust any of their work to an agency not under their own direct control. The Reorganization Committee insisted upon having the best-equipped bureau for each class of service do that service for the whole government and charge for it, thus eliminating free service of all sorts except the work done by police and Constabulary in guarding, which was construed to be their first business and not to be charged for. In all other respects every bureau paid for all service rendered to it by other bureaus. It was amazing to find the economies which thus became effective. For example, when the bureaus had free telegraphic service, the amount of telegraphing they thought necessary was astounding and clogged the facilities of wires, cables, and personnel. As soon as they had to pay for it, the officials reduced their telegraphing sixty per cent. As government business had had

¹ The members of this committee were: W. Cameron Forbes, Secretary of Commerce and Police; W. Morgan Shuster, Collector of Customs; Charles H. Sleeper, member of the Municipal Board of the City of Manila; and Frank W. Carpenter, Assistant Executive Secretary. (Executive Order No. 14, April 1, 1905.)

² Act No. 1407, Philippine Commission, October 26, 1905.

³ 'This afternoon the Reorganization Act became law. No question, no dissent.' (Journal, 1, 347, October 26, 1905.)

precedence over commercial business, commerce sometimes had had to wait days to get clear lines. As soon as this new rule went into effect, it was found that the plant and staff were ample for the needs of the country and commerce could be handled as rapidly and expeditiously as was the government service.

Those bureaus having inspection work or branch offices in the provinces had always insisted it was necessary that a special boat should be maintained for their service, and bureau chiefs and their assistants did not feel it possible to take an inspection trip unless a boat was detailed for the purpose. It was surprising to find how differently these same men felt about having a ship when the cost of it was to be deducted from their own appropriations, and after this reform it was found the government could operate with five steamers less than before had been believed to be necessary.

In the course of the work of the Reorganization Committee many fundamental problems of government came up which were discussed at great length and which presented many interesting aspects. For instance, the Committee had at first favored placing in one department the Constabulary, Bureau of Justice, and the Bureau of Prisons, the first of which was charged with the maintenance of public order throughout the Islands, the detection of crime, and apprehension of criminals; the second with the supervision of the courts wherein persons charged with crime were tried and either convicted or acquitted; and the third, the Bureau of Prisons, with the punishment of the convicted. More mature thought, however, convinced the Committee that these three activities should pertain to different departments to avoid the possibility of persecution. If one person supervised the maintenance of public order, and, convinced of a man's criminality, brought him before the courts, it was just as well that the accused should have the privilege of being tried in a department under the supervision of somebody who had nothing to do with his arrest and therefore could have no preconceived notions as to whether or not he was guilty; and the punishment of a person once proved guilty should be left to a third department, the head of which was equally unbiased. The prisons were placed by the Reorganization Committee in the Department of

Public Instruction to emphasize the educational character of their work.¹

The workings of the financial reforms instituted by the Committee will be dealt with at length in the chapter on 'Finance.'

The Committee reduced the number of bureaus from thirty-four to twenty-five and would have reduced it further but that laws of Congress made the maintenance of certain lesser bureaus imperative.²

Another policy enunciated by the Committee which was put into effect was the abolition of all board organizations. Every governmental activity was to be managed by a single responsible head, who had as many assistants as conditions seemed to make necessary, but there was to be no division of ultimate responsibility. This was found to make for efficiency in the government service, and is a good rule for executive efficiency wherever applied.³

Besides increasing materially the efficiency of the government, the savings effected by this reorganization were estimated to reach a million dollars a year, or about one tenth of the then annual cost of the government.

Other problems besides the reorganization of the machinery of government challenged the attention of secretaries of departments. The condition of the inter-island merchant marine was pitiable. The ships were old, tumbling to pieces, badly kept up; they gave execrable service, had unclean and even uninhabitable staterooms; and it was unsafe to drink the

¹ When the Filipinos later obtained a majority of both houses of the Legislature they placed the Bureau of Prisons in the Department of Justice. (Act No. 2711, Philippine Legislature, March 10, 1917.)

² The maritime quarantine was maintained as a separate service from the Bureau of Health because it was a branch of the United States Public Health Service. The Coast and Geodetic Survey was carried on by officers of the United States service and on joint account between the United States and the Philippine government. It was not suitable to make these United States officers subordinate to a Philippine government official and consequent dual control.

The Committee desired to merge the Bureau of Forestry with the Bureau of Agriculture, which would have made a distinct economy, but was unable to do this because the Act of Congress of 1902 had given certain functions to the Bureau of Forestry having to do with the granting of titles to land, and the termination of the identity of the Bureau of Forestry might have resulted in the clouding of land titles.

³ The Filipinos, soon after getting virtual control of their own government, reverted to the system of boards. See Chapter XXII, II, 277.

water or eat the food served on the ships on account of danger of infectious diseases. The boats ran on no regular schedules, charged exorbitant prices, and, whenever rumor got about that freight was waiting at some port, there would be a race for it between two or more steamers and the lucky boat would get the business and the others nothing. It was not surprising under these circumstances that officers of the government demanded a special boat for inspections. When only one steamer was on hand to take freight of a perishable nature, the captain of such a ship was often guilty of declining to receive the freight on the pretense that he had no room for it. In despair at seeing his hopes of earning a living fade away, the owner would sell his produce at a fraction of its value to the captain, who would then take it aboard, carry it off, and reap the harvest which should have been the producer's. Of course, this choked agriculture at its source. Planters were not going to put forth their energies only to be deprived of the fruits of their labor. The insular government had continued from Spanish days all sorts of onerous customs charges and dues, and boats sailing from port to port within the limits of the archipelago had to clear and pay fees as though they were going to foreign ports.

Action was taken to remedy these abuses and defects. On September 19, 1904, Governor Wright appointed a committee to look into inter-island transportation.¹ One result of the work of this committee was to bring about the organization of the owners of ninety per cent of the ships engaged in coastwise trade from Manila, who grouped themselves together under the title of the 'Asociacion de Navieros,' and appointed a directorate. This gave the committee an agency with which to deal in bringing about the reforms which their investigation of the inter-island shipping conditions demonstrated to be necessary. A schedule of specifications was drawn up by the government under which inter-island ships

¹ Executive Order No. 36, September 19, 1904.

The members of the committee were: W. Cameron Forbes, Secretary of Commerce and Police; W. Morgan Shuster, Collector of Customs for the Philippine Islands; Brigadier-General Henry T. Allen, Chief of the Philippines Constabulary; Commander J. M. Helm, Chief of Coast Guard and Transportation; Captain Harry L. Pettus, Quartermaster, United States Army; and W. G. Masters, Assistant Director of Posts.

should operate. Routes were planned covering the whole archipelago and giving each port periodic visits at stated intervals, arranged so that enough ships visited each place to care for its normal produce at the proper season. The government paid a subsidy to ships undertaking these routes and promising to live up to very rigid specifications in regard to cleanliness, quality of food and water, and life-saving and other devices, and agreed to give all of its business to these vessels and take off any government ships which had previously been running to these ports.¹ The steamship companies were slow in taking advantage of the offer of these subsidies and it was a matter of pleasant surprise when it was found that the first corporation to agree to these terms was a Spanish one,² which made its bid in the kindest spirit of coöperation with the American government. So immediately beneficial were its results from this action that other companies made haste to follow its example.

The contracts also provided that, in case any vessel refused to take a shipment of freight at any port, the owner of the freight could telegraph that fact to the next port of call of the vessel, whereupon a government inspector would ascertain whether or not that ship had been in fact too full safely to take on the refused freight. If the freight space had not all been taken, the captain of the ship was fined double the amount of the freight charge. This effectively checked the practice of refusing freight in order to buy it.

Meanwhile the government utilized its own steamers, which would otherwise have been idle under the new arrangement, to make regular commercial trips to outlying points and ports where the volume of business had not been enough to justify commercial vessels undertaking it. The result was magical. Business increased by leaps and bounds, and before many months had passed practically all the routes undertaken by the government vessels were eagerly sought for by commercial companies willing to put on their own steamers

¹ On August 2, 1905, an announcement was issued for proposals or bids to be received by the Department of Commerce and Police for coastwise routes in subsidy as recommended by the committee, for the transportation of the Philippine government mails, passengers, and freight between certain specified ports and places in the Islands.

² *Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas.*

and to agree to the government specifications, schedule, and supervision without other subsidy than the withdrawal by the government of its own boat from the line.

With the increase in agricultural production following the assurance of dependable transportation to the larger markets and the consequent good prices to producers and profits to the local dealers, freight and passenger business increased. The subsidies were gradually withdrawn, until in 1925 they appear to have been practically discontinued.¹ Two commercial routes are still maintained by government vessels:² one from Manila to the Batanes Islands lying north of Luzon toward Formosa; and the other to Culion and minor ports in the province of Palawan, where as yet economic development has not reached a point justifying regular shipping service as a private enterprise.

In 1902, the American-owned newspapers in the Islands entered into a secret agreement to print no more government advertising except at a price about three times higher than they had been receiving before. Governor-General Wright was not the kind of administrator to try to force. Forthwith all the government advertising was withdrawn from these papers and published in the 'Official Gazette,'³ which did not undertake any of the normal functions of a newspaper nor give the daily news, but did give out in concise form all the government announcements, such as significant decisions of the courts, executive orders by the Governor-General, acts of the Legislature, administrative regulations, and other official matters important for the guidance of the public, along lines similar to those followed by other governments.

This prompt action of the government had not been anticipated by the newspapermen, who were none too prosperous, and it was not long before they were very glad to take back the government advertising at reasonable rates. The government, however, did not discontinue publishing the 'Official Gazette,' which proved to be generally recognized as a most acceptable form in which the necessary information

¹ In 1925 the amount was but \$9950. (*Report of the Auditor*, 1925, 73.)

² *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 88.

³ Created by Act No. 453, Philippine Commission, September 2, 1902, and still published by the Bureau of Printing, Manila.

in regard to governmental activities could be served to the public.

In 1912, the Governor-General, firmly convinced that the insidious, unjust, and even slanderous misrepresentations of the government freely indulged in by the local press were harmful to the situation, in the course of an interview with President Taft urged the establishment of a governmental organ, a sheet of modest proportions, containing the world news, Philippine news of general importance, and enough local news to be of local interest, and to contain sheets of selected portions of the news written in the different local dialects; this paper, presumably a weekly publication, to be sent at government expense to each official, insular, provincial, or municipal, throughout the archipelago and to all schools in order to inform the public first-hand as to the measures which the government was taking in their interest, together with the reasons why these measures were deemed necessary. Any criticism or misrepresentation in the native press was to be promptly answered so that the public would be consistently informed to counteract the torrent of abuse and misinformation with which the newspapers were charged. President Taft, however, felt that such a course was un-American, the matter was brought up at a cabinet meeting, and the Governor-General was advised not to embark upon this course.¹

¹ Governor-General Forbes devised, but never advanced, a plan under which every newspaper desiring to publish matter that could be in any way construed as critical of the government, should be compelled to submit it at least twenty-four hours before publication to some officer of the government, who, if he so chose, would prepare a reply and the newspaper would be compelled to publish the reply of the government in the same type and in the same column, or a parallel one, in which the critical article appeared. This would in no way abridge the freedom of the press in criticizing, but would give the readers of the paper a fair opportunity to hear the government reply. Governor-General Forbes estimated that editors would prefer not to publish at least nine-tenths of the critical articles if they had been compelled to publish the government's answer at the same time, as in most cases the articles were based upon insufficient information or false premises, and their publication simultaneously with a concise exposition of facts would have proved to have been a boomerang.

A law requiring this would not have been a popular one, and, as there was no chance of getting the Philippine Legislature to assent, the matter was not even broached. It was, however, discussed with Lord Bryce in England, who evinced great interest in the idea and expressed himself favorably in regard to its probable beneficial effect.

General Pershing, on his own initiative as governor of the Moro Province, started the publication of a monthly newspaper for that province.¹

Except as modified from time to time by sundry laws, enacted first by the Commission and later by the Philippine Legislature, the structure of government remained practically unchanged until the passage by Congress in 1916 of the act known as the Jones Law,² which is in effect the constitution of the Philippine government. This and the events incident to it will be discussed at greater length in later chapters, but it seems appropriate to outline here the structure of the central or insular government as then put into effect and since continued without great modification.

General legislative power is vested in a Legislature composed of two houses — a Senate and a House of Representatives. Members of both houses of the Legislature are elected by popular vote, except two senators and seven representatives who are appointed by the Governor-General to represent the districts populated chiefly by Mohammedans and tribal peoples.

Laws amendatory to the tariff or to laws with reference to immigration, currency and coinage, the public domain, timber and mining, do not become operative until approved by the President of the United States.³

The veto power is vested in the Governor-General, who may veto any particular item or items of an appropriation bill. There is appeal by the Legislature over veto by the Governor-General to the President of the United States. All laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature are required to be reported to the Congress of the United States, which reserves the power and authority to annul them.

The supreme executive power is vested in the Governor-General. He is appointed by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and holds his office at the pleasure of the President and until his successor is chosen and qualified. He receives a salary of \$18,000 per annum,⁴ and official residences in Manila and Baguio.

¹ See Vol. II, 23–24.

² Approved August 29, 1916.

³ The admiralty jurisdiction of the courts can be changed only by Congress.

⁴ The expenses incident to maintaining the dignity of the position of Governor-

The Governor-General has supervision and control of all departments and bureaus of the government;¹ is commander-in-chief of all locally created armed forces and militia; has the power to grant pardons; appoints all officers in the executive branch of the insular government; is 'responsible for the faithful execution of the laws of the Philippine Islands and of the United States operative within the Philippine Islands, and whenever it becomes necessary he may call upon the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States in the Islands, or summon the posse comitatus, or call out the militia or other locally created armed forces, to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection, or rebellion; and he may, in case of rebellion or invasion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, suspend the privileges of the writ of habeas corpus, or place the Islands, or any part thereof, under martial law.'²

The Governor-General is required to submit at the 'opening of each regular session of the Philippine Legislature a budget of receipts and expenditures, which shall be the basis of the annual appropriation bill.'³ He is also required to notify the President of the United States at once in the event of his placing the Islands or any part thereof under martial law, and the President has the power to modify or veto the action of the Governor-General. Also, he is required to report annually the transactions of the government of the Philippine Islands to the War Department, by which the report is transmitted to Congress.

In addition to the Governor-General, the President also appoints a Vice-Governor, who is the head of the Department of Public Instruction, which includes the Bureaus of Education and of Health. The Vice-Governor may be assigned

General are much greater than \$18,000 a year, and this meagre salary makes it extremely difficult for any man without private means to hold the position. In fact, it is only possible by having incidental expenses provided in other appropriations, such as funds for transportation and for official entertainment. The salary should be \$35,000.

¹ There are seven executive departments: General Executive, Interior, Public Instruction, Finance, Justice, Agriculture and Natural Resources, Commerce and Communications. These perform their functions through various bureaus and offices.

² Act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, Section 21.

³ *Ibid.*

other executive duties by the Governor-General and in case of the temporary absence or disability of the latter, or if the office be vacant, has the duties and powers of the Governor-General.

The President also appoints an auditor and deputy-auditor who have 'authority as that conferred by law upon the several auditors of the United States and the Comptroller of the United States Treasury.'¹

The judiciary comprises the Supreme Court, Courts of First Instance, and Courts of Justices of the Peace. The Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.²

In general the Americans found the Filipinos were very far from understanding the fundamental principles of a democracy. Their training, their habit of mind, had been all toward absolutism. It was present in the home and in the small community, where the *cacique* held sway.³ Their tendency was to look upon the Governor-General as a person of almost supreme power, and Governors-General travelling in the Islands were constantly having brought home to them the expectation on the part of the people generally that they were given absolute power, and it was very hard to make people understand the limitations to the power of the Governor-General imposed by the necessity of submitting certain matters to the courts and others to determination by local authorities or other governmental agencies, such as the Legislature.⁴

¹ Act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, Section 24.

² For a discussion of the detailed organization of the courts, see Chapter VII, 'Justice.'

³ See ex-President Taft's comments on this subject in Appendix XXIV.

⁴ Governor Taft, in an article written in 1902 on political parties in the Philippine Islands, printed in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for September, 1902, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Whole No. 72), said of the Filipinos: 'They have very little practical conception of individual liberty as it has been hammered out in Anglo-Saxon countries by hundreds of years of conflict. In spite of eloquent tributes to liberty and freedom, even the most advanced and practical of the Filipino party leaders find it difficult to regard with favor limitations of the executive in favor of the liberty of the individual when the right man is in the executive. The tendency among them is always toward absolutism in the president of the town, in the governor of the province, and in the representative of the central government.'

It may fairly be said that the inauguration of civil government, the kindly spirit shown by the Commission, their laborious devotion to the service of the Filipinos, and the results they achieved brought about an early friendship between Americans and Filipinos which, in spite of misunderstandings and a natural impatience shown by the Filipino in pursuit of further concessions of additional political power, has persisted.

CHAPTER V

PUBLIC ORDER

As the fires of the insurrection died down and the civil government began taking over the administration of the public services, including the restoration and maintenance of order, the work of the army became less and the activities of the police forces in the provinces under civil control took on greater importance.

As has been explained, the executive authority in all organized provinces was transferred from the Military Governor to the President of the Commission, William H. Taft, as Civil Governor on July 4, 1901. Major-General Adna R. Chaffee relieved Major-General MacArthur as Commanding General and as Military Governor of territory not yet organized under provincial governments, and shortly after issued an order¹ directing that the troops should abstain from any interference with the administration of civil affairs unless requested by the civil authorities through army headquarters. The order permitted the senior military officers on duty in remote provinces and those not having telegraphic communication with Manila, to 'render needful assistance to the civil authority upon written or telegraphic request of the provincial civil governor.'

'As a rule,' the order read, 'interference by the military in civil affairs will correspond to the well-known procedure in the United States. When, under an emergency, the civil governor of the Philippine Islands shall make a request upon the commanding general of the division of the Philippines for the assistance of troops, the latter will be governed by such instructions as they may receive from these headquarters.'²

The situation was one of much delicacy and required great tact to bring about the necessary coöperation between the officers of the army and the civil officials.

¹ General Orders No. 179, Headquarters Division of the Philippines, July 20, 1901. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, pp. 13-15.)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, pp. 13-15.

The declaration of peace ¹ by no means ended active operations of the army in the Islands. American troops during the years following the beginning of organized civil government, and until 1906, were engaged in field operations of a dangerous and exhausting character against guerrilla bands in Batangas and other provinces of Luzon, and against similar outlaws and religious fanatics on Bohol, Leyte, Samar, and other islands of the Visayas.

In Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago there were more extensive and prolonged operations, first against guerrilla bands and fanatics in northern Mindanao, and subsequently against recalcitrant Moros in the Cotabato Valley and in the course of the subjugation of the Lake Lanao region in central Mindanao and of the Sulu Moros on the island of Jolo and adjacent islands. Much hard campaigning ensued and many casualties occurred among American troops. In these field operations many officers and men revealed ability of a high order which marked them for military leadership in the World War, in which they won enduring renown. Most noted of these distinguished Americans is General John J. Pershing, who was promoted from the grade of captain of cavalry to brigadier-general on September 20, 1906, in recognition of his brilliant and successful campaign against the Lake Lanao Moros, who had never submitted to the sovereignty of Spain.

It has been seen in the chapter on 'American Occupation' ² how the army came to occupy as many as 639 posts in December, 1901. Their very presence in these posts had the effect of giving confidence to law-abiding and peaceful citizens and discouraging violence. The collapse of insurrection in Batangas and Samar permitted the reduction of garrisoned posts to 178 by September 30, 1902, and to 128 by June 30, 1903. Little by little most of these posts were withdrawn. The economic programme of the War Department required fewer posts situated near the more active centres of population where transportation facilities were better, ships more frequent, and the cost of maintenance less.

The army selected strategic points which were set aside as reservations for permanent garrisons. The island of Corregi-

¹ Amnesty Proclamation by President Roosevelt, July 4, 1902. See Appendix X.

² Chapter III.

dor became a very important fortified post commanding the entrance to Manila Bay, all private rights to buildings and lands were extinguished by purchase, and extensive improvements and barracks for housing a large force were situated on the hills of Corregidor, which rise to a height of over six hundred feet, making the site much cooler than at sea level.

Besides the extensive fortification at Corregidor, the United States has spent sums of money running into many millions of dollars in additional fortifications at the entrance of Manila Bay, a small island by the name of Caballo and another called Carabao having been fortified, as well as an islet little more than a rock, known as El Fraile, lying south of Corregidor and not far from the middle of the southern entrance, which is nearly seven miles wide. El Fraile has been fortified until it has the strength of a first-class battleship.

In the city of Manila the army retained the old Spanish citadel, Fort Santiago, as military headquarters, also a water front and a number of buildings and tracts of land for barracks, officers' quarters, hospital and supply purposes.

An extensive tract south of the Pasig River three miles from Manila, reaching nearly to Laguna de Bay,¹ and situated in the province of Rizal, was purchased for a large post named Fort William McKinley.

North of Manila, seventy miles up the railroad, a beautiful reservation, ultimately increased to over one hundred thousand acres for manœuvre purposes, running from the railroad near the towns of Angeles and Mabalacat back to the mountains in the provinces of Pampanga and Tarlac, was set aside for a cavalry post and named Camp Stotsenberg.

At Baguio, the summer capital, a particularly beautiful tract of land was set aside as a military reservation, and one or two temporary barracks constructed for a garrison of not more than two hundred men, with dwellings for a few officers. From year to year this has been extended. Additional cottages, hospitals, and barracks of concrete have been added until Camp John Hay, as it is called, has become one of the most beautiful of the army posts and is much frequented by

¹ A large lake.

officers and their families, particularly in the hot season, as well as by enlisted men from the lowlands ordered to its cool climate for convalescence after surgical operations or sickness.

The commanding general of the military district of Mindanao was also the civil governor of the Moro Province, which comprised in addition to the greater part of Mindanao the islands to the southward, including the Sulu Archipelago. As the inhabitants in that region were more turbulent and continued armed opposition to the government longer than in any other region, the number of troops in the Moro country was relatively great.

For several years there were ten army posts maintained in the island of Mindanao; three in the Sulu Archipelago, and one at Puerto Princesa on the island of Palawan. Including those heretofore mentioned there were nine in the island of Luzon; one at Cebu, and one at Iloilo.¹ Most of the army posts had been discontinued by 1917, the only garrison then remaining south of Manila being one battalion of Scouts at Zamboanga.

On the withdrawal of garrisons, the army generously turned over to the civil authorities buildings, except those salvaged for use at permanent posts, and land for public schools, hospitals, Constabulary barracks, and other purposes of civil administration.

The restoration of order was marked by the rapid withdrawal of American troops from the Islands during 1902 and

¹ In the island of Mindanao there were posts located on the north seacoast at Overton in the province of Lanao, at two points on Lake Lanao — a regimental camp at Marahui on the north and a battalion at Camp Vicars on the bluffs overlooking the lake on the south shore, and at Malabang, the seaport at the southern terminus of the trail from Camp Vicars. At Parang on the south coast of Mindanao the post was called Ludlow Barracks. In the Cotabato Valley there were three posts and at Davao one. A strong garrison and brigade, or military district headquarters, were maintained until 1913 at Zamboanga, the provincial capital.

In the Sulu Archipelago, besides the important post of Jolo, there were garrisons at Siasi and Bongao.

For some years garrisons were maintained at San Fernando de la Union in northern Luzon, at Camp Gregg in the province of Tarlac, Camp Eldridge near Los Baños on the Laguna de Bay, Camp McGrath in the province of Batangas, and Regan Barracks in the city of Albay in the province of that name.

In the Visayas, at Cebu there were the Warwick Barracks, and on the island of Guimaras near Iloilo the army had a large reservation and important post known as Camp Jossman.

1903, until by 1904 the force had been reduced to 12,723, by 1913 to 11,655, and by 1926 to 4946.¹

From time to time, as the number of stations occupied by American troops was reduced, Filipino agitators tried to incite their people to oppose the United States by telling them that the troops had been wholly withdrawn. More than once, to counteract these false impressions, commanding generals ordered practice marches of impressive forces of American infantry, cavalry, and artillery through regions where such rumors had been current.²

Major-General William P. Duvall, then commanding the Military Division of the Philippines, went so far as to assemble a large part of his command in Manila at the time of the carnival in 1911, when representative people from all over the archipelago came for the annual carnival and exposition. The

¹ The following table shows as of June 30 of the years indicated the strength of the American troops and the Philippine Scouts, respectively, on duty in the Philippine Islands:

[Source: Data supplied by the Adjutant-General April 18, 1927.]

Year	American troops	Philippine Scouts
1898.....	2,501	.....
1899.....	32,315	.....
1900.....	71,528	.....
1901.....	50,074	.....
1902.....	27,188	5,036
1903.....	17,748	4,871
1904.....	12,723	5,087
1905.....	13,000	5,147
1906.....	14,565	5,159
1907.....	11,508	5,105
1908.....	12,441	5,394
1909.....	13,693	5,746
1910.....	12,282	5,552
1911.....	11,875	5,580
1912.....	11,715	5,660
1913.....	11,655	5,583
1914.....	9,500	5,278
1915.....	12,909	5,612
1916.....	11,884	5,785
1917.....	14,874	5,733
1918.....	8,307	6,968
1919.....	5,116	8,113
1920.....	12,170	7,149
1921.....	8,721	7,112
1922.....	6,878	6,930
1923.....	4,296	7,112
1924.....	4,529	7,216
1925.....	4,555	6,684
1926.....	4,946	7,170

² The journal of the Secretary of Commerce and Police on April 29, 1906, read: 'Arranged with General Wood to send great columns of troops to scour the whole country, on practice marches, such as the army regulations demand.' (Journal, II, 3.)

And later, July 20, 1906: 'Wood, who has plenty of troops in the neighborhood, is sending them in to restore confidence and try to hunt down the offenders. Bandholtz has just succeeded in making quite a haul.' (Journal, II, 53.)

troops, over eight thousand in number, were paraded, and the Filipinos visiting the carnival were able from personal observation to carry to the farthest confines of the archipelago word that American troops were still present in force.

Extensive field manœuvres are held from time to time in the provinces near Manila and in the central plain of Luzon.

Until the year 1906¹ the assistance of the army was necessary in Luzon and the Visayas in the suppression of outlawry and the destruction of armed bands, most of which had existed in the mountains and swamp jungles as far back as the Spanish régime. In the Moro country the army was more or less actively engaged until late in 1913 in overcoming armed resistance to the United States government.

The sacrifice in lives and health of American army officers and troops cannot be stated in exact terms. The total, if ascertained, would be impressive.²

Since 1913 American troops have not been required except for garrison duty and as a moral force representing the sovereignty of the United States in the Orient.

It is impossible to assess and hard to overestimate the stabilizing influence of that thoroughly competent, trained body of army officers and men in khaki. Who can say how much of the stability of the institutions established by America in the Orient is due to their presence! When the Boxer War broke out in China in 1900, the first American troops to reach the scene came from Manila, and it is not too much to say that America's part in the Boxer War was largely borne by American veteran troops and immediately available supplies drawn from the Philippine Islands.³

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 2, p. 267.

² The number of American soldiers killed in action is reported as follows:

For the month of August, 1898 (which includes assault and capture of the city of Manila from the Spaniards) — 27;

From the beginning of the Philippine insurrection February 4, 1899, to the inauguration of civil government July 4, 1901 — 752;

From July 5, 1901, to December 31, 1906 — 239;

From January 1, 1907, to December 31, 1913 — 23;

From January 1, 1914, to December 31, 1926 — 0.

(Data furnished by the Commanding General, Philippines Division, February 26, 1927.)

³ *Five Years of the War Department, 1899-1903*, 86, 87.

No account of events in the Philippine Islands would be complete without mentioning the fine service rendered by the United States Navy and Marine Corps, the former coöperating by sea with the army, and the latter on a few occasions taking active part in operations against outlaw bands, notably in Samar, where Major L. W. T. Waller, of the United States Marine Corps, distinguished himself. The navy also has done fine service in patrolling the Sulu seas against Malay pirates and has assisted the army in some of its storming operations against hostile Moros in the island of Jolo and other islands in the vicinity.¹

Naval stations are maintained in Manila Bay at Cavite and in Subig Bay at Olongapo, both on the west coast of Luzon.²

While the navy has generally maintained its Asiatic fleet in Chinese waters, the Admiral commanding has kept in touch with the Philippine situation through the commandant of the Cavite and Olongapo naval stations and by occasional visits of the flagship. One or more vessels, at times a squadron, are usually stationed in Philippine waters, and the Asiatic fleet cruises to the Islands for target practice and remains there for several months each year.

The organization of the Philippine Scouts under Congressional authorization as a part of the military establishment of the United States for use only in the Philippine Islands has been mentioned in a previous chapter.³ The creation of this body was recommended not only by army officers familiar with operations in the Philippine Islands, but also by the Philippine Commission, which reported that it was the general consensus of opinion among those consulted that the

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1902, ix, 432-45, 501, 613, 615.

² The small Spanish naval stations at Pollok, on the south coast of the island of Mindanao, and at Isabela, on the north coast of the island of Basilan, were at first occupied by the United States Navy, but were turned over in 1904 to the Constabulary. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 3, p. 124.)

³ Act of Congress approved February 2, 1901, authorized the enlistment of not to exceed twelve thousand Filipinos and the provisional appointment of Filipinos as lieutenants. Under this authorization a force of about five thousand men was enlisted, and three Filipinos — an Ilocano, a Tagalog, and a Visayan — were commissioned lieutenants. This enlisted strength was subsequently increased to seven thousand, and Filipinos on equality with Americans became eligible for commissions and promotion to the grade of major, the highest in this branch of the army.

time was ripe for the organization of Filipinos in military and police capacities.¹

Assuming that Congress at its next session will provide for an increase of the Regular Army [the report read], it by no means follows that a large part thereof will or should be stationed here permanently. Considerations of public policy and economy alike forbid such a programme; nor in our judgment is it necessary.

Whilst the American soldier is unsurpassed in war, as it is understood among civilized people, he does not make the best policeman, especially among a people whose language and customs are new and strange to him, and in our opinion should not be put to that use when, as we believe, a better substitute is at hand. We therefore earnestly urge the organization of ten regiments of native troops of infantry and cavalry, the proportion between the two arms of the service to be fixed by competent military judges.

These troops should in the main be officered by Americans. Certainly this should be the case as to their field officers and company commanders. Lieutenants might be Filipinos, judiciously selected, and provision might be made for their promotion in the event of faithful or distinguished service.

.

We further recommend that a comprehensive scheme of police organization be put in force as rapidly as possible; that it be separate and distinct from the army, having for its head an officer of rank and pay commensurate with the importance of the position, with a sufficient number of assistants and subordinates to exercise thorough direction and control. This organization should embrace every township in the islands, and should be so constituted that the police of several contiguous townships could be quickly mobilized. The chief officers of this organization should be Americans; but some of the subordinate officers should be natives, with proper provision for their advancement as a reward for loyal and efficient services.²

Major General George W. Davis, United States Army,

¹ In the words of the report:

'The question as to whether native troops and a native constabulary is at present practicable has received much thought and a careful investigation by the Commission. We have felt that its consideration and determination was especially important at this time in view of the fact that the volunteer regiments now in service here will soon be returned to the United States to be mustered out. We have sought and obtained the opinions of a large number of regular and volunteer officers of all rank, having their fields of operation in all parts of the islands, and there appears to be a general consensus of opinion among them that the time is ripe for these organizations, and this is also our conclusion.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900, 77.*)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900, 77, 79.*

commanding the Division of the Philippines, in his annual report for 1903, said of the Scouts:

The employment of natives of the Philippines in a military capacity and for combatant purposes by the United States authorities appears to date from September 16, 1899, when General Otis authorized Lieutenant Batson, Fourth Cavalry, to raise 100 Macabebe¹ scouts, and on October 18, 1899, when General Lawton was authorized to organize two additional companies, each 128 strong, and to employ them in clearing the swamps and esteros about the head of Manila Bay of robbers and insurgents, and as scouts, guides, and detectives for General Lawton's column.

Lieutenant Batson, Fourth Cavalry, commanded the battalion. Subsequently this force was increased to 478 officers and men. Its organization was completed on June 1, 1900, and was styled 'The Squadron of Philippine Cavalry, U.S. Volunteers,' with Maj. Matthew A. Batson, squadron commander. The officers were United States volunteers and paid from army appropriations, while the men were contract employees and paid from revenues of the islands.

General Otis, in his report to the Adjutant-General on May 14, 1900, mentions the circumstance of the recall of a detachment of Macabebes from Tayabas Province, because 'their methods of dealing with rebellious subjects or with natives from whom they wished to extract information were in most instances attended with inexcusable harshness.'

The raising of the scouts was not limited to the one tribe of Macabebes, for in the division roster of July 15, 1900, there is mention of 'Ilocos scouts' and 'Ilocano scouts.' . . .

On the 27th of September, 1901, the commanding general, Division of the Philippines, ordered that all classes of native scouts be reorganized into fifty companies, each to conform as respects numbers of the different ratings to a company of infantry of 104 men and 1 or 2 officers, preferably lieutenants who had belonged to the former organizations, but department commanders could in cases of necessity assign subaltern officers for duty with these companies. The soldiers were not enlisted, but were to all intents and purposes civilian employees, and they were armed with the Springfield carbine and wore khaki uniform of the regular infantry. The companies were numbered from 1 to 50, of which 11 were composed of Macabebes, 13 of Ilocanos, 4 of Cagayans, 4 of Tagálogs, 2 of Bicol, and 16 of Visayans. All were paid from insular funds.²

¹ See Chapter III, 'American Occupation,' *ante*, 103, footnote 2.

² General Davis continued:

'On September 28 the War Department ordered that all scouts then employed and theretofore paid from insular revenues be discharged as such and enlisted and paid,

In pursuance of this order the 50 companies of scouts were fully organized, and all of the officers were commissioned provisionally for four years, while the soldiers were all enlisted for three years. Three natives of the Philippine Islands were appointed second lieutenants, but one of them has recently resigned, and his place has been filled by an American. The aggregate strength of the scouts on October 1, 1902, officers and men, was 4935. . .

From October 1, 1902, to February 1, 1903, the scouts were all performing the same duties as the regular troops, namely, guards, fatigues, etc., but it was very seldom that two or more companies were assembled at the same station.¹

From the first day of their use as auxiliaries to the United States Army the Philippine Scouts have rendered distinguished services. Beginning under Lieutenant Batson² in the early part of the insurrection, later under the direction of Lieutenant Castner³ in General Lawton's command, and, in fact, throughout their history, there have been numerous instances of heroism on the part of the Scouts and fidelity under conditions involving hardships and temptation to disloyalty.⁴ One of the most distinguished services rendered by the Scouts was their loyalty to General Funston on the occasion of his heroic capture of General Aguinaldo, previously noted.⁵

Upon their organization as part of the regular army the practice was adopted of placing detachments of Scouts in the outlying posts and withdrawing the American troops to the more central garrisons.

from October 1, with funds appropriated for the support of the Army. Effect to these telegraphic orders of the Secretary of War was given by General Orders, No. 310, Division of the Philippines, series of 1901. By that order the regular army ration was restored to the scouts and so continued until the receipt of General Orders, No. 12, 1902, . . . which with very slight modification restored the ration fixed by General Orders, No. 70, headquarters Division of the Philippines, series 1901, its money value being about 6 cents less than that of the regular army ration.' (*Report of the War Department*, 1903, III, 141-42.)

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1903, III, 142-43.

² Matthew A. Batson.

³ Joseph C. Castner.

⁴ The *Cablenews-American* of January 23, 1908, said of the Scouts: 'The scouts themselves are no less than wonderful as soldiers. . . .

'When all is considered the scout officers have no cause to be anything but well satisfied with the men under them, for the scouts are brave and loyal, and a more soldierly, better disciplined body of men it [would] be hard to find in any army. The work of the United States government in making soldiers out of the Filipinos is going forward with more real progress than could have been anticipated . . .'

⁵ Five American officers and seventy-eight Macabebe Scouts were used in this expedition. (*Report of the War Department*, 1901, I, part 4, p. 59.)

The desire of the officers commanding to have their troops together for disciplinary purposes, drills, and also on account of convenience of inspection and economy in transportation, brought about a constant tendency to withdraw the garrisons from the smaller and remote stations and bring their forces together in larger units more centrally placed.

Following the organization of provincial governments and the substitution of civil for military administration, advantage was taken of the provisions of the Act of Congress ¹ that, to assist in the maintenance of public order, the civil governor was authorized to request the transfer of the Scouts to civil direction, and this was done during the development of the Constabulary.

An interesting early, and perhaps the first, instance of Filipinos in action under American military leadership was that of the regiment of 'Manila men' chiefly from ships' crews at Shanghai, organized and led by 'General' Frederick Townsend Ward, of Massachusetts, in the defense of that city against Chinese rebels in 1860. This force of American, European, and Filipino adventurers carried on the defense of Shanghai for nearly two years and in coöperation with British and French troops drove back the rebels for a radius of thirty miles around the city. After the death of General Ward, who was killed in the assault on Tseki, the great British soldier Charles George Gordon, then a major of engineers, was selected by the Chinese government to command this nucleus of what developed into a military command that in its day was known as 'The Ever-Victorious Army.'

In more recent years Filipinos have served in other military fields under various flags, in the French Foreign Legion in Indo-China at least one rising to the grade of commissioned officer.²

During the World War many Filipinos evinced fine spirit and a number served in divisions organized in the United States.³ The first reported killed in battle was Tomas Claudio,

¹ Act of Congress of January 30, 1903, provided that companies of Scouts ordered to assist Constabulary in the maintenance of order might be placed under the command of officers serving as Chief or Assistant Chief of Constabulary, but not under the command of other officers or of those of lower rank.

² A brother of Judge Felix Roxas, former mayor of Manila.

³ See Chapter XXII, 'Government by Filipinos,' II, 279, where an account will be



GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO

in whose memory the National Guard camp near Manila was named.

Many Filipinos naturally sought service in the United States Navy, as they had previously in that of Spain. During the World War, 4785 Filipinos served in the navy, of whom fifty-six were killed. Many Asiatics formerly in the navy were replaced by Filipinos, until in June, 1926, there were 4240 Filipinos in the United States naval service.¹

The United States made provision for the training of a limited number of Filipinos at West Point.² Some of these have graduated and received commissions in the United States Army as lieutenants of Philippine Scouts.³ There were on September 1, 1925, twenty-nine Filipinos out of a total of one hundred and one officers, nominally of Philippine Scouts, but assigned to service in the infantry, cavalry, engineers, coast and field artillery. Four Filipinos reached the rank of major, two of captain, five of first lieutenant, and eighteen of second lieutenant.⁴ Several of these officers have received special courses of training for higher command at the service schools for officers in the United States. The Filipino commissioned officer is on equality with the American as to pay and allowances.

The Philippine Scouts in 1926 numbered about seven thousand⁵ and have been assimilated fully to various branches of the military service the same as American troops, except that they are not subject to service outside the Philippine Islands.

The original system of designating companies by tribal names, such as Ilocano, Macabebe, Bicol, and others, to develop rivalry, seems to have been abandoned.

found of an effort to raise a Philippine division to fight for the United States during the World War.

¹ Data furnished by the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Navy Department, April 7, 1927.

² Authorized by Act of Congress in 1908.

³ The first graduated in 1914, and twelve had graduated and been commissioned by January 1, 1926. One Filipino has graduated from the Naval Academy and been commissioned a second lieutenant of Philippine Scouts.

⁴ *Army List and Directory*, September 1, 1925, 145.

⁵ On December 31, 1926, the enlisted strength of the Philippine Scouts comprised 6933 Filipinos including 149 Igorots and 59 Moros. The Moros, together with 19 Filipinos, formed the so-called 'Moro' company. (Data furnished by the Commanding General, Philippine Department, February 26, 1927.)

The Filipino soldier in the United States Army has been taught to use and is equipped with the same firearms as the American, and in marksmanship has excelled in relative number of qualified sharpshooters. The Filipino higher non-commissioned officers¹ are given the same opportunity of learning the art and science of war as are Americans of similar grades, and are potential commissioned officers for time of war. The Secretary of War as of June 30, 1925, reported there were 1055 Filipino enlisted men rated as specialists in various branches of the army service.²

Except for substantial differences in pay and allowances,³ the Filipino and American soldiers are on a basis of practical equality. Competent observers believe that the almost uniform loyalty of the Filipinos in the United States Army is due in large measure to personal attachment to their American officers.⁴

Generals Lawton, Bell, and Funston, and many other American officers in their official reports comment upon the stubborn resistance, valor, and good judgment in handling their forces on the part of Filipino officers opposed to them in the course of the insurrection. One of the most notable military successes of the Filipinos recorded was that of Lieutenant Colonel Maximo Abad, who captured a company of

¹ In 1926 these numbered 28 master sergeants, 69 first sergeants, 29 technical sergeants, 93 staff sergeants, and 584 sergeants. (*Report of the Secretary of War*, 1925, 123.)

² Infantry, coast artillery, field artillery, cavalry, signal corps, ordnance, engineers, finance, medical, and quartermaster departments. (*Report of the Secretary of War*, 1925, 124.)

³ The pay, rations, and clothing allowances of enlisted men of the Scouts are fixed by the Secretary of War under provisions of the Act of Congress of February 2, 1901. The Filipinos receive less than half the pay and allowances of the American soldiers in all enlisted grades.

This disparity, while fully in accord with relative wage conditions in the two countries, caused a protest in 1924 on the part of the Filipino soldiers at Fort McKinley. Although made without manifestation of violence, yet this protest, being a refusal to perform military duties, was in effect mutiny and presented a grave problem to the military authorities. The matter was solved by court-martial proceedings. Two hundred and seventeen Scout soldiers were sentenced to dishonorable discharge and varying terms of imprisonment. (Data furnished by the Commanding General, Philippine Department, February 26, 1927.)

⁴ Each change of officers is accompanied by a weakening of the organization until the enlisted men shall have had time to acquire confidence in their new officers.

See also *post*, 219, where Colonel Rivers is quoted.

American troops on the island of Marinduque in September, 1900.¹ The successful defense of Mabitac in Laguna de Bay by the insurgent general Juan Cailles was another exhibition of decided military skill.²

Native auxiliaries were used to a gradually increasing degree by the American army in Mindanao and Sulu as they had been in earlier years in Luzon and Visayas, until, during the period of General Pershing's command of military forces and governorship of the Moro Province, as that civil jurisdiction was termed, American troops were utilized only as reserves and in the technical services. They were ultimately wholly withdrawn from the Moro Province, and the last important engagement under military direction against hostile Moros, in 1913, at Bagsak on the island of Jolo, was chiefly by the Philippine Scouts, who acquitted themselves most creditably.

The Spanish government used both army and navy forces with personnel composed of both Europeans and Filipinos in the maintenance of public order. In the Filipino regiments most of the enlisted men and the commissioned officers in the lesser grades were Filipinos with few representatives in the higher grades.

The Spaniards also organized an auxiliary militia and called for volunteers in emergencies. Those who volunteered included practically all resident civilian Spaniards and many Filipinos of all classes.

Besides their army and navy, the Spaniards maintained in the Islands an insular police force called the *Guardia Civil*, whose duty was the maintenance of order in the northern islands. It is said to have been distinguished 'by its severe discipline and by the martial aspect of its members.' It was organized in three regiments and comprised somewhat more than thirty-five hundred men, both Europeans and Filipinos.³

The towns used for police young men called *cuadrilleros*, drafted for service by weekly turns.⁴ They served under orders of local civil officials.

The city of Manila had two police forces, the *Veterana* of

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1901, I, part 4, pp. 10, 61.

² *Ibid.*, I, part 4, p. 12.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, IV, 33-34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, 34.

four hundred men organized in 1872, which served under orders of the mayor and was held in great respect, and the municipal guard, fewer in number, for the service of the town council and judge.¹

The provincial governors, all Spaniards, maintained order in the provinces under the general supervision of the Captain-General.²

The harsh measures practiced by the *Guardia Civil* even against law-abiding citizens aroused such bitter antagonism³ against an insular police as to make it especially difficult for American administrators to devise a working plan for such an organization with which to maintain public order when the army relinquished that duty.

The Philippine Commission, following the general practice in the United States, created municipal police, placed at first under the military authorities,⁴ and later under municipal presidents upon the organization of municipal governments.⁵ In creating provincial governments,⁶ the Commission made the municipal police subject to the provincial governor for service anywhere in the province that the public interest might require, and made it the duty of the governor to call upon the chief executive of the insular government, or the military officer commanding the district within which the province came, for the assistance of the army to suppress disturbance of public order when beyond the power of the local police.

As had been the case in Spanish days, the municipal presidents regarded municipal police very largely as their personal servants and used them as messengers and for menial duties, such as waiting on table. And under these circumstances it was not to be expected that they would be an efficient force in the maintenance of public order. Many instances occurred, however, where energetic and efficient municipal presidents

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, IV, 33.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, by Dr. José Rizal, give vivid portrayals of the unfortunate relations between the *Guardia Civil* and the people during the latter years of Spanish administration.

⁴ Act No. 58, Philippine Commission, December 12, 1900.

⁵ Act No. 82, Philippine Commission, January 31, 1901.

⁶ Act No. 83, Philippine Commission, February 6, 1901.

or provincial governors made excellent use of these municipal police and did fine service in hunting down criminals and armed bands of guerrillas following the insurrection, sometimes exceeding their authority, operating outside the limits of their own jurisdiction, and even using jail guards for police duty. Some of these officials used their private means, and instances are recorded in which they even lost their lives in the service. Too much credit cannot be given to these patriotic Filipinos.

The Philippines Constabulary was one of the children of the masterly brain of the Honorable Luke E. Wright and one of the greater of his many statesmanlike contributions to the success of American government in the Islands. Recognizing the fact that the army had neither the will nor the organization to do police service, or take part in the maintenance of order and suppression of crime, that its job was to put down armed insurrection that had got beyond the control of the civil authorities, he called Governor Taft's attention to the fact that if he failed to have an insular police force, responsible to him, whose duty it was to maintain public order, his government and the American effort to establish it in the Islands was sure to result in disastrous failure.¹ And it was only a few days after the transfer of executive authority to Governor Taft that the Commission, with the approval of the

¹ The Philippine Commission outlined this need as follows:

'Although there is no armed opposition to American supremacy in any of the pacified provinces, there has naturally followed from five years of revolution and unrest much of brigandage and general lawlessness, which bears heavily on the masses of the people who are peaceably inclined and only desire to till their fields and pursue their usual vocations.

'The obvious and indeed the only adequate remedy is to be found in the establishment of an effective police force. Under the provisions of the municipal code enacted by the commission, the local authorities were empowered to organize and maintain a local police force for the respective municipalities. The *presidentes* and councilors of the towns, however, are all Filipinos, many of them *ex-insurrectos*, and it was not believed that a purely native force, controlled by them, could or would be uniformly efficient. In addition to this many of the municipalities, as a result of the ravages of war and other causes, were too poor to support the burden thus incurred.

'Furthermore, the municipalities in these islands are not, as a rule, composed of small areas of territory densely populated, as in the United States, but are of considerable extent, in many instances almost as large as an ordinary county in the United States, and, finally, there is quite a considerable territory, generally remote and in the mountains, which is not included in any municipality and in which lawless men readily find refuge and a base of operation.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 58.)

Secretary of War, enacted the law ¹ creating an insular police force which became known as the Philippines Constabulary. This force is similar in some respects to the mounted police of the British northwest territories of America, and it is interesting to note that it was organized in advance of the creation of any state police in any state of the Union, with the exception of the Texas Rangers. This example has been since followed, and several states, including Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts, now maintain such forces.

Of this action in creating an insular police force, the Commission reported to the Secretary of War on October 15, 1901, as follows:

... The general scheme ... is to create an insular force of not exceeding one hundred and fifty men for each province, selected from the natives thereof, who may be mounted in whole or in part, and who are placed under the immediate command of one or more, not exceeding four, provincial inspectors. The whole body is placed under the control of a chief and four assistant chiefs of constabulary. ... Full powers are given to properly arm, equip, maintain, and discipline the force, which is enlisted for two years, unless sooner discharged. They are declared to be peace officers, and it is made their especial duty to prevent and suppress brigandage, insurrection, unlawful assemblies, and breaches of the peace. For this purpose they are given authority to make arrests, but are required at the earliest possible moment to bring the prisoner before a magistrate for examination.

The chief of constabulary is empowered temporarily, in case of exigency, to combine the forces of two or more provinces. The act also provides for thorough and frequent inspections of the municipal police by the provincial inspectors, under rules and regulations to be established by the chief and approved by the civil governor, and for reports as to their equipment, efficiency, and generally as to the conditions as regards peace, law, and order which prevail in the several municipalities. The provincial inspectors are also given authority to suspend and, after hearing, to remove a municipal policeman for inefficiency, dishonesty, or disloyalty.²

General Henry T. Allen, then an extremely able captain of cavalry in the regular United States Army, was selected for the work of organization. Four other army captains were chosen to assist him, among whom Harry H. Bandholtz and James G. Harbord, by reason of their later achievements,

¹ Act No. 175, Philippine Commission, July 18, 1901.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, pp. 58, 59.

stand out prominently.¹ For officers General Allen selected Americans who had had some military training, some of whom had been volunteer officers, and a still larger number of men chosen from the noncommissioned ranks of the United States Army. He put them through a course of special training, and sent them out to organize, drill, and discipline carefully selected native enlisted men for the maintenance of order in the Islands. Selected graduates of military schools in the United States were appointed junior officers, as also were Filipinos of proved loyalty and courage.

Colonel William C. Rivers, an able, scholarly army officer, associated for many years with the Constabulary and who afterward with the rank of brigadier-general commanded it,² published a description of the force, in part as follows:

Some of the detailed uses of the Constabulary [he wrote in 1905] are to preserve order and prevent breaches of the peace, to seek out and arrest offenders against the laws of the land, to serve search warrants, furnish escorts if necessary to court officials executing civil warrants; to guard jails,³ furnish escorts for funds, carry prisoners from place to place or from the provinces to Bilibid, to patrol the highways and country districts; and to do many similar things which require small parties of armed men widely scattered throughout the provinces, and which demand intimate acquaintance with local people and officials. . . .

. . . the municipal police are more for the enforcement of municipal ordinances, while the Constabulary are not concerned with these but enforce the general laws of the land. . . .

For administrative purposes the Archipelago is divided into five districts each under charge of an Assistant Chief. These officials have large freedom of action and are responsible for the condition of their districts as to law and order and for the administration of the force under them. The Assistant Chiefs visit the various provinces in their districts and advise with the Provincial Governors and local officials and render them such aid as is needed in the preservation of order and the prevention of trouble. By this means they become acquainted with the local officials and leading citizens and keep in touch with local sentiment.

¹ The other two officers were Captains W. S. Scott and D. J. Baker, Jr. Colonel Baker did especially fine service in organizing the supply department.

² Among his important services was the compilation of a manual of regulations for the Constabulary that was helpful in systematizing the work and improving discipline.

³ Authorized by Act No. 610, Philippine Commission, February 2, 1903. See also *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, pp. 34, 123.

The unit of administration is the province and the senior Constabulary inspector lives at the provincial capital. The officers and men under him are posted throughout the province in detachments where needed. The Senior Inspector is the officer most closely in touch with provincial and town officials and may be called the corner-stone of the organization. The duties of the Senior Inspector require a high degree of energy, tact, and ability. These officials should be men of breadth and character who should be paid in proportion to their responsibilities. They become more valuable to the government as they learn the customs and language of the people, the proceedings of the courts and the precedents established by decisions.

The Constabulary inspectors are as a rule young men. But a dozen of the two hundred and fifty American officers are over thirty-five years old, while the great majority of them are under thirty. The officers are appointed by the Chief of Constabulary after careful inquiry as to their past service and after an examination as to their qualifications. Selected non-commissioned officers of the Army who are well recommended by their officers and who pass the required examinations are often permitted by the Division Commander to enter the Constabulary. The officers are required to study the general laws and to pass an examination for promotion. Those who pass examinations in one of the principal dialects receive one hundred pesos a year additional salary. Young men properly recommended as to character who are graduates of a university or college in the United States are admitted without examination.

The pay of officers ranges from one thousand dollars to eighteen hundred dollars a year.¹ There is good opportunity for successful men who show the requisite qualifications to go up, as promotions are not made necessarily for length of service alone.

The enlisted men are taken from the province in which they serve. Men so selected are more intimately acquainted with local conditions, and are more amenable to local public opinion and therefore less liable to commit abuses. . . .

. . . the following table is interesting and covers the four years up to the end of June of the present year [1905]:

Ladrones and insurrectos captured and surrendered.....	9155
Ladrones and insurrectos killed.....	2504
Arms secured.....	4288
Stolen animals recovered.....	5805

Of course a large majority of the surrenders and casualties above listed were during the first two years of the existence of the Constabulary and immediately following the war.

During the same period the Constabulary has lost in killed and wounded twenty-two officers and two hundred and ninety-five men.²

¹ It later ranged from twelve hundred to four thousand.

² From an article by Colonel W. C. Rivers, in the *Cablenews*, August 9, 1905.

There was no intermediary force between the Constabulary and the municipal police. Provincial officials from time to time advocated a provincial police, but the arguments against such a force were sufficiently cogent to prevent this unnecessary additional expense. The relation between the senior inspector of Constabulary and the provincial governor was a delicate one.¹ While not under his direction, as the Constabulary officer had to take his orders from his own commanding officer — namely, the district chief — it was necessary to coöperate with the provincial governor and do nothing which would in any way lessen his dignity.² Moreover, the law required that he should inform the governor of his proposed movements before carrying them out if the circumstances permitted.³

¹ It was difficult to place young officers, particularly Filipinos, in positions of such responsibility as the Constabulary officer commanding, without having the position sometimes go to his head, making him think he was superior to the local officials — something which always created great dissatisfaction and accounted for the early unpopularity which the Constabulary undoubtedly had to overcome.

The case of young Lieutenant A—— is a case in point, in which the following disciplinary action was taken:

‘By your lack of judgment and display of officiousness you have shown that you do not possess all the desirable traits necessary in an efficient Constabulary officer, and the Chief of Constabulary directs that in addition to this reprimand you be reduced ten files in your grade. . . .’ (Quoted from a letter from the Adjutant-General to Lieutenant A——, September 20, 1904.)

² Filipino officials, particularly the provincial governors, wanted the local police subject to their orders. Among the early petitions in regard to the Constabulary, one of the most frequent was that they should be made subject to the orders of the provincial government.

³ ‘It shall be the duty of the inspectors, sergeants, and corporals, and enlisted men of the Constabulary stationed in any province to coöperate in every way possible with the governor in the maintenance of law and order and the suppression of ladronism, lawless violence, and crime. The governor is the chief executive officer of the province, and it shall be the duty of the inspectors to keep him confidentially advised, as far as practicable and convenient, in advance of contemplated movements of the Constabulary and of proposed expeditions, arrests, and other acts by them which shall affect the public weal; and in cases where such confidential advice in advance is not convenient or practicable it shall be the duty of the commanding officer of the Constabulary to advise him as soon as possible after the event of what has taken place. Any disrespect or discourtesy offered by an officer or enlisted man of the Constabulary toward the governor of the province shall be cause for instant dismissal from the corps.’ (From Section 4, Act No. 610, Philippine Commission, February 2, 1903.)

In 1910, when the Secretary of War visited the Islands, there was agitation for an amalgamation of Constabulary and Scouts, and Secretary Dickinson himself, in his report to the President, recommended that these two bodies be formed into one

The Constabulary band, authorized by the Commission in 1903,¹ won popularity with the Filipinos, who are fond of music and remarkably proficient in it. To organize and train the band the services of William H. Loving were secured, an American negro of exceptional musical talent and impressive personality, a graduate of the Boston Conservatory of Music, later given the rank of major. Major Loving and his band gave frequent concerts in Manila on public occasions and regularly on the Luneta, the principal park in Manila, where the crowds congregate in the evening to meet and enjoy the music. This band made several foreign tours, including an extensive one in the United States, and earned the highest encomiums by the excellence of its performances. At some of the world expositions, it won an enviable position in competition with some of the most noted bands in the United States.

The Constabulary performed a valuable service by maintaining commissaries, or supply stores,² in which it was possible for Americans serving in various capacities in the provinces to obtain at reasonable prices supplies of articles not usually carried in the local stores, but which were very necessary for their happiness. These commissaries soon created a demand on the part of the Filipinos for these articles, which resulted in local merchants adding such items to their stocks. With the introduction of the parcels post and the development of the local stores and business by mail-order houses in Manila and the United States, the need for this service on the part of the Constabulary gradually waned, and in 1905 most

insular police force, to be administered under the direction of the Governor-General and to be paid out of insular funds, toward which, however, the United States was to make a contribution. The Secretary of War estimated that this organization thus administered could be kept at the degree of efficiency which the situation required at an expense of a million dollars a year less than it was costing to maintain the Scouts as United States troops. No action, however, was taken on this recommendation.

This matter was discussed at a conference between President Taft and the Governor-General in 1912, and President Taft then felt it was undesirable to have any part in the civil cost of the administration borne from the federal treasury, as he felt that the position of the Islands was much stronger if it could be said with truth that all of the costs of civil administration of the Islands were borne from the insular treasury, and he did not care to mix military and civil functions.

¹ Act No. 807, Philippine Commission, July 27, 1903.

² Act No. 242, Philippine Commission, September 27, 1901.

of the commissaries were transferred to the Bureau of Supply,¹ except at some of the more remote stations.

The service of communication, including the telegraph and telephone, is one of the most important agencies in the maintenance of public order and in prompt dealing with the movement of outlaws. Among many problems incident to the transfer of control from military to civil hands was that of the telegraph. Many of the lines had been constructed by the army and were operated with enlisted personnel. The Constabulary, in taking over the business of maintaining public order, took over the operation of these services. For this purpose, the Commission, in September, 1902,² authorized the organization of a telegraph division with personnel and equipment to take over and extend military telegraph and telephone lines.

There were then about eight thousand miles of telegraph and telephone land and submarine lines being operated by the army. Equipment and other material and also personnel were generously transferred by the army to the Constabulary as rapidly as circumstances warranted. The first year 178 offices and 2453 miles of lines were taken over. Great difficulty was experienced in securing operators. Filipino operators under the Spanish régime had used tape-recording instruments and their inability to handle messages in English was a great handicap. Moreover, this was a service in which it was necessary to be absolutely sure of the loyalty and disinterestedness of the operatives. American army signal corps operators were not all eager to leave the military service for prolonged residence in the Islands, and telegraph operators could not be secured from the United States except at comparatively high salaries. With the coöperation of the army, the situation was met and the service maintained. Schools for training Filipino operators were established at Manila and various important stations in the provinces.³ The schools were largely attended and within a year eighteen Filipinos

¹ Pursuant to the Reorganization Act No. 1407, Philippine Commission, October 26, 1905.

² Act No. 461, Philippine Commission, September 15, 1902. See also *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, pp. 11, 12.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, pp. 11, 12.

had completed the course in telegraphy and English, enabling them to begin work as operators. From that time on competent Filipino operators became available in increasing numbers.

As an emergency measure the Constabulary was fully justified in taking over and managing the telegraph and telephone lines, but the time soon came when the emergency had passed and these services could be transferred to the Bureau of Posts, in which they properly belonged. This was done January 1, 1906.¹ In most of the municipalities the same officer or officers could serve as postmaster and telegraph operator. There was marked economy and great convenience in this arrangement. As the use for police purposes grew less, the proportion of time available for transmission of civil messages and those originating outside of the government became larger; and employees of the Bureau of Posts were better organized to render service to the public than were the enlisted men of the Constabulary, whose first duty was to the service of their own corps.

The Chief of Constabulary² had been given early intervention in the matter of inspecting municipal police³ and he was further authorized under certain circumstances to take control. Later, to increase the efficiency of the municipal police, the Legislature enacted a law providing for their reorganization, management, and inspection by the Director of Constabulary under the general supervision of the Secretary of Commerce and Police.⁴

¹ On January 1, 1906, the telegraph division of the Constabulary was discontinued by transfer to the Bureau of Posts pursuant to the provisions of the Reorganization Act. The transfer involved 307 operators, linemen, and others, 4933 miles of lines over which more than 500,000 messages had been sent during the year.

The further development of the telegraph and telephone services is discussed in Chapter XII.

² The official title was changed in 1905 to 'Director' (Act No. 1407, Philippine Commission, November 1, 1905), and again to 'Chief' in 1913. (Act No. 2296, Philippine Legislature, November 13, 1913.)

³ Act No. 175, Philippine Commission, July 18, 1901.

⁴ Act No. 2169, Philippine Legislature, February 6, 1912, as amended.

Examinations as to fitness were made a prerequisite to appointments to municipal police positions, which were for the period of four years. Chiefs of police were appointed by provincial governors on recommendation of municipal presidents, and policemen by municipal presidents, all appointments being with the consent of the respective municipal councils. The examinations were conducted in each pro-

This measure brought about a great improvement. It raised the standard of local chiefs of police, and reduced the influence of local politics in the service. An interesting sign of the times was the substitution of swords or clubs for the firearms formerly carried by municipal policemen.

The Constabulary was charged with the regulation of the use of firearms.¹ During the disorders following the insurrection, it was important to scrutinize the licensing of arms and to keep a record of the persons who held them. Owners of agricultural property had to be in position to defend themselves, not only against outlaws, but against the depredations of wild animals, and at the same time it was vital that their firearms should not find their way into the possession of unauthorized persons or outlaws. The Constabulary were by

vince by a board composed of the senior inspector of Constabulary, the third member of the provincial board, and a municipal president designated by the provincial board. There were abundant applications for examination for chief of police, but few for policeman, especially in the smaller municipalities where the pay was very small. Until the revenues permit larger salaries these local governments will have great difficulty in securing efficient men for their police service.

The police forces of the cities of Manila and Baguio have not come under the Constabulary, the mayors of these cities having maintained them efficiently, appointments and promotions being subject to civil service examinations and regulations.

¹ 'The Civil Governor, the Chief of Philippines Constabulary, the governors of provinces, with the consent and approval of the Civil Governor, and the inspectors of Constabulary, with the consent and approval of the Chief of Philippines Constabulary, may authorize in writing any resident of the province to purchase or receive a gun or a revolver, or both, when satisfied that the person so purchasing, receiving, and having custody of the gun or revolver will only use it for lawful purposes and needs it for his reasonable protection or will use it for hunting or other lawful purposes only. A list of the licenses issued hereunder shall be kept by the officer issuing them, and notice of the issue of each license shall be given by the issuing officer to the Chief of Philippines Constabulary. The Chief of Philippines Constabulary shall keep a record of all persons to whom written authority to keep an arm or arms has been issued. The Civil Governor may by executive order issue regulations as to the form of written authority to be issued and provide for the exaction of a bond upon terms to be fixed by him which shall be conditioned for the safe-keeping of the weapon authorized to be purchased or held. Any person not connected with the Army or Navy of the United States, or otherwise authorized by law, having in his custody a gun, a revolver, or other firearms or ammunition for the same, who shall not have the license under this section provided, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars and imprisonment not exceeding one year and one day.' (From Section 4, Act No. 610, Philippine Commission, February 2, 1903.)

Later a comprehensive law was enacted by which the Chief of Constabulary, under the direction of the Governor-General, was charged with the regulation of the possession and use of firearms. (Act No. 1780, Philippine Commission, October 12, 1907.)

law ¹ also required to keep a record of identification of all firearms distributed to provincial and municipal governments. Later the Chief of Constabulary had the duty of granting permits. Unauthorized possession of firearms was penalized by fine and imprisonment. By unremitting labor on the part of the Constabulary, most of the unauthorized serviceable firearms were brought in.²

The Constabulary medical service ³ was established at a time when there was a general lack of medical and surgical facilities in most of the provinces. Part of this shortage, for emergency cases only, was made up by the army medical establishment, but upon the withdrawal of the army garrisons and the assumption by the Constabulary of their duties, the medical arm of the Constabulary service became more and more important and was a godsend to Americans stationed beyond reach of the larger centres of population. Small hospitals were provided at a few base points, and emergency hospital provision made at every Constabulary post.

Although handicapped by the impossibility of securing adequate funds from the limited resources of the insular government, the results of the Constabulary medical work were most creditable both in the care of the personnel of the Constabulary and in giving medical and surgical relief to sick and wounded prisoners, and also to the general public in regions where the Constabulary doctor was the only person trained in modern medicine. The service gradually developed a staff of competent physicians, surgeons, and dentists.

¹ Act No. 175, Philippine Commission, July 18, 1901.

² In 1904, exclusive of the Moro Province, there were 5805 licensed firearms in the hands of private individuals and 6654 in the hands of municipal police. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 3, 42.)

In 1913, 7216 licensed firearms were in the hands of private individuals. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 177.)

In 1921, there were 940 rifles, 5117 revolvers, and 15,264 shotguns, licensed in the hands of private persons; 87 rifles, 966 revolvers, and 465 shotguns belonging to provincial governments, and 19 carbines, 60 shotguns, and 4227 revolvers in the hands of municipal police; a total of 21,321 authorized firearms in the hands of private persons and 5824 in the hands of local governments, including the Moro Province. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1921, 76.)

By December 31, 1925, the number of firearms under license in the hands of private persons was 31,948, an increase of 10,627 in four years, and 6915 firearms owned by municipal police. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 267.)

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, pp. 102 ff.

The Constabulary also was the reliance of the Bureau of Health for quarantine guards and assistance in combating epidemic diseases, especially cholera. It was also employed in the enforcement of measures by the Bureau of Agriculture in quarantines against anthrax, foot-and-mouth disease, glanders, rinderpest, and surra among domestic animals. The quarantine against rinderpest required greater forces than the Constabulary was able to supply, and for this purpose the army was called upon for Scouts, who were used with great effect.¹ The Constabulary rendered valuable service in combating the locust plague by organizing and assisting the people within the infested regions.

In short, the Constabulary at one time or another rendered service to practically every branch of government. It furnished guards for collectors of public revenue, disbursing officers, public land surveyors, and scientific parties on explorations, and for the transportation of lepers; it was used in the suppression of opium traffic and gambling and in the apprehension of vagrants. Its patrols covered every part of the archipelago and aggregated nearly 750,000 miles annually.² During the disastrous eruption of Mount Taal in January, 1911, in which about five hundred lives were lost and several towns wiped out by tidal waves and showers of mud and ashes, the Constabulary detachments in the surrounding country moved at once to the relief of the devastated region.³

The tribal peoples in northern Luzon proved themselves excellent as enlisted men. It was found eminently desirable to utilize in each region as insular police men who could speak the local dialect. In carrying out this policy, Bontocs,

¹ See Chapter XII, *post*, 554-55.

² *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 267.

³ Of this service, a Manila newspaper made comment:

'The most striking lesson of the whole unfortunate incident is the inestimable value to the Philippine Islands of such a trained and mobile force in times of great emergency as the insular constabulary has again proved itself to be. These men are heroes as well as efficient public servants. Night and day, they have been at work, without sleep or rest, bringing relief to the suffering and assisting the inhabitants to escape destruction. Unquestionably they have lessened the threatened fatality to an enormous extent. Americans and Filipinos have risked their lives together with equal self-forgetfulness in a common act of duty and mercy. How much more could have been done if the little bands had been full-sized companies!' (*Manila Times* in an editorial, February 1, 1911.)

Ifugaos, and Kalingas were enrolled in the Constabulary. They quickly adapted themselves to the service¹ and were especially noteworthy for their loyalty, endurance, and marksmanship.²

In the Moro Province, under the control of the United States Army, the Constabulary was not organized until the latter part of 1903, when Colonel James G. Harbord undertook this duty, General Leonard Wood being provincial governor. It was problematical how successful such an organization would be owing to the religious differences of the peoples from whom the enlisted men were to be drawn. Colonel Harbord reported his results in 1904 as follows:

... Enlistments in the districts organized have been principally of Mohammedans and pagans. The illiteracy of these has made it necessary to secure a few Christians in each district, and in Zamboanga the Moslem and Christian have been enlisted in about equal proportions. For a time it was supposed that the well-known dislike of the Moro to eat with the Filipino, a feeling which is reciprocated with interest, was unconquerable, but the experience of eight months shows that Moslem, pagan, and Christian amalgamate with but little friction. Separate messes have been abolished. Tribal lines are disappearing, the loyalty to his new corps and white officers replacing the allegiance paid by the Moro to his hereditary dato for many ages. The objection of the Islam to a hat with a brim was met by the authority of the chief of constabulary for the use in the Moro Province of a red fez with black tassel. The Moro is proud to wear that, and the result is a very smart and attractive uniform.³

General Tasker H. Bliss, who succeeded General Wood as governor of the Moro Province, and had abundant opportunity to observe the Constabulary, commended the organization as an auxiliary of the army and in its other varied duties.⁴

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 3, pp. 116, 117.

² Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior in the Philippine government, who was responsible for the organization and administration of government in these regions until 1913, paid a very high tribute to the American officers and their Constabulary in his book, *The Philippines Past and Present*, II, 577 ff.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 3, p. 123.

⁴ 'The thanks of the government of the Moro Province are due and are heartily given to the able and hard-working officers and to the faithful and efficient enlisted men of the constabulary stationed within the province during the past year. Their work has been most arduous and conducted under a serious handicap, resulting from

The Constabulary continued to form its companies of mixed Christians and Mohammedans, and it is difficult to distinguish the average Christian Filipino from the Mohammedan soldier or Constabulary officer. The men of the Moro Constabulary soon distinguished themselves by gallantry in field operations against outlaws, and notably in leading the attack by American troops on Sulu outlaws in the fiercely contested battle at Bud Dajo in 1906.

At first there were no Moros found who had sufficient education and other needed qualities to justify appointment as officers of Constabulary. The first such appointment was made in 1924, when a Sulu Moro received appointment as third lieutenant.¹

In his annual report for 1925, the Governor-General stated that there were at the end of the year in the Constabulary Academy two cadets from among the tribal peoples of northern Luzon in training for commissions as officers.

In some instances, in the regions occupied by tribal peoples where a very simple form of government was necessary, Constabulary officers were appointed governors of districts, a practice which inured greatly to the public interest, facilitating the organization of local governments as well as the establishment of public order.

Official reports rarely portray the great constructive work, the thrilling experiences, and sacrifices of the men who, possessing the rare qualities which make for success in such unusual undertakings, gave the best years of their lives to this pioneer work. The roll of honor is a long one. In the Moro Province, as the Constabulary gradually took over

insufficient numbers and insufficient water transportation. Notwithstanding this, they have proved themselves faithful guardians of the public peace. I think that the problem before the General Government and the duty imposed upon it of bringing the general population of the Moro Province upon a level with the population of other provinces as respects civilization and culture and ability to assume the duties of citizenship, calls for an increase in the strength of this one arm of the civil government, and an increase in the facilities which insure the maximum effectiveness to their services.' (Report of Brigadier-General Tasker H. Bliss, Governor of the Moro Province, September 10, 1908, in *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 1, pp. 376, 377.)

Eleven additional companies of Constabulary were provided in 1913 for service in Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan, and six more companies for Mindanao and Sulu in 1917.

¹ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1924, 63.

more civil duties, Constabulary officers were appointed secretaries of districts under army officers as governors, and replaced the latter in Lanao and Sulu on the passing of the Moro Province entirely to civil control in the latter part of 1913. Besides serving as governors these officers were also designated *ex officio* justices of the peace. This, while adding to their power, also added greatly to their burdens. In practice it worked well, and the officers, both American and Filipino, with rare exceptions displayed strength of character and a high sense of justice.

At first the army did not look with favor on this semi-military body under military direction, and with many military features in its organization and designations. Their attitude toward it varied from scoffing to resentment, particularly when a large number of Scout companies were detailed from the army to augment the commands of the Constabulary officers.¹

The path of the Constabulary officers was beset with pitfalls and difficulties. Filipinos were adept in the art of making counter-charges, and, if any young officer took action against a prominent Filipino, it not infrequently occurred that counter-charges were filed against him for shortcomings on his part, real or fancied. It behooved all young Constabulary officers to watch their steps very carefully in the performance of their difficult duties.²

¹ *Report of the War Department*, 1903, III, 144, 145.

² Captain Gallant, a senior Constabulary officer in the province of Misamis, is quoted as follows:

‘In making charges, the possibility must always be considered of being yourself accused of some crime. Any Constabulary officer of any considerable experience is aware how easy it is to trump up a charge. For instance, it would not be considered difficult, with native witnesses, to get up and prove a murder case in three hours, furnishing at the same time the body of the person killed.’

The following remarks in regard to the efficiency of the Constabulary are contained in a letter from Major-General J. M. Lee to Brigadier-General Henry T. Allen, dated January 13, 1907:

‘Since my recent assignment to the command of the Department of the Visayas, July 20th last, we have had hard and delicate work in suppressing disorders in Leyte and Samar; and I wish to place on record that under your wise and vigorous administration as Chief, the large force of the Constabulary has scored the most satisfactory success, and again proved of the greatest value in co-operation with the troops under my command.

‘It is well recognized by all who know the facts, that by your vigorous and discreet measures you have built up a splendid organization which has reflected the highest credit upon your administration.’

As an organization the Constabulary was hastily thrown together with many inexperienced officers. It had to learn its work by doing it, and many of its duties were necessarily unpopular. The earlier officers selected were not always the most tactful, and it was some years before the process of weeding out had gone so far as to put the Constabulary in the high position which it finally reached.

To raise the standard of officers and to assure their more thorough preparation before being assigned to duty, a Constabulary school for officers was established in Manila, and later moved to Baguio as soon as a site there was made available.¹ Here all young men who had passed the necessary preliminary tests and had come to receive commissions in the Constabulary were required to take a course of special training under the direction of an experienced Constabulary officer before they were sent out to do responsible field work. The school was attended both by Filipinos and Americans. Under a policy instituted by Governor Taft, a few selected Filipinos had been given commissions when the Constabulary was first started. Some of these men did very well and the number was gradually increased.²

Like most other Filipinos in the service, those in the Constabulary always did a little better than had been expected of them, and they proved to be loyal and efficient.

For several years the whole organization was subject to a very bitter attack which reflected itself in hostile criticism in the newspapers and numerous complaints from provincial officials and private individuals. Little by little the Constabulary won its way into the confidence and esteem of the people of the Islands and the criticism gave place to general approval and applause.³

During his visit to Manila in 1907 Secretary Taft said of the Constabulary:

... When I was here something more than two years ago, the complaints against that body were numerous, emphatic and bitter.

¹ The standards of admission were gradually raised to require selection from among college graduates or sergeants of the Constabulary. The school was given the designation of the Constabulary Academy in 1914.

² See table, *post*, 227.

³ See also Appendix XXIV, where this is commented on by ex-President Taft.

I promised, on behalf of the Philippine Government and the Washington Administration, that close investigation should be made into the complaints and that, if there was occasion for reform, that reform would be carried out. It gratifies me on my return to the Islands now, to learn that a change has come; that the complaints against the Constabulary have entirely ceased; and that it is now conceded to be discharging with efficiency the function which it was chiefly created to perform, of sympathetically aiding the Provincial Governors and municipal authorities of the Islands in maintaining the peace of each province and each municipality, and that there is a thorough spirit of coöperation between the officers and men of the Constabulary and the local authorities.¹

In 1910, Secretary of War Dickinson, upon the occasion of a visit to the Islands, reported that the new popularity earned by the Constabulary, and which had been commented upon by Secretary Taft, was unabated and that the organization and its administration were 'well intrenched in the respect and confidence of the people.'²

By 1911, as careful a paper as the *Manila Times*³ said: 'There is no bureau in the insular service better organized or more beneficial. . . .'

¹ *Manila Times*, November 21, 1907.

Governor-General Smith in a letter to General Bandholtz, calling attention to this expression from Secretary Taft, wrote: ' . . . I wish to add that I also am highly pleased with the present efficient manner in which the officers and men of the Philippines Constabulary are performing their duties, and I believe that the Constabulary to-day is one of the most valuable aids to the Government in these Islands.'

² *Special Report of J. M. Dickinson, Secretary of War, to the President, on the Philippines*, 1910, 13.

³ In its issue of February 1, 1911.

It was doubly gratifying to have one of the local newspapers of the kind that usually found fault with the government, come out in 1904 in strong defense of this insular force:

'From these beginnings has grown the organization that now covers every province and has stations scattered from Aparri to Bongao. The six thousand little brown men who wear the red-trimmed khaki have in three years grown into an efficient compact body of alert, erect, English-speaking soldiers, who are proud of their service. Their duties are manifold. The entire gamut of police and military demands is their daily portion. To-day fighting fanatical cut-throats in swampy and leech-infested bogs; to-morrow patrolling unsafe localities, guarding provincial jails, arresting *ladrones* and malefactors, escorting and carrying the mail, delivering Provincial prisoners to Bilibid and maintaining quarantine regulations in times of pestilence and scourge. Over nature's upheaved, rockribbed obstructions, Constabulary pack-trains carry the food the exiles from home cannot buy at their remote mountain stations. Up the uncertain channels of shifting streams launches maintain connection with the outside world. In Nueva Vizcaya, "seven days away from anywhere," a Constabulary hospital with a graduate physician ministers to the afflicted.'

In an address at the Lake Mohonk Conference, Colonel Rivers said of the Constabulary:

... Drunkenness and serious misconduct among the soldiers are rare. Smart in appearance and proud of his uniform and corps the Filipino makes a good soldier; he is susceptible through hard work and patience on the part of his instructors to thorough training in drill, discipline, and musketry and when so trained and well led by officers he respects and likes, he can be relied on to give an excellent account of himself. Sensitive to a degree to harsh words or conduct that cause him to be humiliated and lose prestige or face before his comrades, the Filipino should be dealt with patiently and justly. The men of the wild hill tribes, as is natural, make the best shots and sentries. The loyalty of all tends rather toward personal devotion to the officer who trains and commands them than attachment to the government that pays them. Once they know and understand an officer who, no matter how strict he may be, is just and sympathetic, their distress over a change is real, and they are liable to influence the community to send to Manila numerous pleas and protests.

An oriental with an admixture of Latin blood in many cases, it is natural that the Filipino should have well marked temperamental peculiarities, yet it is not easy to see the great difference or gulf that some think so completely separates the East from the West. Certainly the inhabitant of the Philippines appears to be moved by much the same hopes and aspirations, the same fears and passions, as ourselves, and he is liable to respond to the same justice, kind treatment and sympathy that would win and interest one of us.¹

The story of the Constabulary is one of heroism, endurance, and loyalty to ideals under great difficulties, of which the American people should be very proud. The officers set painstakingly to work to learn one or more of the native dialects, and the best of them became the eyes of the government. Through their own enlisted men, whose confidence and affection they soon won, they learned what was going on among the people, and it was through their activities that the time soon came when good order prevailed throughout the archipelago.

The achievements of these officers were all the more notable because the nature of their activities was much less popular than that of the school-teachers. Much of their work had

¹ Address delivered by Colonel W. C. Rivers at the Lake Mohonk Conference, October 19, 1911.

to do with interference with local activities on the part of the people, some of which they had come to regard as perquisites of high place. These officers often found themselves in an extremely delicate position, beset with temptations and opportunities for abuses. In view of the number of young Americans brought out, the extent of their powers, and the widely scattered regions in which they operated, it was not surprising that abuses of various sorts occurred; the remarkable thing was that these were so few, and that the Constabulary achieved, as it did achieve, the confidence, respect, and support of the great majority of the Filipinos. This was due in large measure to the fine type of men selected for the highest positions in the Constabulary and to the supervision practiced.

The Constabulary officer, speaking the local dialect, socially prominent in his province, and liked and respected by his men, was peculiarly in a position to feel the popular pulse. No secret organization was started in the Islands but one or more agents of the Constabulary enrolled among its members, and all its movements, views, and the persons concerned in the movement, whether its objects were lawful or not, were known to the authorities.

On one occasion, when General Harbord was acting chief, an organization which had been working for months planned an insurrection. The night before the outbreak was to occur, six Filipinos were invited to assemble in General Harbord's office, where they found six chairs placed in a row and upon which they were told to sit. He then informed them that an insurrection was planned to break out at ten-thirty the following morning, and that it would be the duty of the Constabulary to put it down; that there would be some loss of life attached to the process, and that probably a good many innocent lives would be lost because the real culprits in these movements usually acted under cover. He informed them that in this case, however, the real instigators of the insurrection were known to the police, and that they would be the first men shot. With this information he opened the door and told them they could go out and start their insurrection if they wished. Six badly frightened conspirators spent the next ten and a half hours in suppressing a movement they

had spent as many months in fomenting. No blood was spilt, no arrests made, no harm ensued.

The secret service agents of the Constabulary frequently reported that some insurrectionary movements were in progress.¹ All such reports had to be taken with a grain of salt. Secret service agents are very apt to feel that they are not earning their pay unless they turn in something fairly dramatic, and their tendency is to give a sinister interpretation to little incidents perhaps in themselves perfectly innocent. Many of these reports, for example, indicated that the friendly neighboring country of Japan was conspiring with Filipino agitators to foment insurrection, landing arms to equip the insurrectionary forces, and giving promise of actual intervention in favor of the Filipinos in case insurrection should break out. There was no evidence that the government of Japan gave any sanction whatever to such movements, and the Governor-General in Manila and the Constabulary officers who advised him were convinced that these stories were all fabrications on the part of clever conspirators, who collected money from a credulous people desirous of an independence which they hoped to get and which they were led to believe could be obtained from these

¹ The following is taken from a confidential report received from the Information Department of the Constabulary, April 22, 1912: '... during the early part of the year of 1888 and before the uprising which occurred during that year, the numbers 1888 began to appear, painted on all houses, on the main streets in the different towns in Tayabas province. The same was noticed in the year 1896 and before the second uprising against the Spanish government. — called my attention to the fact that at present the numbers 1912 appear on all houses on the main street in most towns in the province, especially in the more radical towns such as Pitogo, Tayabas, Mauban and others.

'Whether or not this has any meaning or bearing on present conditions and occurrences during previous years, we have been unable to find out so far but — seems to think that it has, that people in and around Pitogo are acting queer and that something is going to happen before the end of the present year.'

The following is a translation of a confidential report turned in to the Governor-General by the Information Department of the Constabulary: 'Manila, November 30, 1911. This morning I met — who told me that he is a member of — — organizations and that — has very many persons ready to rise against the constituted government, and that one day last month they were assembled to attack the detachment of San Juan del Monte, but because of a superior order the attack was suspended. All that — told me was a great surprise to me.

'Last night — was conferring with — — and after the conference — called me to tell me that we must inevitably go to La Union and both Ilocos to inspect — organizations. He fixed Dec. 8th for our trip to those provinces.'

contributions. That these collections went into the pockets of the conspirators and were used for their personal needs goes almost without saying.

The reports of these movements, however, were so insistent that both the general commanding the army and the admiral commanding the navy agreed that it was unwise wholly to ignore them, and at one time certain sections of the coast were guarded and investigations made to ascertain the truth of some of these rumors and protect the citizens of the Islands from attack in case they proved to have been true. In every instance the facts seemed to bear out the judgment of the civil officials and to prove that all these rumors emanated from conspirators acting solely for their own pockets and with no serious intention of insurrection or any resort to force.

The romance of the work of the Constabulary can be told no better than in the words of one of the more conspicuous of its officers, Lieutenant-Colonel White.¹ A gentleman of English birth, he had thrown his lot in with the American forces in the Philippine Islands, and through sheer merit worked his way up to be Colonel of Constabulary, and he tells their story in a newspaper article² replete with interest:

... Bands of robbers [writes Colonel White] infested the jungles on the mountain sides and the sparsely cultivated lands outside town limits. Their rapid and rapacious raids spared none. A trail of blood and fire showed where they had passed. In different islands they went by different names: Ladrões, tulisanes, pulajanes, diosdioses or babaylanes. They are the counterparts of the dacoits of Burmah, India and the Malay States. Indeed banditry in some form or other has been for centuries a recognized, and almost tolerated, institution in Far Eastern countries and particularly in the Malayan possessions of European Powers. In the Philippines during the whole period of Spanish rule the 'tulisanes' made travel unsafe even in the provinces nearest to the capital. Indeed Cavite Province was known as the 'madre de tulisanes' (the mother of bandits). Today banditry is practically extinct throughout the islands.³

¹ John Roberts White. See also Chapter XI, *post*, 505-06.

² 'With the Philippine Constabulary,' an article in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 31, 1913.

³ It is worth while to give here in full an account of a typical achievement of the Constabulary set forth in Colonel White's vigorous language:

'... Scores, nay hundreds of times, has some young officer taken a handful of

Lieutenant D. H. Malone, commanding a station in the northern part of Mindanao, reported officially in 1913 a very

Constabulary and plunged into the gloomy tropical forests which clothe the Philippine mountains. He is in pursuit of some outlaw band retreating to its mountain stronghold after a raid on the fat lowlands. Two, three days — a week of trailing — and a week away from help or any other American — the band is found strongly fortified in some rocky cañon, and vastly outnumbering its pursuers. But there is no turning back. The Constabulary code does not recognize superiority in the numbers of the enemy as a reason for failure. Odds of ten, yes, of fifty to one are cheerfully met; and not a quiver of the officer's eyelid must betray nervousness or hesitation. The Filipino enlisted men, brave though they are, fully realize the danger, and nothing but the psychic influence of their commander can carry them through.

• • • • •
 'Usually it is all over in a few minutes. As the trenches are assaulted, Constabulary and bandits mix in a hand-to-hand struggle. Discipline and self-confidence win. A few bodies sprawl within the trenches and without. A wounded soldier sobs out his life's blood in his officer's arms while his flannel shirt changes from khaki to the ugly crimson which means death. The sergeant will not need his square meal for "Captain Yping," the bandit leader, thrust an old Tower musket against his chest as the brave soldier climbed over the trench; and at three-foot range a Tower musket of the vintage of 1827 is more deadly than the latest product of the Springfield arsenal. Yping's band, for years the terror of half a province, is no more. Yping himself lies dead with "a big blue mark in his forehead, and the back blown out of his head." A bullet from the lieutenant's revolver had saved the Government the expense of prosecuting and hanging him.

'From the huts behind the trenches is recovered a variety of loot; here a large mirror from Don Pedro's hacienda; there a sack of pesos which a few days ago represented Chino Ong-Suy's monthly gains. Bayones of sugar, sacks of palay, pieces of dress goods, jewelry and other articles which the raids of ten years had accumulated. But the most important captures are the rifles and other arms and ammunition which have enabled the bandits to terrorize the ignorant people of the lowland hamlets.

'That night there will be a royal feast. Captain Yping's fattest porker is roasting whole over a slow fire; his plumpest chicken is stewing with rice and chili peppers for the officer. Ears of sweet corn and sweet potatoes from the outlaw's garden are roasting in the embers. The dead are buried and the wounded cared for. Sentinels are posted and the campfire blazing. One of the soldiers twangs an old guitar discovered in the rafters of a hut and sings a love song which is intended for Conchita, miles away in Isabela. The music runs crescendo as he thinks how he will pose before her as part destroyer of Yping's band; and diminuendo as he remembers that poor Sergeant Lopez is under the sod a few yards away. The other men with graphic gestures tell how each bore his part in the fight. The young officer sits apart, conscious of work well done and hoping that this means the end of brigandage in his section of the province.

'A few days later the gallant little detachment winds its way out of the mountains and into the whitewashed village, where it is stationed during the brief intervals between such work as has just been described. A paragraph appears in the Manila papers: "Lieutenant Smith and a detachment of twelve Constabulary met Yping's band in superior force in the mountains back of Isabela, killing seven bandits, including Yping, and capturing four rifles, two muskets with many . . . bolos. Two Constabulary soldiers were killed and two wounded." The efficiency reports men-

extraordinary series of events leading up to the capture of the outlaw Taoidi in the province of Agusan. He told of the months of incessant campaigning in constant pursuit of the outlaws until not only the bandits themselves but their friends were worn out. The men were not given a chance to plant their crops, and the people who were called upon to guide the Constabulary, to assist in carrying supplies, and for other services, became very weary of it all. At length, certain of the leading men in the vicinity agreed to persuade the bandits to come in and surrender if this patrolling should cease, and, with the consent of the superior officers of the Constabulary, this was done. True to their promise these men brought about the surrender of Taoidi in the following manner:

When Taoidi arrived within an hour's march from Waloe, about 9:00 P.M., January 22, 1913, he sent his bolo in to the undersigned by Bagani Baybayan and stated that he would be in to surrender the next day, as according to Manobo customs it would be humiliating in the extreme for a Bagani to present himself in the night-time, but stated that he would like to have me meet him on the outside of the town where he would not be embarrassed by the presence of a curious crowd which he anticipated would be awaiting his arrival. I immediately sent Datto Simbuya back, and appointed a place of meeting and set the hour at midnight, and explained to him that all the people would be asleep at that hour of the night and no one would know he had surrendered until the next day, except those who were with me. At the appointed hour and place Taoidi and his sister Yahag, with Datto Tangon presented themselves to me on the north bank of the Umayam River about 300 yards above the boat-landing in Waloe. Taoidi gives as his reason for surrendering, that the soldiers had pursued him so closely during the last six months that he could not make any plantings and his people were about to starve.

He states that there are about 300 people who will probably come into the towns in the near future.¹

The two organizations, Scouts and Constabulary, were kept very busy until 1906 by the irreconcilable elements of the various Filipino armies that had taken to the woods and continued their operations as guerrillas, and from fighting

tion Lieutenant Smith for excellent work and the affair is relegated to the archives with many others of similar character which have occurred throughout the forty provinces of the islands.'

¹ From the official report of Lieutenant Malone, dated January 23, 1913.

American troops had turned their attention more and more to robbing their own people. At one time, July, 1905, no less than thirty-five hundred Scouts, or about four-fifths of that body, in addition to seven thousand of the Constabulary, were actively engaged in the suppression of outlawry and the maintenance of public order.¹

Between the patriot fighting for his country and the bandit robbing for his private gain, the line is not hard to draw. Although claiming sympathy from their fellows because of having previously fought as soldiers, these outlaw bands levied tribute upon everybody of means in their vicinity, and having the guns and the power they did not scruple to use both for private gain long after all semblance of organized resistance to the American government had disappeared.²

The following significant lines in the journal of the Secretary of Commerce and Police for April, 1905, show the true nature of these self-styled patriots:

The men who were leaders in insurrectionary days tell me that they have no part or parcel of the doings of the present outlaw leaders, that they are wholly beyond the pale, and their only meed is death. Moreover, these same men we are chasing now were outlaws during Spanish times before the days of insurrections.³

In the same journal, in the month following the above, is found an account of an interview with General Aguinaldo:

He [General Aguinaldo] said the ladrones were merely out for their pockets, that they were a low class of man and that of those out, Montalan was the only one he knew personally and he was a poor grade of man of no particular intelligence, and couldn't even write his name.⁴

In 1904 and 1905 the methods of the outlaws became fairly well systematized. Each leader of a band had his territory defined and had an understanding with other bandits that they were to keep out of that region. The chief levied

¹ On June 30, 1906, the Scouts occupied forty posts. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1906, part 2, p. 236.)

² An article in *La Libertas*, quoted in translation in the *Cablenews* of September 30, 1905, commented: 'These cruelties of the bandoleros, practiced upon their own countrymen, are an incontrovertible proof of the fact that these bands which are still roaming the mountains and bring desolation to the towns, cannot represent any noble ideal nor can they be worthy of the sympathies of the people.'

³ *Journal*, I, 182, April 1, 1905.

⁴ *Journal*, I, 211, May 19, 1905.

tribute upon the property owners, so much per carabao, or other unit, per year. Sometimes the property owners connived at the maintenance of a band of robbers in their vicinity who, under their orders, were to keep other highwaymen out of their neighborhood. Those who refused to pay suffered, and some of the more terrible of the outlaws attained a very sinister reputation by their atrocities. It was wise for property owners who had beautiful young girls growing up in their families to send them away; otherwise they might be requisitioned to be sent to the outlaw camp. In case their terms and conditions were not complied with, some of the outlaws went so far as to threaten to put out the eyes of the children of the landowners. Burning their buildings was not so serious, as most of them were of bamboo and grass and could easily be replaced, but there was a schedule of punishments inflicted upon those who aided the police by guiding them or giving information about the movements of the outlaws which included cutting the tendons of their feet, crushing the fingers with rocks, and cutting off the lips.¹ As one Filipino who had been found guilty of aiding outlaws said: 'The punishment inflicted by Americans is merciful and slow. The punishment which we may expect from the outlaws is terrible and swift. We would rather take our chances with the former than with the latter.'

By these means the outlaws made themselves powerful enough to keep the people in fact, if not in spirit, on their side, and it was this system that the Constabulary set out to end and did end.²

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905, part 1, p. 56.*

'We were asked to pension the cripples who had been mutilated by ladrones for helping the authorities. Many of them were municipal officials who had been tortured and crippled for doing their duty. The very story of their condition is horrible.' (Journal, I, 321, September 21, 1905.)

² In May, 1912, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported the substance of a speech made in Honolulu by General Frederick Funston, United States Army, capturer of the president of the insurgent Filipino republic, General Emilio Aguinaldo, in which General Funston touched upon Philippine matters, including the Constabulary: '... The laws there are rigidly enforced. The enforcement of the laws is in the hands of a body of men known as the Philippines Constabulary, the highest officers being detailed to the corps from the regular army. This force is so efficient that he likened it to the Canadian Mounted Police. If a man commits a serious offense he is generally captured. They keep after him until they track him down, said General Funston. The bandits, the terrors of the Archipelago, were



HOUSES BUILT OVER SALT WATER

By the time General Bandholtz relieved General Allen in 1907, he was able to return all Scout companies to army control and furthermore to reduce the Constabulary to nearly four thousand men.

In 1908 it was said with truth that 'this year for the first time the army, including the scouts, has not been called on for aid in a single instance. The Constabulary has maintained peace and good order throughout the islands — a greater degree of peace and good order, it is safe to say, than has been known in these islands for more than twelve years.'¹

With the appointment of a civil governor of the Moro Province, the Constabulary was increased to provide for police work formerly carried on in that region by troops. The number of Constabulary has been gradually increased also by reason of general increase in population, until in 1926 it was over six thousand.²

being put out of commission, he continued.' (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of May 12, 1913, as quoted in the *Philippines Free Press* of June 21, 1913.)

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 2, p. 330.

² The following table gives by years statistical information in regard to the Constabulary:

[Sources: Data furnished by the Chief of Constabulary; Reports of the Philippine Commission and of the Auditor.]

Year	Number of stations	Number of officers		Number of enlisted men	Number of deaths in service			Expenditures
		American	Filipino		American officers	Filipino officers	Enlisted men	
1901.....	94	156	27	2,417	0	0	6	
1902.....	202	165	28	5,317	4	2	286	\$684,958.08
1903.....	228	204	67	6,805	9	0	288	1,810,009.06
1904.....	220	262	73	6,729	8	1	129	2,051,744.10
1905.....	172	264	76	6,852	6	0	119	2,107,061.39
1906.....	155	244	69	4,773	3	0	116	1,889,254.74
1907.....	157	242	75	4,778	2	0	50	1,581,602.61
1908.....	163	241	79	4,723	2	1	52	1,710,539.32
1909.....	134	251	66	4,267	2	0	58	1,831,505.44
1910.....	138	262	64	4,067	5	1	33	1,510,309.11
1911.....	119	257	65	4,159	4	1	23	1,531,480.46
1912.....	129	262	60	4,283	0	0	22	1,575,848.95
1913.....	120	261	65	4,621	5	1	41	^a 1,672,327.56
1914.....	131	240	88	4,793	3	0	47	1,789,783.59
1915.....	124	231	118	5,002	1	0	55	1,593,241.21
1916.....	124	190	159	5,105	0	3	35	1,899,250.89
1917.....	112	102	256	5,505	2	1	41	1,894,704.88
1918.....	126	39	308	5,348	1	3	84	1,864,787.86
1919.....	121	21	327	5,597	0	3	54	2,343,589.60
1920.....	120	17	358	5,817	0	2	72	2,634,538.28
1921.....	129	16	357	5,968	0	3	46	2,710,406.81
1922.....	129	20	356	5,748	0	2	41	2,412,004.04
1923.....	133	17	361	5,700	0	2	43	2,401,468.28
1924.....	144	15	375	6,135	0	4	50	2,557,098.02
1925.....	154	13	381	5,819	0	3	48	2,518,981.30
1926.....	162	25	371	5,995	0	2	54	2,589,272.39

^a In passing from the fiscal year ending June 30 to the calendar year there is omitted the expenditure for the half-year July 1 to December 31, 1913.

Filipinos are prone to organize secret societies, and in some of these they have secret passwords, mystic emblems, and rituals. There was one society north of Manila, carried down from Spanish days, called the *Guardia de Honor*. It was not originally an insurrectionary organization but had certain highly improper ceremonies performed ostensibly in the name of religion. Another fanatical organization, called the *Colorem*, still has its branches in the Islands, especially in the Visayas, and has been operating as late as 1925 and caused a great deal of trouble.

Many of these outlaws liked to give themselves titles, particularly religious titles. Often one would declare himself the reincarnation of some other person known to Philippine or perhaps church history. At one time no less than three people calling themselves 'Jesus Christ,' and one, 'God Almighty,' were serving in a provincial jail, and several women styling themselves 'Virgin Mary' found their way to jail on account of misdemeanors. More common among the real leaders as opposed to visionary fanatics was the designation of 'Pope.' A Manila paper in 1908 said:

The great bandits of the island of Samar have been many, and all have called themselves popes — Pablo, Isio, Faustino, Tiducduc, and Otoy, only the last of whom roams the wild hills, the others having been shot or hanged, or are serving time in Bilibid for the murders and robberies traced to their doors.¹

Leaders of the outlaws usually claimed themselves to be immune to bullets and to have the power to give immunity to their followers. This immunity was transferred by means of *anting-anting*, charms such as a little bottle or vial containing some liquid, or perhaps a package tied up and worn around the neck with a string. That invulnerability might not be questioned by their followers, they explained that people might seem to fall wounded or killed, but that in three days they would be resurrected.

While fanatical outlaws claiming religious inspiration appeared in many parts of the Islands, some of the most formidable of them operated on the island of Luzon, and some of them in the provinces nearest to Manila. Felipe Salvador,

¹ The *Manila Times*, May 16, 1908.

self-styled 'pope,' led a fanatical group which called themselves the *Santa Yglesia*, or 'Holy Church,' an organization of outlaws, formed to carry on banditry in Luzon. He had deserted from General Aguinaldo's army and set up brigandage in the province of Nueva Ecija, not many miles north of Manila, where he conducted his plundering operations in defiance of the Constabulary and the other forces of law and order for over ten years. He was believed by his followers to have supernatural powers, including invulnerability. Even when captured, they felt sure that he would escape or that he would come to second life after death, and they looked for his reincarnation. He was hanged in Bilibid and the watchers for his return were doomed to disappointment.

A Filipino judge had found Felipe Salvador guilty on every one of a dozen counts, including murder and banditry, and each of his crimes had been directed against his own people. It is interesting to note that, in spite of this, one of the Filipino papers held him up as a martyr.¹

Another bandit by the name of Oruga, a villainous-looking, thickset man with a rapacity for young girls, was finally captured by Governor Cailles, a former insurrectionary general, and met the fate he very richly deserved.

On July 20, 1906, the Governor-General was able to cable to the Secretary of War as follows:

Macario Sakay and Francisco Carreon, self-styled president and vice-president, Filipino Republic, Leon Villafuerte, lieutenant-general, being ladrones heretofore infesting Rizal and Laguna, generals Julian Montalon, Lucia de Vega, and Benito Natividad, and their important subordinates, have surrendered; now in custody in Manila.²

¹ It spoke of Salvador as one of those who 'in the ranks of those rebellious hearts desirous of glory and martyrdom, defended desperately the sublime aspiration of the people' and 'inspired by the idea of vindicating the honor of the race, trampled on by the right of force, were . . . awaiting the advent of true justice, the entire realization of the holy equality preached for the consolation and hope of small races by the peoples who march pompously at the vanguard of democracy.' (Translated from *Renacimiento Filipino* of April 28, 1912.)

² The cable continued: 'Absolutely no promise authorized or made, except a fair trial. Greatest credit due Harry H. Bandholtz for his prudence and skill in conducting this very difficult matter. He utilized Dominador Gomez but no promises as to his litigation have been authorized or made.'

'In Cebu Governor Osmeña by the greatest effort and self-sacrifice has secured the surrender of all remaining outlaw leaders and all guns. Expect complete peace

The Secretary of War replied as follows:

Washington, July 24, 1906

Ide, Manila. Congratulations on the capture of Sakay, Montalon and others due to persistence and skill of Harry H. Bandholtz. Hope this will relieve agriculture of the provinces concerned of its greatest incubus. — TAFT.

But perhaps the most adroit of all the outlaws was one Felizardo, whose headquarters were in the town of Bacoar, about fifteen miles south of Manila. Here lived his family, here he came for supplies, and in the adjacent hills and fields he lived himself, and, when most of the other outlaws had been killed or captured, Felizardo still flourished, maintaining a successful protective organization. At length the toils were set, his band scattered, and it seemed practically impossible for him to escape the net that was drawing closer and closer around him. His body was found apparently where he had been thrown over a precipice. It was identified by certain scars and by peculiarities of the teeth, recognized by his mother and friends, the reward for his death was paid, and people he had long terrorized began to breathe freely. Months later, the Constabulary were led to the conclusion that Felizardo was still alive and that a fraud had been perpetrated on them in connection with his supposed body. This time two pretended deserters from the Constabulary joined Felizardo's band, separated him from his followers, and succeeded in killing him and bringing in his body for the reward, which was paid a second time.¹

Shortly after this, the men who had effected the death of the true Felizardo, having enlisted meantime as soldiers in the United States Army, were charged with the murder of a certain president of the town of Bacoar, and were convicted on evidence afterward proved to have been 'framed.' It was only through the very skillful and earnest work of an intelligent and clever American officer named Pyle — whose ex-

now throughout Luzon except as to Felipe Salvador and his fanatical followers. Prospects of getting him encouraging. IDE.'

Young Governor Osmeña, then in his early twenties, later became noteworthy by his leadership in the political activities of the people as Speaker of the Philippine Assembly and senator.

¹ Journal, I, 388, March 7, 1906.

plots in the Philippine Islands remind one of those of Kipling's Strickland in the secret service work in India — that the conspiracy against these men was detected and they were freed, while Mariano Noriel, an ex-general in the former Philippine army, paid with his life for the murder of the president of Bacoar.

This case became a very celebrated one and great influence was exerted upon the Governor-General to pardon General Noriel. Prominent Americans in the Philippine Islands and even General Aguinaldo — who prided himself upon not mixing in current affairs — signed the petition for his pardon, while President Wilson himself moved in the matter from Washington. To his credit be it said Governor-General Harrison, convinced of Noriel's guilt, stood firm and Noriel was executed early in 1915.

Sometimes in the course of these operations, notably in the campaign against Felizardo, it was found necessary to resort to reconcentration, a practice to which a great deal of odium attached by reason of the fact that, as carried out by the Spaniards, it involved a great deal of suffering. The Constabulary in each case made the recommendation to the Governor-General, who issued the order, and families were escorted, with such valuables as they could carry, to the reconcentration camp in which they were required to reside. They were allowed much freedom of movement provided they did not return to their *barrios*. The camps were under the direction of the presidents of the towns. The American officials were careful about the treatment of every one in such camps and complaints received prompt attention. The principal hardship of reconcentration lay in the fact that the farmers could not care for their crops. This, however, had the important effect of inducing the bandits to surrender when they saw that their continuance in the field was going to prove injurious to the interest of their friends.

No matter how popular a hero might be in insurrection, he could not turn to rapine and prey upon his more industrious fellow-countrymen indefinitely without the sympathies of the people turning against him. Thus, when after twenty years the celebrated outlaw Otoy was killed in Samar,¹ there

¹ October 1, 1911.

was a great celebration in the principal town of his province.¹ The *Te Deum* was sung and general festivities were carried on by the Filipinos themselves, while the Filipino newspapers took this occasion to speak with high praise of the work of the Constabulary. The fact that the lieutenant who succeeded in killing the notorious Otoy was a Filipino was gratifying to his people.

Instances were not unusual of private parties volunteering to assist the Constabulary in the suppression of outlawry and armed only with swords and spears joining in the pursuit of brigands.²

The Honorable Teodoro Sandiko, when governor of the province of Bulacan, undertook to maintain order in his province without the assistance of the Constabulary. Governor-General Smith, who leaned very strongly toward allowing the Filipinos to have their own way wherever possible, with the idea of letting them profit by experience even when he was pretty sure the lesson would be a bitter one, acceded to Governor Sandiko's request and withdrew the Constabulary from Bulacan. The result was quite disastrous to public order³ and caused Governor Sandiko many uneasy hours, yet pride forbade him to ask the return of the Constabulary. Major-General Tinio, one of General Aguinaldo's principal leaders, who at the time was governor of the neighboring province of Nueva Ecija, told one of the American officials that he lost no chance to twit Governor Sandiko on his predicament, saying that he for one did not have to lie in bed tossing wakeful all night, with a shotgun in his

¹ 'Public order is in better shape than at any time in the history of the Islands. There is not a single outlaw now at large of sufficient importance so that his name is known to me. Otoy, recently killed in Samar, and Salvador, captured in Pampanga, are the two last.' (Journal, v, 129, March 23, 1912.)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, p. 127.

³ The Philippine newspaper, *Plaridel*, in its issue of September 4, 1909, reported a serious assault by a band of armed ruffians which, following other acts of outlawry, finally necessitated the end of Governor Sandiko's experiment in doing without the Constabulary. The article contained these words: 'Governor Sandiko must place his pride as a sacrifice upon the altar of the public order of the province.' And further on the same article said that Governor Sandiko must call back again the assistance of the Constabulary and tell them the truth, as he has said to his intimate friends privately: 'I have failed. Restore your service to the province for the good of the people.' (Translation.)

hand, but slept and enjoyed life, and in case of lawlessness sent the Constabulary to straighten it out.¹

On Governor-General Smith's retirement, his successor, unwilling to have the continued condition of disturbance in the province, and cholera having appeared, ordered the return of the Constabulary to Bulacan to the great relief of the people.²

Even a cursory summary of the deeds of heroism, service, and sacrifice would command a volume by itself, but it is not out of place to relate a few outstanding feats illustrative of the spirit with which the Constabulary officers and men, American and Filipino, were inspired.

The following account is taken from a report of the Senior Inspector of Nueva Vizcaya:

Privates Domingo Tubag and Joaquin Otao, 1st Company, Constabulary of Nva. Vizcaya, . . . were returning from the road camp at Diadi at which place they had taken and turned over to the road foreman, twenty Igorrotes for road work. Near Bascaran they encountered Mandac's band of some 300 persons. Tubag immediately halted the band. Several of the members of the band then asked the two soldiers to join them, but Tubag refused, and seeing the people move out to the right and left of the road, indicating an attempt to surround himself and comrade the two men retreated to the rice fields on the side of the road and opened fire on the band from the shelter of the dividing ridges. In this matter [manner] they held the band off until the column under Colonel Taylor arrived from Solano.³

One of the most conspicuously heroic men was a somewhat

¹ Journal, III, 280-81, September 14, 1909.

² 'The experiment tried during the past fiscal year of withdrawing nearly all the constabulary from the province of Bulacan demonstrated how necessary the organization is for the maintenance of good order in the archipelago. The provincial governor of Bulacan stated his belief that he could preserve good order in the province with the municipal police, and the constabulary, with the exception of one officer and a very few men, was withdrawn from that province on March 24, 1908, to see what the result of the experiment would develop. The result was that the provincial governor had to devote a considerable proportion of time to matters pertaining to the maintenance of order, and in spite of this the number of crimes and robberies of carabaos increased, while the proportion of criminals detected and caught decreased. It was finally found necessary to return the constabulary to the province in September, 1909, to assist the bureau of health in stamping out the cholera, as no progress seemed to be possible in dependence on the other local authorities.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1909, 137.)

³ Report of Senior Inspector J. S. Manning, October 5, 1910.

lethargic looking major of Constabulary named Harrison O. Fletcher. When riding a bicycle in the province of Albay on one occasion, he was attacked by about a dozen outlaws. He dismounted, threw the bicycle at his assailants, and, although wounded, drew his revolver and emptied it, and then unslung his rifle and finished the fight, after which he rode back on his bicycle to get bull carts to bring in the dead, numbering five, whom he laid in a row on the plaza, and four wounded whom he placed in the hospital.¹ On another occasion the same officer boarded the Spanish steamer *Dos Hermanos* by climbing up the anchor chain, quelled a mutiny, and saved the lives of most of the officers of the ship.² For this act of heroism he was decorated by the King of Spain.³

Another daring exploit was that of Major Neville, who, with two of his men, walked into the camp of a band of fifty-seven armed outlaws. He was far in advance of his command and finding himself in the camp of the men he was pursuing, he engaged them in conversation, giving one or two sharp orders as though he were master of the situation, and thus held them for forty minutes until his supports came up, when he disarmed the whole band and marched them in.⁴

Before the uprising in Samar and Leyte was finally put down, there was some pretty fierce fighting in which American soldiers had an opportunity to display their heroism. The following is taken from an officer's account of a fight at La Paz:

... His gun barrel was pierced by a bullet and had to be used as a club. Private Brennan was down and two men stabbing him in the back; the corporal strikes them off with the butt of his rifle, then runs forward to the assistance of Yates who was about to receive a second bolo thrust, bends his rifle barrel over a pulajan head and gets Yates and Brennan started for the rear in the lead of the enemy. He now struggled to save himself. His right arm is ripped open by a bolo but striking right and left with his rifle he succeeds in making his way to the rear preceded by about 30 pulajanes and followed by about 10 or 15 being jabbed at by spears and bolos at every step. The corporal passes in front of the company in the enemy's midst, when our volley crashes into them. He finally rolls in front of the company reaching our feet horribly cut and exhausted. How he escaped being killed by our fire may seem wonderful, but it only

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, 91, 92.

³ *Journal*, II, 351, November 23, 1907.

⁴ *Journal*, I, 295, August 22, 1905.

proved to me the excellence of our marksmanship. Each man must have picked his target.¹

The Filipino enlisted men respected their officers, and, when properly trained, commanded, and led, performed gallant service in the field, showing intelligence, fidelity, and loyalty to their oath of allegiance to the United States.

There were a very few instances of mutiny, desertion, and of going over to the outlaws gun in hand. But these instances were less in number than might have been expected in view of the natural racial animosity following the insurrection, and the large number of men enlisted — nearly seven thousand at one time in the Constabulary only, which meant many more thousand passing in and out.

On June 6, 1909, there was a mutiny of Constabulary soldiers in the town of Davao, on the southern fringe of Mindanao.² The affair was a spirited one. The American community took refuge in the church, commanded by the American district governor. One American planter was killed and five, including the governor, wounded. The mutiny was soon over and had no general significance. The mutineers were brought to trial and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Most of these cases, when traced to the source, are found to have been caused through weakness on the part of the commanding officer or abuse on his part or that of some of his juniors. In this case the fault lay with a lieutenant who had taken advantage of his chief's absence in a way that the men resented.

The wisdom used in the selection of those officers of the army who were detailed to the Constabulary was shown by the admirable results they achieved. It is fair also to assert that not only did the men make the service but that the service made the men. The men came with character, enthusiasm, and the usual military training. They learned in the Constabulary infinite patience; the necessity for a purely business management of their force; to do big work with small resources; and the versatility that comes from handling

¹ From an account of Corporal Weld, the hero of the La Paz fight, reported in the *Manila American*, January 4, 1907.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1909, 42.

alien people, learning alien tongues, and accustoming themselves to dealing with the psychology of aliens. There is not one of the men whose experience was enriched by this service but will testify to the great value of the service to him.

A well-deserved tribute was paid on the floor of Congress to the army officers serving with the Constabulary by one of the then representatives of the Philippine Islands not over-disposed to be laudatory of Americans in the Philippine administration. He said:

The success of the Army officers who are now the chief and assistant chiefs of the Constabulary is due to the fact that these men are not only very brilliant army officers, but that they have had a lengthy experience in the Philippines. The chief of the Constabulary, General Bandholtz, is the only American [army officer] who was ever elected by popular vote as a provincial governor in the islands. He was, before entering the Constabulary, the governor of the Province of Tayabas, and his success as such had a great deal to do with his promotion in the Constabulary. Colonel Harbord has been in the Islands for many years and his ability and very courteous manner in treating the Filipinos has made him friends all over the archipelago.¹

It is worth while to dwell at some length upon the World War records of these Constabulary officers to show how overseas service such as that with the Philippine government fits those having this privilege to become leaders in great national emergencies.

General Henry T. Allen, organizer and first commanding officer of the Constabulary, rendered distinguished service as a corps commander in the World War, and later commanded the American forces in Germany during the greater part of the occupation. General Harry H. Bandholtz, who succeeded General Allen in command of the Constabulary, held the important position of Provost-Marshal-General of the American Expeditionary Forces. With forty-three thousand men under him, he directed the whole duty of policing the millions of Americans in France. The American soldier when off duty is not always the most orderly man in the world, and it was not wise to run the risk of provoking international clashes by having French police undertake the handling of Americans

¹ Resident Commissioner Manuel L. Quezon, June 13, 1912. (*Congressional Record*, 62d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 48, part 8, p. 8095.)

at such times. The American police performed this service and the contribution was an important one to the success of the cause.

The third officer to command the Constabulary was General James G. Harbord, who later was Deputy Chief of Staff in Washington, and retired from the army in 1922 to become president of the Radio Corporation of America. General Pershing, speaking in 1922 of the organization of his command in France at the beginning of the World War, said:

The first and most important appointment was that of Chief of Staff and for this duty I called on General Harbord. . . .

His services with me in France were more intimate than those of any other officer.¹

¹ General Pershing said in detail:

‘When I was appointed Commander in Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces by the President, it became my first duty to select a staff to accompany me to France. The first and most important appointment was that of Chief of Staff and for this duty I called on General Harbord, who was then a Major at the Army War College, where he was a student.

‘His services with me in France were more intimate than those of any other officer. Through all the early part of the organization of the A.E.F. and the establishment of the many basic policies, he played an important part.

‘Later, in keeping with the policy of rotation of duties between line and staff, I gave him command of the Marine Brigade of the Second Division. Shortly after joining this Division he was thrown into the line to block the advance of the Germans toward Paris. . . . The Third Division was along the Marne with its left at Château Thierry. The Second Division was to the left of Château Thierry. After checking the advance of the Germans, General Harbord conducted the operations of his brigade in the expulsion of the Germans from the Bois de Belleau.

‘For his splendid services as a brigade commander he was immediately promoted to the command of the Second Division and a few days later led it to the great counter-attack of July 18th. The First Division and the Second Division, with the French Moroccan Division between them, formed the spear head of the great thrust delivered at the Marne salient, driving through the German defences on the morning of July 18th and precipitating the retirement of the entire German army from France and a more or less general defeat from which the German army never afterwards recovered.

‘It then became necessary for me, much I think to General Harbord’s disappointment, to take him away from the command of the Second Division and place him at the head of the complete Services of Supply, better known to us as the S.O.S. In this capacity, he commanded an army of over 500,000 men and all the utilities and facilities for the landing, handling and distribution of supplies, the care of the sick and the wounded, and the training of the troops.

‘In the summer of 1919 I released him from this duty so that he might head a mission to Armenia.’

On this duty in Armenia, General Harbord made an investigation and reported to President Wilson the conditions prevailing in that region. In this he was assisted by two other army officers, General Frank R. McCoy and Colonel Edward Bowditch, Jr., who had had an important part of their training in the Philippine Islands.

Generals Mark L. Hersey and Peter E. Traub, Assistant Chiefs of the Constabulary, attained the rank of major-general and commanded divisions during the World War.¹ General Traub, who succeeded General Hersey in the Constabulary, released the army garrisons from stations in Mindanao and Sulu in 1915, when American forces were needed on the Mexican frontier and in preparation for the European War. Captain Dennis E. Nolan, one of the inspectors of Constabulary, that is, one of the army officers who were detailed to assist the chiefs and assistant chiefs in their work, was placed in charge of that very fine arm of the service, the Intelligence Department, with the rank of brigadier-general. General Pershing, speaking of General Nolan's services, said that under his direction America had the best intelligence service of any army in Europe.²

General William C. Rivers,³ an officer of high capacity who succeeded General Harbord as Chief of Constabulary, and his successor General Herman Hall, both reached the rank of brigadier-general during the war. Other officers who served with the Constabulary and later won the rank of brigadier-general were Generals William S. Scott, John B. Bennet, C. E. Kilbourne, and Marcus D. Cronin.

Among the competent inspectors of Constabulary detailed from the army were Captains John W. Craig, later Assistant Chief of Constabulary, and James C. Rhea, both of whom attained the rank of colonel during the war.

Many men, from the large number of officers who entered the Constabulary from civil life or from the volunteer and enlisted ranks of the army, rendered extremely notable service. One of these, a former officer of United States Volunteers, was Colonel Wallace C. Taylor, a lion-hearted man, desperately wounded while leading his men against an ambushing force of fanatical *pulajanes* in Samar.⁴

¹ After retirement General Hersey was appointed to an important position in connection with the public utilities in the state of Maine.

² He was later promoted to be Assistant Chief of Staff in Washington and major-general.

³ In 1927 he became Inspector-General, United States Army, with the rank of major-general.

⁴ The work of Captain Jeff D. Gallman among the tribal peoples is dealt with in Chapter XIV.

Among the more notable figures in the Constabulary was an officer of Spanish descent by the name of Rafael Crame, who rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was placed at the head of the Information Division. Governor-General Harrison appointed him Chief of Constabulary to succeed General Hall in December, 1917, and he continued in this important office until his death January 1, 1927.¹

From the nature of the service of the Constabulary it was early obvious that the situation required an adequate provision for pensions if the service were to attract and hold the right sort of men. In the first place, it was hazardous in the extreme, and, besides the danger of death or mutilation, there was a very real risk of being incapacitated by disease. Various devices were resorted to in order to provide such a fund, as the Congress of the United States made no provision. The first step was to set aside the money received from certain disciplinary fines as a fund for the enlisted Constabulary.² The law accomplishing this also provided for deduction of a proportion of the monthly salaries of officers and men to be used for widows and orphans of members of the Constabulary who lost their lives in the line of duty and for officers and men who became incapacitated.

In 1907, the Commission enacted a law³ authorizing the retirement of officers and enlisted men on part pay, but left the additional funds required to be appropriated annually. Under the régime of the Democratic Party the so-called Retirement Act⁴ was passed, granting one year's pay to personnel of the permanent service who took advantage of the terms of the act. Most of the American officers of Constabulary availed themselves of it and left the service, their places

¹ The following is a list of successive Chiefs of Constabulary:

Brigadier-General Henry T. Allen, July 31, 1901, to May 15, 1907;
Brigadier-General Harry H. Bandholtz, June 30, 1907, to September 1, 1913;
Colonel James G. Harbord (Acting), July 7, 1913, to December 14, 1913;
Brigadier-General William C. Rivers, December 15, 1913, to March 31, 1914;
Brigadier-General Herman Hall, April 1, 1914, to June 26, 1914;
Colonel Wallace C. Taylor (Acting), June 27, 1914, to January 19, 1915;
Brigadier-General Herman Hall, January 20, 1915, to April 11, 1917;
Brigadier-General Rafael Crame, December 17, 1917, to January 1, 1927;
Brigadier-General C. E. Nathorst, January 2, 1927, —.

² Act No. 619, Philippine Commission, February 6, 1903.

³ Act No. 1638, Philippine Commission, April 30, 1907.

⁴ Act No. 2589, Philippine Legislature, February 4, 1916.

being taken by Filipinos. Later, in 1924, adequate provision was made for the payment of pensions of as much as seventy-five per cent of current pay to officers and men who become disabled or upon reaching the age of fifty-five years.¹

The cost of the Constabulary² has been borne wholly out of the insular treasury, no contribution being made by the United States toward it except the normal pay of the seven or eight army officers until 1917 detailed to its supervision. Up to that time the general commanding the Constabulary and his assistants, who held the rank of colonel, were men holding the rank of captain in the army. The difference between the pay of their normal grade in the United States Army and the pay which they received by reason of the higher grades that came with their positions in the Constabulary, was paid from the revenues of the Islands.

The United States meets from its own treasury all the cost of maintenance of the army and navy in the Philippine Islands, including the construction of buildings and improvement of the various posts and garrisons and the fortifications. Moreover, it pays all the cost of the Philippine Scouts, a branch of the United States Army. The United States has not followed the practice of Great Britain, Holland, and other powers holding colonies, who deduct from the colonial revenue a certain sum which is paid into the national treasury so that the colonies shall pay their share of the cost of their own protection. In this respect, the United States has been generous in the extreme to the Philippine Islands.

According to the latest reports available, the following are the organized forces of public order in the Philippine Islands:

Army: ³	
Regular Army.....	4,601
Philippine Scouts.....	6,684
Philippines Constabulary ⁴	6,223
Manila City Police ⁵	713
Baguio City Police ⁶	16
Municipal Police ⁷	6,815
	<hr/> 25,052

¹ Act No. 3157, Philippine Legislature, March 8, 1924.

² See table, *ante*, 227.

³ *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1925, 120.

⁴ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 266.

⁵ *Official Roster of Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands*, July 1, 1926, 184-88.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁷ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 267.

CHAPTER VI

FINANCES

THE civil administration of the Philippine Islands, contrary to a very prevailing misapprehension, has been self-supporting from the beginning of American occupation in August, 1898.¹

The revenues derived from taxes and incidental sources have been sufficient to meet all expenses necessarily incident to civil administration during this entire period, to pay for public works, and to contribute about \$5,000,000 toward the expense of the military establishment ² during the years 1898 to 1903.

The cost to the United States has been that of the army and navy during the insurrection ³ and that which since pacification has pertained to the defense of the Islands. There have been large appropriations for fortifications and for the construction of naval bases in the Islands. There has also been an annual expenditure of about \$150,000 by the United States government in coast surveys, in addition to which the Philippine government contributed about \$100,000 annually.⁴ Had the requirements for commerce alone controlled, the surveys would not have been carried out so rapidly.

Costs of pacification of the Islands were estimated by the War Department ⁵ to be \$177,000,000 from May 1, 1898, to June 30, 1902.

The War Department also estimated that 'the increased

¹ See *post*, 242, footnote 5. See also Appendix XXIV, where this matter is mentioned by ex-President Taft.

² *Report of the War Department*, 1901, I, part 4, p. 253. See also various acts of the Philippine Commission, including Act No. 897, July 27, 1903; and President Taft's statement of July 19, 1912, in reply to a resolution by the House of Representatives calling for information as to expense of the Philippine government.

³ In so far as army officers and enlisted men were used for civil duties, their salaries were defrayed from the general appropriation for the War Department, and were not charged against the civil administration of the Philippine Islands. After July, 1901, the amount so contributed by the United States for civil purposes was negligible.

⁴ Letter from the Bureau of Insular Affairs, December 15, 1926.

⁵ In a letter from the Secretary of War, dated December 13, 1923.

amount of expenditures made on account of the Philippine Islands by the War Department bureaus from United States appropriations over that amount which would have been expended if the Army had not been in the Philippines and an equal number of troops . . . had been maintained in the United States' amounted during the ensuing twelve years to \$113,000,000,¹ or about \$10,000,000 a year. In the ensuing nine years, that is, from 1914 to 1923, the gross sum was \$85,000,000, making a gross total for the army of \$376,000,000 up to the 30th of June, 1923.²

The navy's expense during the insurrection was \$8,000,000, and since that time to June 30, 1923, \$47,000,000.³

It is to be noted that these amounts include the Pacific transport service and some other general expenses, portions of which were in fact chargeable to the Boxer rebellion in China, transportation and some of the expense of the garrison at Tientsin, and some pertaining to Hawaii,⁴ so that all of this money is not properly chargeable to the Philippine Islands, and the War Department has given no estimate of the proper apportionment of these charges.

Contributions made by Congress from the federal treasury in aid of government and relief of distress in the Islands⁵ have been negligible as compared with the sums which have been donated to foreign countries.

Under the provisions of the Treaty of Paris,⁶ Spanish ships

¹ Memorandum accompanying letter from the Secretary of War, December 13, 1923.

² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Letter from the Secretary of War, dated November 27, 1923.

⁵ The contributions in aid of government have been \$351,925 for the first Philippine census (by Act of Congress, March 3, 1903); and the amounts collected as taxes under the United States customs law (Act of Congress, March 8, 1902) and internal revenue law (Act of Congress, August 5, 1909) on Philippine products imported into the United States, which the United States allocates to the Philippine treasury and which, up to June 30, 1925, totaled \$13,223,610.56. (Letter from Bureau of Insular Affairs, December 16, 1926.) The amount of taxes so collected and allocated in the fiscal year 1925 was \$877,027 (*Report of the Auditor*, 1925, 326), and in 1926, \$524,862 (*Report of the Auditor*, 1926, 26).

A special appropriation of \$3,000,000 was made (under Act of Congress, March 3, 1903) for the relief of distress due to the great cholera epidemic of 1902, the loss of ninety per cent of farm animals by rinderpest, and the consequent failure of the first rice crop after the insurrection.

⁶ Article IV, Treaty of Paris, December 10, 1898. (See Appendix V.)

and merchandise were admitted during a period of ten years to the ports of the Philippine Islands on the same terms as ships and merchandise of the United States. In spite of the earnest efforts of the Philippine government to secure free trade between the Philippine Islands and the United States, it was not until 1909 that the Payne Tariff Bill was passed; at that time the period of ten years had elapsed, so that under the Spanish treaty it was no longer necessary to give free admission of Spanish goods into the Philippine markets.¹

In 1902² Congress reserved the power of regulating trade relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States. In 1916³ this power was granted to the Philippine Legislature subject to approval by the President of the United States and with the usual right of review by Congress.

The coastwise shipping laws of the United States have not been extended to the Philippine Islands, although Congress passed a law authorizing the President to make such extension by executive order. The coastwise shipping laws apply to United States trade with Hawaii and Porto Rico, but it is believed that the extension of these laws to the Philippine Islands would prove to be a handicap to their proper commercial development and the President has wisely refrained from making such extension.⁴

The revival of industry in the Islands which followed the restoration of peace, and the encouragement which came from the political and commercial association with the United States, can be best visualized by running the eye down the

¹ In 1909 the markets of the United States were opened to practically free trade with the Philippine Islands, and the true economic advantage of the association with the United States had the chance to be realized by the Philippine wards overseas. The failure on the part of the Americans to grant this privilege earlier did not pass unnoticed by the newspapers owned by members of the Spanish community, and they spoke somewhat bitterly when they called attention to the fact that the United States had deprived the Islands of access to the markets of Spain, without opening to them the privileges of their own. (See *El Comercio* as quoted in the *Manila Times*, August 9, 1905.)

² Acts of Congress, March 8 and July 1, 1902.

³ Act of Congress, August 29, 1916, Section 10.

⁴ The Philippine Legislature by Concurrent Resolution No. 12, February 19, 1923, petitioned the President that the coastwise laws should not be extended to the Islands on the ground that such action would be detrimental to the interests of the Philippine people.

following table of figures which show the annual receipts from taxation, the total annual revenues of government from all sources, the amount expended annually for public works out of revenue, the gross foreign trade, and the percentage the trade with the United States bears to the gross trade:

[Sources: Reports of the Philippine Commission; material furnished by the Insular Auditor; Report of the Insular Collector of Customs, 1926, 53, 54.]

Year	Insular receipts from taxation	Total revenue of insular government ^a	Insular expenditures for public works ^a	Gross foreign trade including that with the United States ^b	Percentage trade with the United States bears to gross foreign trade		
					Im-port	Ex-port	Total
1899....	\$3,328,865.53	\$3,908,675.28	^c	\$34,039,568	7	26	16
1900....	6,204,840.87	6,803,482.43	^c	47,854,152	9	13	11
1901....	9,985,222.15	10,766,245.00	\$1,291,754.64	54,665,824	12	18	15
1902....	8,777,447.98	9,551,661.96	1,935,528.74	62,014,070	12	40	25
1903....	9,983,870.46	10,532,054.34	2,041,963.52	66,208,130	11	40	25
1904....	8,807,729.94	9,676,243.58	3,012,959.43	58,727,231	17	40	28
1905....	9,698,331.54	11,549,495.37	1,789,984.64	63,505,324	19	44	32
1906....	9,985,222.29	10,452,947.92	105,962.01	59,046,660	17	36	27
1907....	11,006,628.90	11,392,257.28	136,147.10	63,551,677	17	31	24
1908....	10,509,492.84	14,045,914.46	529,755.78	61,787,192	17	32	25
1909....	10,975,314.85	15,255,814.92	1,999,141.38	66,008,756	21	42	32
1910....	11,329,319.76	15,302,084.74	1,427,697.75	90,347,824	40	42	41
1911....	12,340,378.69	19,317,956.53	2,917,102.41	92,861,534	40	44	42
1912....	13,474,593.19	19,903,169.88	3,376,213.62	116,591,201	39	41	40
1913....	12,576,460.94	18,505,154.49	3,230,391.15	101,085,742	50	34	42
1914....	10,051,792.24	16,626,407.53	1,555,084.27	97,278,287	49	50	50
1915....	12,884,746.39	18,928,425.69	2,532,866.26	103,125,187	53	44	48
1916....	13,978,654.48	22,021,548.89	2,381,848.84	115,433,520	50	51	51
1917....	17,724,206.15	26,438,356.29	3,235,725.12	161,401,337	57	66	62
1918....	22,279,614.78	32,955,893.14	4,005,958.45	233,793,693	60	66	63
1919....	22,614,984.55	^d 37,758,841.20	5,976,672.46	231,756,878	64	50	57
1920....	26,573,262.36	39,376,689.86	5,490,132.68	300,562,138	62	70	66
1921....	22,722,725.72	^d 55,537,904.00	6,812,224.02	203,953,896	64	57	61
1922....	20,466,912.54	30,475,551.66	5,113,947.10	175,780,942	60	67	63
1923....	23,368,270.73	^d 33,390,414.62	3,088,473.98	208,252,737	57	70	65
1924....	27,916,891.66	37,879,217.63	3,132,440.61	243,355,557	56	72	65
1925....	30,370,616.44	^d 41,716,344.37	3,204,999.40	268,610,038	58	73	66
1926....	29,615,935.54	39,808,463.48	3,771,021.45	256,183,311	60	73	67

^a This table excludes proceeds of bond issues and receipts (except dividends) from enterprises controlled by the government through ownership of stock, such as the Manila Railway.

^b Excluding gold and silver coin and bullion.

^c Not segregated from other expenditures in official reports.

^d Substantial amounts were transferred to general revenue account as a result of adjustments of the currency reserve and gold standard funds in 1919, 1921, 1923, and 1925.

In 1903, the year following the first act of Congress providing the form of government for the Philippine Islands, the total foreign trade was \$66,000,000. This total exceeded that of any preceding year. It was not again reached until 1909, due in greatest part to depression in the market prices of sugar and tobacco, which enjoyed no preference under the tariffs of the United States or of Spain.

The Payne Tariff Law, approved August 5, 1909, provided with certain limitations ¹ for free trade between the United

¹ See *post*, 250, text and footnote 4.

States and the Islands. In the first year after the passage of this act the total Philippine trade increased nearly forty per cent to somewhat over \$90,000,000. There was material increase in each of the two succeeding years, and in 1913, the last of the Taft régime, the total trade slightly exceeded \$101,000,000.

There was a substantial drop to \$97,000,000 during the following year, which was one of serious disturbance in Philippine trade by reason of the radical political programme inaugurated at the beginning of the Democratic régime. Then came the great increase in prices of both raw materials and manufactured products developed by the World War, notwithstanding which it was not until 1917 that the total foreign trade of the Islands exceeded that in 1912.¹ In 1920, the high figure of \$300,000,000² was reached. Thereafter a sharp drop occurred to \$175,000,000 in 1922, from which there has been recovery to \$256,000,000 in 1926. Tables giving by years the quantities and values of hemp and sugar exports are to be found in Appendices XII and XIII. The following tables give the values of the principal exports and imports for selected years:

PRINCIPAL EXPORTS: VALUES FOR CERTAIN YEARS

[Sources: Reports of the Insular Collector of Customs for 1924 and for 1925; Statistical Bulletin No. 2 of the Bureau of Commerce and Industry, 1919.]

Article exported	Year				
	1925	1920	1913	1908	1903
Sugar.....	\$45,514,002.50	\$49,619,260.00	\$7,032,889	\$5,703,641	\$3,325,234
Abaca (Manila hemp).....	35,521,646.00	35,862,000.00	21,121,084	16,501,956	22,000,588
Coconut oil.....	19,820,188.50	23,268,886.50	1,146,339	342,280	81
Copra ^a	15,868,702.50	3,716,870.50	9,545,724	6,058,886	3,819,793
Cigars.....	6,043,976.00	12,721,138.00	3,012,234	1,059,328	961,355
Cigarettes.....	80,919.50	169,785.50	47,915	46,054	22,194
Leaf and other unmanufactured tobacco.....	3,065,007.00	6,991,001.50	1,881,669	1,708,756	954,259
Embroideries.....	4,571,674.50	7,811,783.50	176,169	^b	^b

^a Copra is the dried meat of the coconut from which is extracted coconut oil leaving a residue of copra cake or meal. The oil is chiefly used in the manufacture of soap and substitutes for lard. The copra cake is used in the production of mixed feeds for domestic animals and as fertilizer.

^b Statistics not available.

¹ The Underwood Tariff Law of October 3, 1913, made no appreciable change in trade relations, although it removed the limitations on the maximum quantities of Philippine sugar and tobacco that might be admitted free into the United States.

It is a curious fact that in 1918 the Philippine government found it necessary to pass an act authorizing the free entry of merchandise from Guam into the Islands.

² It is to be noted that this high figure was due in large measure to the high prices received immediately after the war, and that the increase in tonnage is in no sense proportionate to the increase in market value.

PRINCIPAL IMPORTS: VALUES FOR CERTAIN YEARS

[Sources: Reports of the Insular Collector of Customs for 1924 and for 1925; Statistical Bulletins Nos. 1 and 2 of the Bureau of Commerce and Industry, 1918 and 1919.]

Article imported	Year				
	1925	1920	1913	1908	1903
Cotton and its manufactures	\$27,598,309.50	\$34,679,929.00	\$11,844,301	\$7,221,682	\$5,068,788
Iron and steel and their manufactures.....	13,959,969.50	22,215,771.50	8,613,904	2,009,306	2,129,510
Mineral oils (kerosene, etc.).	8,679,468.00	10,030,641.50	2,112,659	948,040	626,192
Rice.....	6,413,219.50	8,164,885.00	3,164,591	5,552,571	12,552,382
Wheat flour.....	5,606,675.00	4,721,757.50	1,898,954	943,022	807,854
Meat and dairy products...	5,469,471.50	5,801,876.50	3,264,515	1,955,355	967,013
Automobiles, parts of, and tires for.....	4,606,156.50	7,460,683.00	1,263,402	^a	^a
Silk and its manufactures...	2,877,903.50	3,018,255.50	836,322	511,780	534,818
Coal.....	2,142,013.50	5,396,038.50	1,584,067	597,507	618,078

^a Statistics not available.

Government finance under the Spanish administration of the Islands was nominally on the basis of a budget, which the highly centralized ¹ system of colonial administration required be approved by the sovereign government at Madrid.² Many fees and other perquisites of officials and employees did not appear in the budget nor in other accounts of income and expense of government.³

The principal sources of revenue inherited from the Spanish administration were the poll tax payable in cash, customs taxes, an 'industrial' tax of the nature of an income tax, documentary and other stamp taxes, lotteries, the opium 'farm,' ⁴ the capitation tax on Chinese, a tax on the rental value of city real estate, and miscellaneous sources of revenues, including many provisional and transitory taxes.⁵ Municipal revenues were derived from public markets, pounds, slaughter houses, fisheries, fords and ferries, certificates of ownership and of transfer of property. A land tax, the imposition of which was optional with municipal governments,

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 50, 72.
² Senate Document No. 62, 55th Congress, 3d Session, part 1, p. 412.
³ There were authorized fees and other perquisites collected but not covered into the treasury, which for obvious reasons it is impossible fully to ascertain, but they undoubtedly reached a very large total. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 1, p. 233.)
⁴ A monopoly which was an important source of revenue through the sale to the highest bidder of the privilege of the traffic in opium.
⁵ The Spaniards levied almost no land tax, as the trivial sum of \$70,000 (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 4, pp. 174, 178) a year, derived from a tax

was authorized, but it does not appear that this tax was ever imposed. For the construction of public works the principal resource was the *prestacion personal*,¹ or fifteen days' labor required of adult males with certain exceptions. Those who preferred to do so could pay instead of working.²

In the year 1896, the year of greatest revenues preceding American occupation, the Spaniards collected \$5,302,000 from direct taxation, and from all sources \$9,332,000.³

Government expenditures under Spanish administration for the year 1894-95, preceding the insurrection of 1896, allocated nearly fifty per cent to the support of the army and navy, nearly ten per cent to the support of the ecclesiastical establishments, and less than five per cent to public instruction, forestry service, lighthouses, and public works.⁴

At the beginning of American occupation the instructions

upon urban property only, was so small as to be negligible. Their tax on commerce and industry was about \$700,000 (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 4, pp. 174, 178), or less than eight per cent of the total revenue. For the purpose of the cedula or poll tax, the people were divided into thirteen classes and the collections ran from one-half peso in the lowest to thirty-seven and one-half pesos in the first class. From this poll tax the Spanish administration derived more than forty per cent of the total Philippine revenues. (Crowder, 1900, 15, 32-34.)

¹ It is estimated that more than one million men were subject to this *corvée*. If their labor be computed on the basis of but ten cents per diem, this item represents a direct tax burden of not less than \$1,500,000.

² This amounted to thirty cents per day. (*Report of the Philippine Commission* [Schurman], 1900, 1, 55.) As this is above the going rate, it is probable that a lesser amount was usually accepted.

³ The income from direct taxes was 56.8 per cent of the total income of government; indirect taxation, including customs and stamp dues, amounted to 31.5 per cent of the total income. Revenue from lotteries and opium amounted to 9.1 per cent, the remainder of revenues was derived from the profits on coinage of money, receipts from forest charges, and miscellaneous sources. (Crowder, 1900, 32-34.)

It is significant that the receipts from the cedula or poll tax payable in cash, excluding the capitation tax on Chinese and vassalage tax on Moros and tribal peoples, amounted to 42.6 per cent of the total revenues and to more than 50.8 per cent of the total revenues from taxation. (Crowder, 1900, 32-34.)

The proceeds of the *prestacion personal* (as figured in money value of the fifteen days' labor or as cash commutation payments) are not included in the foregoing figures. (*Report of the Philippine Commission* [Schurman], 1900, 1, 54.)

⁴ The exact percentages were 48.9 to the support of army and navy, 9.2 to ecclesiastical establishments, and 4.7 to public instruction, forestry service, lighthouses, and public works. (*Report of the Philippine Commission* [Schurman], 1900, 1, 79, 80.)

of the President to the Major-General commanding the army contained the following provision:

The taxes and duties payable by the inhabitants to the former government become payable to the military occupant unless he sees fit to substitute for them other rates or amounts of contribution for the expenses of the government.¹

The United States military authorities continued with some modifications the Spanish customs tariff, taxes on commerce and industries, and on city real estate, and documentary stamps and stamped paper. The capitation or cash poll taxes were reduced to the nominal figure of one peseta, or ten cents United States currency, to cover the cost of issuing receipts.²

The Military Governor discontinued, as repugnant to American practice and theory of government, the lotteries, the vassalage tax or 'tribute' which had been collected from tribal peoples, the compulsory fifteen days' labor requirement or *prestacion personal*, various provisional and transitory taxes, and also the opium 'farm.'³

The system of revenue collections established by the American authorities from the beginning of the occupation of the city of Manila required that all moneys collected by government officials and employees should be covered into the public treasury and taken up in accounts to be presented monthly or more frequently.⁴

The management of the treasury was entrusted to a separate bureau known as the Bureau of the Treasury, the

¹ Crowder, 1900, 14.

² These receipts were demanded by the people as personal identification documents, and were required under the civil laws, which good administration necessitated continuing in force, for the validation of legal documents and for other formalities.

³ The sale and use of opium and its derivatives were brought under direct regulation by the government, and by Section 30, Act No. 1761, Philippine Commission, were made unlawful except for medicinal purposes after March 1, 1908.

⁴ As has been seen in Chapter III, provision for the audit of accounts was made shortly after the occupation of Manila. The system of audit of the United States government was later inaugurated by an organization under a civilian appointee, who rendered reports to the Secretary of War and to the Military Governor. These reports included detailed statements showing the actual purpose for which every dollar of Philippine revenues was received and expended. (*Report of the Auditor*, 1901, 7, 27.)

chief of which was known as the Insular Treasurer. This position was held first by Frank A. Branagan, and, after his promotion to be Commissioner, by John L. Barrett. Mr. Barrett was succeeded by Jeremiah L. Manning, both of whom had been in the treasury service since the early days of American administration.¹

The Spanish customs tariff, including export duties, was continued in effect with minor changes until November 15, 1901, when the first Philippine tariff law² became effective. This new tariff made a reduction of at least twenty-five per cent in the customs taxes, materially reducing rates on food staples and other necessities chiefly imported from the United States, and increased the rates on luxuries.³ This law was confirmed by Act of Congress of March 8, 1902, which also provided that products of the Philippine Islands coming into the United States should pay but seventy-five per cent of the tariff charges on imports from foreign countries, and that revenue collections in the United States on imports from the Philippine Islands should be held as a separate fund and paid into the treasury of the Philippine Islands.

This Act of Congress, however, with the idea of giving a preference to trade with the United States, provided that export duties collected on Philippine products consumed in the States should be refunded. The Philippine Commission annually urged Congress to annul this provision on the ground that it was a 'bounty to American manufacturers . . . extracted from the treasury of the Philippine Islands.'⁴ Later, the collection of Philippine export duties to the United States was discontinued.⁵ The need for revenue, however, seemed so great that the Philippine Legislature did not desire to discontinue duties on goods exported to countries other

¹ Upon the Filipinization of the position, Mr. Vicente Carmona, who had entered the provincial treasury service in 1901 and from there had passed to the Bureau of the Treasury, was appointed Insular Treasurer.

² Act No. 230, Philippine Commission, September 17, 1901.

This law was passed by the Philippine Commission under the war powers of the President which enabled the Commission to deal with tariff. When the creation of the Commission was later confirmed by Act of Congress of July 1, 1902, legislation on the tariff was assumed by Congress itself.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 121.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1904, part 1, p. 27.

⁵ Act of Congress, August 5, 1909, Section 13.

than the United States and these continued to be collected until prohibited by Congress some years later.¹

In March, 1905, Congress passed its first tariff act² for the Philippine Islands. The average duty imposed was less than in the former tariff, important changes being reductions of about one-half in the rates on manufactured tobacco and gasoline, the placing of the duty on agricultural, electrical, and other machinery at the nominal rate of five per cent ad valorem, and the prohibition after three years of the importation of opium except for medicinal purposes.³

Perhaps the most significant event affecting the revenues of the Islands was the provision for limited free trade with the United States contained in the so-called Payne Tariff Act, approved by President Taft, August 5, 1909. The bill had been bitterly contested by certain selfish sugar and tobacco interests in the United States, who maintained a virulent but ineffectual lobby, managing to delay the passage of the bill but not succeeding in defeating it. They did succeed, however, in securing for a few years a limit to the amount of sugar and tobacco admitted free of duty.⁴

As will be shown in the chapter on the work of the Philippine Assembly, the Filipinos did not favor free trade with the sovereign country. They had no realizing conception of what it would come to mean for the welfare of their people. The estimate that it would reduce the revenue derived from customs duties two million dollars, or nearly twenty-five per cent, gave even the Governor-General a good deal of concern, ameliorated somewhat by an estimated increase of one and a quarter million dollars internal revenue as a result of the expected increase of business following the passage of the act. But the result of this enlightened measure exceeded even the fondest hopes of the most sanguine of its supporters. Trade between the Islands and the States increased by leaps and

¹ By the Underwood Tariff Law, Act of Congress approved October 3, 1913. The prohibition against the collection of duties on exports from the Islands was embodied in the Jones Law, Act of Congress, August 29, 1916, Section 11.

² Act of Congress, March 3, 1905.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 1, p. 5.

⁴ Secretary of War Taft, in his address opening the first Philippine Assembly, October 16, 1907, said on the question of admission of Philippine sugar and tobacco: ' . . . Congress has shown its entire and generous sympathy with the policy of Ad-

bounds. From about four million dollars ¹ — the amount of this trade in Spanish days — it had gradually risen to fifteen million dollars ² in the year before the Payne Bill was passed. In the third year after free trade, it had jumped to forty-seven million dollars,³ or over three hundred per cent, and with the stimulus given to prices by the World War, it reached the high figure of almost two hundred million dollars in 1920.⁴

General Tinio, the most prominent citizen of Nueva Ecija, had opposed free trade because he could not see how a better market for sugar and tobacco was going to help his province, which was principally devoted to rice culture. He was frank enough later to admit he saw his mistake when he found that the rice crop brought a higher price and that his people were also engaging in the production of sugar and tobacco.⁵

The amount of customs revenues in the Philippine budget is shown in the statement given at the end of this chapter.

While the customs revenue was responding to the new stimulus, the Bureau of Internal Revenue did not have nearly so smooth sailing.

The American Commission in the Internal Revenue Act of 1904 ⁶ levied its heaviest taxes on alcoholic liquors and tobacco products. It provided a percentage tax of one-third of

ministration; and in this matter, the popular branch of that body passed the requisite bill for the purpose by a large majority. Certain tobacco and sugar interests of the United States, however, succeeded in strangling the measure in the Senate committee.' (*Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 1st Philippine Legislature, Inaugural Session, 17, 18.)

The amounts of Philippine sugar and tobacco admitted free of duty into the United States were not to exceed in any one year 300,000 tons of sugar, 1,000,000 pounds of filler tobacco, 300,000 pounds of mixed filler and wrapper tobacco, and 150,000,000 cigars.

These selfish limitations continued until the passage of the Underwood Tariff Bill on October 3, 1913, providing unlimited free trade between the United States and its important Oriental dependency.

¹ For the year 1894, the last year of Spanish administration for which these statistics are available. (Bureau of Commerce and Industry: *Statistical Bulletin*, No. 2, p. 97, Manila, 1919.)

² For 1908. (*Statistical Bulletin*, No. 2, p. 97.)

³ For 1912. (*Statistical Bulletin*, No. 2, p. 97.)

⁴ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1924, 42.

⁵ *Journal*, iv, 21, March 19, 1910.

⁶ Act No. 1189, Philippine Commission, July 2, 1904.

one per cent on business, the remaining taxes being documentary stamps, licenses, charges on forest products taken from the public domain, and minor sources of revenues. The provisions for tax rates ¹ and methods of collection were simple.

The most radical change made by the new internal revenue law was the shifting of the burden of taxation on industries from articles of necessary consumption to articles of luxury or optional consumption, and the entire exemption from taxation by the central government of the multitude of small trades and occupations followed by the very poor.²

The revision of the Spanish cedula or poll tax payable in cash reduced the burden of this direct tax from \$3,500,000 to \$750,000. The charges on forest products were reduced about one-half. The number of documents subject to tax under the Spanish government was greatly reduced and most of the documentary taxes continued were at lower rates.³

It was estimated that the new taxes ⁴ imposed by the Commission on alcoholic liquors, tobacco, and matches would produce an annual revenue of about \$3,500,000, or approximately the amount which had been collected annually under the Spanish régime from the poll tax.⁵

It so happened that the liquor and tobacco industries were partially controlled in the Islands by some of the most promi-

¹ Under the Spanish industrial tax laws, there had been approximately 1100 distinct tax rates on 350 distinct industries, trades, etc., besides the franchise and the income taxes imposed on a percentage basis. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 4, p. 179.)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 4, p. 158.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ The taxes imposed by the Commission were approximately forty cents per gallon on distilled spirits and eight cents per gallon on fermented liquors; twelve cents per pound on smoking or chewing tobacco; one dollar per thousand on the cheapest grade of cigars, two dollars per thousand on the medium, and three dollars per thousand on the highest priced cigars or those selling at more than twenty-five dollars per thousand; thirty-four cents to one dollar per thousand on cigarettes in accordance with weight; and twenty cents per gross on boxes of matches containing not to exceed one hundred and twenty sticks to the box. All these articles manufactured for export were exempt from payment of these taxes. The only articles of foreign manufacture made subject to payment of these taxes were matches, on which the same rate was levied. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 3, pp. 662, 663.)

⁵ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 3, p. 663.

The percentage of excise taxes on liquors and tobacco to the total taxation is shown in the following table:

ment and influential Filipino families, including two members of the Philippine Commission, and the campaign that was waged against the imposition of these increased schedules was bitter and virulent. It resulted, as previously mentioned, in a very ugly cabal being formed against Governor-General Wright. Several industrial plants were shut down temporarily merely for effect, only to be opened up after the decision of the Secretary of War supporting the bill was finally rendered. Secretary Taft, busy with a multitude of immediate problems in Washington, had waited for more than a year before giving his final decision.

Manila had long had an undesirable name in shipping circles by reason of the poor harbor, the long delays to which ships were liable owing to possibility of unfavorable weather for unloading in the open roadstead of Manila Bay, and to the numerous feast days upon which no stevedore could be found willing to work. Thus ships were sometimes kept two weeks for work which could have been accomplished under favorable circumstances in two days. This resulted in a differential freight rate against Manila which amounted in effect to a tax on all goods going to and from the Islands and placed them at a disadvantage compared with their competitors in marketing tropical products.

The American government had set itself resolutely to meet these difficulties, and with the improvement of the harbor and the construction of wharves,¹ many of the causes of delay were eliminated. It was decided to go further. The Commission had imposed tonnage dues on all ships visiting Philippine

[Sources: Reports of the Philippine Commission, the Governor-General, and the Auditor.]

Year	Revenue from taxes on alcoholic liquors and tobacco products	Per cent of total revenue from taxation
1906.....	\$2,164,072.18	21.6
1910.....	3,303,019.61	28.4
1915.....	4,256,665.58	33.0
1920.....	5,995,141.60	22.6
1925.....	6,474,266.67	21.3

In the year 1914, omitted from this table as not typical, the records show a sudden jump to forty-three per cent. This most unusual increase was due to the marked falling off of most of the other sources of revenue, especially customs, due to causes incident to the change of administration elsewhere discussed.

¹ See *post*, 388.

ports.¹ This is a customary and very proper tax and one against which there could be no just criticism. The amount of this tax, however, was small, and the government, desirous of holding out a welcoming hand and giving Manila the reputation of being a most desirable port to visit rather than one to avoid, passed an act in August, 1906, abolishing all tonnage dues.² This action made a profound impression, was extremely favorably received in shipping circles, and the customs agents of the Islands reported that they heard it most favorably commented upon in European ports as well as by the merchants in the Islands.³

This tax was later reimposed in a period of comparative financial stringency in 1916.⁴

The Commission tariff act also provided a charge for wharfage and harbor dues of seventy-five cents a ton on goods exported,⁵ later increased by Congress⁶ to one dollar a ton.⁷

The tax on real estate, or 'land tax,' as it came to be called, was an even more significant departure from Spanish revenue methods than the taxes on alcoholic liquors and tobacco. Following American practice, the land tax was levied on the capital or market value as assessed against all privately owned land, buildings, and improvements. Real estate used exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, or educational purposes, and not for private profit, was exempted, but the exemption did not extend to lands or buildings held for investment, whatever the use to which the income might be

¹ Act No. 230, Philippine Commission, September 17, 1901; confirmed by Act of Congress, March 8, 1902.

² Act No. 1535, Philippine Commission, August 31, 1906; authorized by Act of Congress of February 6, 1905.

³ Journal, II, 143, November 12, 1906.

⁴ The Legislature on February 4, 1916, by Act No. 2579, again imposed tonnage dues on shipping, irrespective of nationality, from or going to ports outside of the Philippine Islands. The rates prescribed were 16¼ cents per net ton of registry or 17½ cents per metric ton of merchandise discharged or loaded in Philippine ports, at the option of the master or consignee of the vessel. Certain vessels, including those discharging or loading only passengers and their baggage, were exempted from payment of these dues.

⁵ Act No. 230, Philippine Commission, September 17, 1901, Section 16.

⁶ Act of Congress, August 5, 1909, Section 14.

⁷ Cement, coal, and timber exports, and transit shipments were exempted.

devoted.¹ Real estate holdings valued at twenty-five dollars or less were exempt.²

A minimum of three-eighths of one per cent of the assessed value was payable to the provincial and municipal governments and these governments were given authority to levy an increase of the land tax up to a maximum of seven-eighths of one per cent annually.³

The land tax was an innovation and naturally unpopular among property owners, who were the most influential and included or controlled most of the vocal elements of the population. The entire proceeds were required by law to be expended locally and for purposes approved by officials elected by the people, and, further, any increase above three-eighths of one per cent could be imposed only by these elective officers.

In some districts opponents of the tax had recourse to passive resistance by failure to pay the tax. By the terms of the law this resulted in the sale of the lands at public auction. In most of the municipalities outside of the city of Manila no bidders appeared at the tax sales and the properties were confiscated to the municipalities.⁴ Later, the owners were given an opportunity to redeem them by payment of the delinquent taxes.

Fortunately the Commission did not yield to the demand that the land tax be abolished. While there was much discontent on the part of large landowners, many of whom were

¹ Act No. 82, Philippine Commission, January 31, 1901, Sections 43, 62.

² Act No. 680 (amending Act No. 655), Philippine Commission, March 13, 1903.

Holdings to the number of 472,976 were exempt (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 1, p. 78) because of valuation below the minimum fixed as encouragement to the small landowner.

³ One-eighth of one per cent of the assessed value of the land was payable to the provincial road and bridge fund to be used for construction and maintenance, and the provincial boards were empowered in their discretion to levy an additional two-eighths for general purposes. One-quarter of one per cent was paid into the municipal treasury for the support of free public primary schools and the municipality was empowered to levy an additional one-quarter for general purposes. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, I, 26.)

The city of Manila operated under a special charter and enjoyed a higher rate, the whole of which accrued to the municipal treasury for general purposes. (Act No. 183, as amended, Philippine Commission, July 31, 1901.) This was also true of the city of Baguio. (Act No. 1963, Philippine Commission, August 9, 1909.)

⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 1, p. 63.

holding great areas without cultivation even when there was an abundance of work animals, the justice of the tax was apparent. In fact it was not burdensome to any landowner who made an appreciable effort to cultivate his land. Due to the low assessments, the average annual tax per parcel of land outside of Manila was sixty-six and one-half cents in 1908.¹

The collection of the land tax for a few years was more difficult because it came at the time of the loss of the customary foreign markets for sugar and tobacco through the change in sovereignty, the practical paralyzation of agricultural operations in many districts due to disturbed conditions of public order following the insurrection, and most of all to the loss of work animals by rinderpest. It was found necessary in some districts to suspend the land tax for one or more years.

In fact, in the year 1906 the Commission saw fit to remit the land tax for the year and appropriated money from the insular treasury to enable the provinces and municipalities to carry on. In the ensuing year the Commission again remitted the land tax, but in this instance only half the amount of the loss to the provinces and municipalities was voted from the insular treasury. The provinces, however, were permitted to impose this tax by vote of the provincial board and some of them voted to impose it in 1907.² The following year the tax was put in effect, and has so continued except in cases of serious catastrophe or public calamity resulting in practical failure of crops. As a political gesture provincial boards and even the Legislature have occasionally voted to suspend the tax, alleging agricultural depression, leaving to the discretion of the Governor-General the use of the veto power given him by the Jones Law.

There was general revision of assessment in 1913-14³ and thereafter the assessment lists have been revised each year. At the close of the year 1925, the total assessed value of taxable real estate in the provinces was reported as \$664,389,418,⁴

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 1, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, 1907, part 1, p. 84.

³ This general revision increased the total number of taxable parcels on the registers from 1,953,032 to 2,151,627. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, 35.)

⁴ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 258, 264.

an increase of about \$500,000,000 in twelve years. The public had come to approve this method of taxation, as the increases in assessment were made almost entirely by Filipino officials.¹ In certain instances municipal governments petitioned for authority to increase the land tax beyond the maximum provided by law of seven-eighths of one per cent, but these petitions were not granted.²

The Spaniards had an excellent system of registration of ownership of horses, cattle, and carabao (water buffalo), including certificates of ownership and of transfers. The Americans elaborated the form of document to include outline figures of the animals to indicate brands and other distinguishing marks. This greatly facilitated the recovery of stolen animals and prevented extensive falsification.

Distinctive brands were required for each municipality and also for each owner, copies of which were filed in the Executive Bureau at Manila. All cattle and horses on reaching the age of two years were required to be branded in the presence of public officials and certificates of ownership were then issued. Certificates were also required to make all transfers of ownership authoritative. For each of these certificates a fee of fifty cents was charged. The total revenue from these fees, which accrued wholly to the municipal governments, increased from \$120,000³ in 1908 to \$227,000⁴ in 1913, and in 1925 exceeded \$342,000.⁵ The cost of these certificates is amply justified by their value to the owner as security for loans and as protection against loss of the animals by theft.

Other sources of public revenues are listed in detail in the budget statement at the close of this chapter.

The two bureaus concerned with the collection of revenue from taxation are those of customs and internal revenue, both under the supervision of the Secretary of Finance.

¹ This was noteworthy in view of the hostility it at first encountered.

² In this connection it is interesting to note that the Legislature in 1915 authorized provincial and municipal governments in Mindanao and Sulu to impose additional land tax levies of not to exceed two-eighths of one per cent for public schools, health, or permanent improvements, in their discretion.

³ *Report of the Auditor*, 1909, part II, 978.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1913, part III, 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1925, 326.

The Bureau of Customs collects all tariff dues on exports and imports, and tonnage, wharfage, and immigration taxes, and other charges on foreign trade, and intervenes in the regulation of both foreign and coastwise shipping. To direct the Bureau of Customs, Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, who had had experience in Cuba, was sent to the Islands in 1901. Upon Mr. Shuster's promotion to be a member of the Commission in 1906, the position was given to Colonel Henry B. McCoy. This was one of the few positions filled by Governor-General Harrison in 1913 by bringing out new men from the States.¹

The Bureau of Internal Revenue is charged with the supervision of the collection by provincial treasurers, through their deputies, the municipal treasurers, of all other taxes accruing in part or wholly to the insular treasury, also, the cash poll tax, which is of general application, although the proceeds accrue exclusively to provincial and municipal treasuries. Prominent in the development of the Bureau of Internal Revenue is found the name of Mr. John S. Hord, who later resigned as Collector to accept the important position of president of the Bank of the Philippine Islands. He was succeeded by Deputy Collector Ellis Cromwell, who died in the service in 1912. Mr. William T. Nolting was then appointed Collector of Internal Revenue, after having filled, from 1899 on, important positions in the Bureau of Posts and the Executive Bureau.²

The collection of the land tax and of miscellaneous revenues, which also pertained to local governments, by provincial treasurers through their deputies, the municipal treasurers, was first placed under the Insular Treasurer, and later, by the Reorganization Act of 1905, under the Executive Secretary as an incident of the general administrative supervision of provincial and municipal governments. The utilization of provincial and municipal treasurers as collectors of internal revenue worked well in practice.

¹ The position was held later by a very competent Filipino, Mr. Vicente Aldanese, who has given good service in so far as he was permitted to do so by the political exigencies of the situation.

² After the Filipinization of the service Mr. Wenceslao Trinidad was appointed Collector, and Mr. Juan Posadas Deputy Collector, by promotion from the provincial treasury service. Mr. Trinidad later accepted an important post in the Philippine National Bank and Mr. Posadas succeeded him as Collector.

The surplus and uninvested trust funds of government were carried on interest-bearing deposit with banks in Manila and in the United States which qualified as depositaries of public funds. Redemption funds covering the silver certificate paper currency, which on June 30, 1913, amounted to somewhat less than \$16,000,000,¹ were held in the vaults of the insular treasury. For storage of silver bullion and other treasure, bomb-proof vaults were constructed on the fortified island of Corregidor at the entrance to Manila Bay.

The municipal and provincial governments had their specific sources of revenue and a percentage of the internal revenue collected by the insular government.² These shares in the internal revenue collections were apportioned by the Insular Auditor on the basis of population and were by law allocated to maintenance of primary schools, the construction and maintenance of public roads, and purposes in the discretion of local governments.

Unthinking or poorly informed Americans and Filipinos have charged the American administration with having taxed the Filipinos too heavily. This may be explained in part by the fact that Filipinos habitually complained of the high rate of taxation, while their orators eloquently pictured 'the heavy burden' which was imposed on them — a custom that undoubtedly arose in Spanish days when the tax collectors unscrupulously took about everything that the farmer produced, leaving him barely enough to keep together the bodies and souls of himself and his children. The attitude of the average citizen toward the collector of taxes became necessarily one of whining expostulation of poverty, and it was natural that this attitude toward the payment of taxes should persist even though the Americans imposed only a moderate burden.³

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 222.

² The revenues of municipal governments were derived from (1) the tax on real property (land and buildings), (2) the poll tax, (3) taxes on markets, fisheries, slaughter houses, etc., (4) licenses on business and occupations, (5) certificates of ownership in registration of cattle, (6) fines and other receipts of courts of justices of the peace, and miscellaneous minor receipts.

Provincial governments derived their revenues chiefly from (1) the tax on real property, (2) the poll tax, and (3) various minor sources.

³ An interesting commentary on the situation is found in the fact that the Philip-

Critics of America's course in the Islands were misled by these complaints into repeating and publishing the charge that the rate of taxation in the Islands was high, and Filipino politicians encouraged such misrepresentations.¹ This was done without taking the trouble to make the simple analyses and comparisons which would have proved to them that the rate of taxation was lower than that of any other civilized country for which statistics are available. (See tables on pp. 261 and 262.)

This situation was summed up by the Governor-General, in a farewell address to Secretary Dickinson on the eve of his departure for the United States in 1910, as follows:

... We have talked so much of the calamitous condition of the country; we have gotten so used to using the word precarious in

pine dialects contained no word which meant what is now termed 'taxation.' The only word they had to describe a tax is properly translated as 'tribute.'

¹ A typical misleading statement by politicians in appeal for popular favor was the following by *El Partido Republicano de Filipinas* in a memorial published in *El Grito del Pueblo*, August 9, 1905: '... it has become strikingly evident that the amount of these imposts is unbearably heavy, so that, because of the land tax, hundreds of pieces of land are sold at public auction, their owners having become insolvent, and because of the internal revenue many factories have been obliged to close ...'

The facts were that in a few provinces, landowners, undertaking by passive resistance to cause the repeal of the tax on real estate, refused to pay taxes on their holdings and allowed their lands to go to tax sale, subsequently, in most cases, redeeming them. Likewise, certain distilleries and tobacco factories were closed as a gesture in protest against the first excise taxes on alcoholic liquors, cigars, and cigarettes. These establishments shortly reopened and entered upon more profitable operation than previously by reason of increased prices on their output.

For Resident Commissioner Quezon's charge on the floor of Congress that the Islands were overtaxed, see Chapter XVII, 'Attitude of Filipinos,' II, 80.

The burden of the individual could not be very great when the direct obligatory tax on persons was the uniform poll tax of fifty cents on adult males. Small landholdings were exempt from taxation. The maximum total annual tax that could be imposed on non-exempt real estate amounted to an average of sixty-six and one-half cents per parcel. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 1, p. 80.)

In the provinces inhabited chiefly by tribal peoples, there was imposed for the purpose of construction of roads, trails, and other public works, an annual tax of one dollar on adult males, there being little revenue from the property tax in these provinces. (Act No. 1396, Philippine Commission, September 14, 1905, Section 19a.)

The *Manila Times* of April 9, 1908, refuting the Filipinos' charge of excessive taxation, showed that the Cuban was paying nearly nine times as much for his government as the Filipino, and commented that this 'certainly does not look very much like excessive and intolerable taxation' for the latter.

describing the affairs of the Philippines; we have said 'crisis' so often, that we keep on saying it and saying it every time we get up to make a speech, in spite of the fact that there is no crisis, there is no precarious condition, and there is nothing to trouble us in the economic outlook of the country. The Filipino who thinks that his people can't pay the small rate of taxation that exists here, has a very poor opinion of their capacity. Why don't the orators who talk about the heavy rate of taxation tell us at the same time a thing they ought to know, that there exists here the lowest rate of taxation in the world when taken in relation with the power of the people to pay. What confidence in the possible development of his own people has a man who complains of this low rate of taxation? We of the insular government have often heard in our travels orators who coupled a request for lesser taxation with a request for additional expenditures . . .

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE PER CAPITA TAXATION AND DEBT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE PRINCIPAL FOREIGN COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD AS PREPARED FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE PHILIPPINE PUBLIC, EXECUTIVE OFFICE, MANILA, APRIL 13, 1908.^a

(All figures are for years prior to 1908)

Country	Per capita taxation ^b	Per capita debt ^b
Philippine Islands.....	^c \$1.82	^c \$1.26
Turkey.....	3.53	26.51
Bulgaria.....	4.98	14.59
Servia.....	5.30	31.24
Greece.....	5.78	65.92
Switzerland.....	6.28	5.43
Japan.....	6.30	23.02
United States.....	7.45	29.14
Roumania.....	8.16	46.50
Denmark.....	8.31	26.81
Russian Empire.....	8.57	25.80
Sweden.....	9.64	18.00
Germany.....	9.97	12.86
Norway.....	10.66	31.63
Spain.....	10.68	100.94
Portugal.....	10.70	153.38
Italy.....	11.14	74.43
Hungary.....	11.43	54.14
Netherlands.....	12.20	87.04
France.....	14.87	151.61
Great Britain.....	17.57	92.50
Austria.....	17.61	29.19
Belgium.....	18.32	83.69

Note: Data for the United States and foreign countries (except Japan) were taken from the *Statesman's Year-Book* of 1904, which was the most recent authoritative source then available at Manila. In the United States and many other countries the figures as to revenue which are given in the table do not include the revenue derived from local and municipal taxation, which if included would materially increase the figures given, and in the case of the United States would notably increase them. The revenue given for the Philippine Islands, however, includes the total income of the insular government and of all provincial and municipal governments in the Islands. The corresponding Philippine per capita taxation for the support of the central or insular government only was but \$1.32 for 1907.

^a *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 1, p. 45.

^b Reduced from pesos to dollars.

^c This figure as originally published was based on the population as given in the census of 1903 without taking into account the natural increase between 1903 and 1907. The figure given here is based on the estimated population for 1907 as indicated by the census of 1918. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1922, 122.)

PER CAPITA TAXATION FIGURES, COMPUTED AT PAR OF EXCHANGE, FOR CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS ONLY, FOR THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN YEARS SIGNIFICANT IN PHILIPPINE DEVELOPMENT.

[Sources: Data furnished by the United States Department of Commerce, and Reports of the Auditor.]

Country	1907	1913	1925 or latest year available
Philippine Islands.....	\$1.32	\$1.37	\$2.56
Argentina.....	14.21	17.49	^a 19.90
Australia.....	13.50	22.88	43.04
Canada.....	8.18	17.70	31.42
France.....	19.49	20.07	^b 138.96 (34.32)
Japan.....	4.48	4.98	^c 6.67
Venezuela.....	3.52	4.44	^a 6.84

^a For 1924.

^b Owing to the great difference between the par of exchange and market rate for francs, the figure for France as computed by the United States Department of Commerce at the market rate of exchange is noted in parentheses for the year 1925.

^c For 1926.

A fair appraisal of the burden of taxation is found in the number of days a laboring man has to work in order to pay his tax. The total annual taxes of the Philippine Islands in the year 1908 amounted to \$1.71 per capita. At the average rate of wages a laborer could earn thirty to forty cents a day, which meant he could meet his tax burden with very few days' work. If he were not the owner of real estate, however, the laborer was subject to no direct taxation except the possible maximum poll tax of one dollar ¹ per annum, which he could pay from his wages for two and one-half to three days' labor. This may be contrasted with at least twenty-one days for the poll tax alone under the Spanish régime, at which time there were the other prescribed taxes and a number of fees and personal perquisites collected by officials and employees and not entered on the official accounts.²

Moreover, under Spanish administration more than half of the revenues collected in the Islands were expended upon Spain's army and navy, for the support of its consular and diplomatic services in the Far East, and the colonial depart-

¹ Increased from fifty cents to one dollar by elective Filipino officials.

² According to the most authoritative sources the per capita tax burden for the year 1897, the last preceding the war with the United States, was not less than \$1.57, and in addition there was the requirement on male adults of fifteen days' labor on public works, which might be commuted by payment in cash at thirty cents per diem, or \$4.50 per annum, and did not enter into the budget.

Filipinos engaged in agriculture and commerce admitted that the burden of taxation in 1908 was much less and much better distributed than under the Spanish régime, and proportioned to the ability of the individual to pay, and that the only

ment at Madrid,¹ while under American administration all moneys received from the Philippine taxpayer have been expended directly in the service of the Philippine people. No colonial department has been maintained in Washington, and the Bureau of Insular Affairs has been a charge on the federal treasury. Beside the cost of the army and navy, all expenses of the United States diplomatic and consular service in the Far East have, likewise, been met from federal funds.

In 1913, at the close of the Taft régime and after a period of five years during which no changes could be made in the tax laws of the central government without the concurrence of the elective Philippine Assembly, the per capita tax burden for the support of all branches of government was \$2.08.²

Governor-General Harrison, in his message to the Legislature in October, 1914, discussing the financial situation of the government, made the following significant remarks reflecting upon the burden of taxation imposed under the preceding Taft régime: 'The people of the Philippines should not, therefore, hesitate to impose upon themselves a just burden of taxation; without adequate taxation there are no sufficient revenues; without adequate revenues, there can be no genuine material progress.' After making comparison of the per capita tax burden imposed by the central government in the Philippine Islands and in several other countries,³ Governor-General Harrison continued: 'It may thus be seen that the Philippine Government could fairly impose some

complaints were the result of agitation by landowners who had formerly been exempt from taxation, and from distillers and tobacco manufacturers.

The burden was not so heavy but that the provinces were at that time voting to double the poll tax to provide money for road construction; and in 1908 General Aguinaldo expressed the opinion that his province would take that action the following year. (Journal, II, 391, January 31, 1908.)

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 79-80.

² *Report of the Auditor*, 1913, part I, 7.

³ Governor-General Harrison said: 'In the Philippines at present [1914] the per capita taxation of the insular government is ₱2.83 [\$1.415]; per capita taxes imposed by the central governments of other countries are far greater. For example, the per capita tax in Belgium is ₱17.96 [\$8.98]; in Japan, ₱10.00 [\$5.00]; in France, ₱39.75 [\$19.875]; in Spain, ₱22.71 [\$11.355]; in Turkey, ₱8.24 [\$4.12]; in Great Britain, ₱34.00 [\$17.00]; and in the United States, ₱14.22 [\$7.11].' (As reported in the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, October 17, 1914.)

additional taxation without injustice to any inhabitant, and with assurance of benefits to the whole population.' ¹

After 1914 the Filipinos, having come into control of both houses of the Legislature, revised upward the existing internal revenue taxation, trebling the 'sales tax' or percentage tax on business, added the income,² inheritance, and other new taxes, and brought into effect a general revision increasing the tax assessment of real estate to meet the increasing cost of government.

By 1920, the last full year of the Democratic régime, the revenue of the insular government from taxation had reached a total of \$26,573,262.36,³ an increase of more than one hundred per cent over that of the fiscal year 1913, which was the last year of the Taft régime. The per capita tax burden for all branches of the Philippine government had increased during that period from \$2.08 to \$3.525 for 1920.⁴ In 1925 it had reached \$3.70.⁵

In 1925, the total revenue from taxation in the Islands was somewhat more than \$30,000,000,⁶ and the United States treasury transmitted \$14,500,000 for disbursement in the Islands.⁷

Appropriations of Philippine revenues to meet the expense of administration were made by order of the Military Governor until the transfer of legislative power to the Commission, September 1, 1900. Thereafter, appropriations were made by the Commission from time to time as required.

For the first year appropriations were made on a quarterly basis; beginning with July, 1902, appropriations for current expenses were made for the full year.⁸

¹ As reported in the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, October 17, 1914.

² The Legislature in 1919 imposed a graduated income tax of two to thirteen per cent, including as taxable income the undistributed profits of corporations and other commercial associations. The following year the rates were increased to range from three per cent to twenty per cent.

³ See table, *ante*, 244.

⁴ *Report of the Auditor*, 1920, 236.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1925, 321.

⁶ See table, *ante*, 244.

⁷ *Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs*, 1926, 2.

⁸ The fiscal year of the United States government, July 1 to June 30, was at first adopted for the insular and provincial governments and the city of Manila, the municipal governments, however, using the calendar year. In 1911 the fiscal year was changed to coincide with the calendar year for provincial governments, and in

After the inauguration of the Assembly in 1907, appropriations were made by the new Legislature, the Commission acting as the upper house. The Commission continued to make appropriations for the territory inhabited chiefly by the Moros and tribal peoples.¹

The organic law provided that, in case of failure on the part of the Legislature to pass appropriations for the support of government, the appropriation bill of the preceding year should automatically carry over.² As will be seen in the chapter dealing with the Assembly, there were three years in which this occurred, but the law of Congress worked in such a way that there resulted no slowing up of the business of government. There was only one year³ in which the Legislature failed to make appropriations for public works, and even in that year unexpended balances of previous appropriations, together with work paid for by municipalities and provinces, were sufficient to carry on the work of the bureau without great loss of effectiveness.

As already set forth in this chapter, apart from the cost of the army and navy borne by the United States, the necessary expenses of civil administration of the Philippine government were met from its revenues, which were found to be large enough to include a substantial programme of public works in the annual budget.

1913 for all branches of the government. The calendar year was also prescribed as the period for which annual reports should be rendered.

¹ This procedure endured until the reorganization of the Legislature pursuant to Act of Congress, approved August 29, 1916. This new organic act provided for a Senate and a House of Representatives, both elective, with jurisdiction over all the territory of the Philippine Islands, and abolished the Commission, the Moro and tribal territory being represented by senators and representatives appointed by the Governor-General 'without the consent of the Senate and without restriction, as to residence.' (Section 16.)

It was made the duty of the Governor-General to submit to the Legislature 'a budget of receipts and expenditures, which shall be the basis of the annual appropriation bill.' (Section 21.)

The veto power is vested in the Governor-General as to any particular item or items of an appropriation bill, but such veto does not affect the item or items to which he does not object. (Section 19.) Appeal to the President in these cases by the Legislature is provided in the same manner as in all other bills and joint resolutions returned to the Legislature without approval by the Governor-General. (Section 19.)

² Act of Congress, July 1, 1902, Section 7, as amended by Act of February 27, 1909.

³ The year 1912.

The principal item of increased expenditure over Spanish practice was that of the salary list, the emoluments given to employees under American administration being made large enough to provide an adequate scale of living for the officers of the government, and except in a few isolated instances all fees were eliminated, and no exactions or extortions were tolerated.

In the first years of American civil administration a large part of the revenues was necessarily devoted to the restoration of public order, putting down insurrection, and maintaining campaigns against the dangerous communicable diseases, cholera, plague, and smallpox, which raged through the Islands.

During the fiscal year 1903, the expenditures on account of the Constabulary amounted to nearly fifteen per cent of the total revenues of the insular government, in addition to the expense of the American troops and Philippine Scouts borne by the United States government. The construction of roads, improvement of harbors and navigable rivers, the extension of public instruction, and other urgent public services had to be subordinated to the establishment of public order.

As the public order situation improved and the ordinary revenues of the government increased, it was found possible to augment the expenditures for education, public health, and construction of roads.¹

The financial problem of the Philippine government was in one sense an extremely simple one, and in another sense one of great difficulty. The simplicity lay in the fact that the revenues of the government being extremely small, there was little freedom of choice as to their expenditure. Only the most important and necessary things could be done and many important activities, such as the construction of an insane asylum and proper care of the insane, had to be left for the future.

The difficulty lay in choosing in which direction the small

¹ Of the total expenditure of the government in 1913 approximately fourteen per cent was for public instruction, nearly five per cent for public health, more than twenty-one per cent for public works and permanent improvements including highway construction, eleven per cent for the maintenance of public order, while only four per cent was required for the fixed charges of the government.

amount of money in the expenditure of which the government had option should be spent, with the Islands literally crying for a great variety of necessary public improvements. The extension of the cadastral surveys, the construction of district hospitals throughout the Islands, service of sanitary inspectors, extension of primary and secondary education, construction of irrigation systems, improvements of ports and harbors, and development of roads and bridges, all were so manifestly beneficial and ardently desired by the people, that many more millions of dollars a year than were available were needed for the most urgent necessities.

A general view of the development of revenues and the relative annual expenditures for fixed charges and for expenses of government, exclusive of public works, is given in the following table:

[Source: Data compiled by Mr. W. T. Nolting for the Wood-Forbes Mission in 1921.^a]

Period	Average annual receipts of government ^b	Average annual fixed charges ^c	Average annual expenses of government
1903-1909 (Seven years preceding free trade).....	\$12,498,414	\$1,407,593	\$10,010,168
1910-1912 (Three years following free trade).....	18,132,673	1,796,737	14,681,502
1914-1916 (Early years of régime of the Democratic Party)	19,843,681	2,580,377	14,547,080
1920.....	43,102,331	6,551,817	27,548,630

^a The figures as published in the annual reports of the Insular Auditor differ somewhat from those prepared for the Wood-Forbes Mission, but not enough to affect the force of the comparisons in this table, the differences undoubtedly being due to repeated changes in accounting methods by successive auditors.

^b Exclusive of proceeds from bond issues. For receipts from taxation only, see table, *ante*, 244.

^c Including aid to provinces and municipalities fixed by law, as well as the service of the public debt.

In the period 1909-13, which was the target for very severe criticism when the administration in Washington changed from Republican to Democratic, the government situation may be roughly summarized thus: A gross revenue of \$15,000,000 annually; ¹ expenditure for ordinary expenses of

¹ This was approximately the average annual revenue during that period, exclud-

\$9,000,000; leaving \$6,000,000 to meet fixed charges for the service of the public debt, interest, and amortization, amounting to about \$1,000,000. This left a balance of \$5,000,000 a year available for extraordinary expenditures and public works out of revenue. Most of these extraordinary expenditures were optional, as were almost all of the public works. With the reduction of revenue a lesser programme of public works was undertaken; with an increase of revenue a more ambitious programme ensued. Set forth in this way the course of the government seemed so simple as to leave no room for just criticism.

Revenues and expenses increased very rapidly after 1916, when the Filipinos were given an elective majority in both houses of the Legislature, as is illustrated by the figures for 1920, the last full year of Governor-General Harrison's administration.

It is most unfortunate that in preparing the Philippine Organic Act of 1902, Congress should not have had the vision to have granted the Philippine government the right to borrow an amount bearing a fixed relationship to the value of the taxable property of the Islands or to the gross revenues. Such a provision would have given an automatic increase to the borrowing power, proportioned directly on the power to pay, and would have enabled the government of the Islands to forge ahead with much greater rapidity and with no conceivable disadvantage, except in the case of corrupt or grossly inefficient American administrators.¹ This defect of law was remedied by the Jones Law in 1916.²

Congress, in 1902, granted the insular government the right

ing inter-bureau payments and other items of the nature of accounting adjustments, as well as proceeds of sales of bonds.

¹ In a note to his journal Governor-General Forbes laments the fact that the Congress had not given him a chance to benefit the Filipinos by giving him a moderate amount of public works money, with which he felt he could have accomplished highly desirable results, especially in the matter of reducing the cost of transportation. (Journal, iv, 239.)

² The Act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, as amended by an Act approved May 31, 1922, provides that the entire indebtedness of the Philippine government shall not exceed, at any one time, ten per cent of the aggregate real estate tax valuation, exclusive of those obligations known as friar land bonds and bonds not to exceed \$10,000,000 in amount issued by the Philippine government and secured by an equivalent amount of bonds issued by the provinces and municipalities. A limit of ten per cent of the aggregate tax valuation is imposed on the entire indebted-



SEÑOR DON ESTEBAN DE LA RAMA
A successful Filipino business man

to borrow \$7,000,000 for the purchase of friar lands;¹ and later, in 1905,² \$5,000,000 for public works.³

By Act of Congress of February 6, 1905, the Philippine government was further authorized to guarantee interest at four per cent annually on bonds issued for the construction of railroads, and this enlightened action on the part of Congress resulted in the expenditure of about \$24,000,000 in railroad construction in the Islands, involving a potential expenditure for interest of \$948,360 annually.⁴

The first nine issues of Philippine bonds sold at substantially less than a four per cent basis at a time when the prevailing rate of interest in the Philippine Islands⁵ on the best commercial security, as also on mortgages on improved real estate, was about twelve per cent, or more, per annum. Sales of Philippine government bonds in the United States since that time have required a higher rate of interest, but seldom exceeding five per cent.⁶

The low rate of interest which the Philippine government is able to command is due in an important degree to the fact that not only are its bonds by Act of Congress exempt from all taxation in the United States and in the Philippine

ness of the city of Manila and of seven per cent on that of any province or municipality.

The assessed value of taxable real property of the Philippine Islands as of December 31, 1926, was \$806,492,135.35. (*Report of the Auditor, 1926, 320.*)

¹ Act of Congress, July 1, 1902, Sections 63-65.

² Act of Congress, February 6, 1905.

³ The city of Manila also was authorized to incur indebtedness up to \$4,000,000, to provide sewer and drainage system, and any other municipality was authorized to incur indebtedness not exceeding five per cent of the assessed value of the real estate within its jurisdiction for municipal improvements, including sewer and drainage systems, water supply, and buildings for public primary schools. (Act of Congress, July 1, 1902, as amended by Act of February 6, 1905, Section 3.)

⁴ *Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1926, 24.*

Of this potential liability the maximum demand on the government was somewhat less than eighty per cent reached in 1911 and reduced thereafter.

⁵ The following is an extract from a letter of Governor-General W. Cameron Forbes to Resident Commissioner Manuel L. Quezon, November 28, 1910:

‘... the advance of the Philippine people toward efficient self-government, the realization of their aspirations, can be measured directly by the rate of interest prevailing in the Islands. The fact that the United States Government is now responsible for the Government of the Philippine Islands has resulted in the excellent credit of this government in the markets of the world in regard to the sale of their own bonds.’

⁶ See table, *post*, 271, footnote 1.

Islands, but also, by order of the Secretary of the Treasury, bonds of the Philippine government are acceptable at par by the United States Treasury Department as security for deposits of public moneys. Likewise, the Postmaster-General has authorized the acceptance of Philippine government bonds at par as security for deposits of postal savings funds.¹

The payment of principal and interest of Philippine government bonds is not guaranteed by the United States government. However, as the bonds have been issued pursuant to authorization by Congress, the Department of Justice and the War Department have held that these bonds constitute a moral obligation of the United States.² In the advertisements offering bonds of the Philippine government for sale, it is the practice of the War Department to quote an extract from an opinion by the Attorney-General of the United States, dated August 11, 1921, regarding the liability of the United States for a former issue of Philippine bonds.³ This might have a

¹ These authorizations by the Post Office and Treasury Departments at Washington are subject to the proviso that the Attorney-General of the United States shall have passed favorably upon the legality of the proposed bond issue. Such opinion by the Attorney-General has been secured in each instance. (Letter of November 30, 1926, from the Bureau of Insular Affairs.)

² 'Congress has not specifically pledged the good faith of the United States to the payment of the principal and interest of Philippine Government bonds, but as all bonds have been issued pursuant to its specific authorization, the Department of Justice and the War Department have invariably held that said bonds constitute a moral obligation of the United States.' (From a letter of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, dated November 30, 1926.)

³ A typical advertisement reads in part:

'In rendering an opinion dated August 11, 1921, as to the legality of \$10,000,000 Philippine Government Public Improvement Bonds dated August 1, 1921, due August 1, 1941, issued under authority of Act of Congress above referred to, the Attorney-General of the United States made the following statement:

' "I may add the following observations in conformity with the view expressed by Solicitor-General Hoyt, and concurred in by Attorney-General Knox in their opinion to you of December 26, 1903, 25 Ops. 89, 93.

' "This issue and sale of bonds is authorized by the national power and, while in the strict and legal sense, the faith of the United States of America is not pledged as a guaranty for the payment of the loan, or for the due use of the proceeds, or the observance of the sinking fund requirements, the entire transaction is to be negotiated under the auspices of the United States of America, and by its recognition and aid. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the national power will take the necessary steps in all contingencies to protect the purchasers in good faith of these securities.'" (Extract from circular of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, November 16, 1926, offering of \$274,000 bonds, Philippine Islands 4½ per cent collateral loan of 1926 [due 1956] Ilocos Norte.)

very important bearing on the relationship between the Philippine Islands and the United States in case the question of withdrawing the sovereignty of the United States were under serious consideration.

The authorized borrowing capacity of the Philippine government in 1926 had reached \$95,870,722.72. The total bonded indebtedness of the Philippine government, including municipal bonds, on June 30, 1926, was \$81,815,000.¹ The per capita bonded indebtedness for all branches of the Philippine government in 1913 was \$1.29; in 1921, \$2.95; and on June 30, 1926, \$6.82.

Sinking funds adequate for the retirement of bonds issued by the Philippine government were established and due restrictions imposed regarding their investment. These restrictions were modified and safeguards lessened during the Democratic régime. Early in 1922, the Legislature, on the recommendation of Governor-General Wood, revised the law,

¹ The following table gives details of the various bond issues:

[Sources: Letter of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs dated November 30, 1926, and its enclosures, and Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, 1926, 22.]

Date	Purpose	Amount	Rate	Period in years	Sale price
			<i>Per cent</i>		
Feb. 1, 1904	Purchase of friar lands	\$7,000,000	4	10/30	107.577
Mar. 1, 1905	Public works	2,500,000	4	10/30	109.06
June 1, 1905	Manila sewers and waterworks	1,000,000	4	10/30	109.5625
Feb. 1, 1906	Public works	1,000,000	4	10/30	108.3747
Jan. 2, 1907	Manila sewers and waterworks	2,000,000	4	10/30	105.8502675
Jan. 2, 1908	Manila sewers and waterworks	1,000,000	4	10/30	102.2936
Aug. 1, 1909	Public works	1,500,000	4	10/30	100.3025
Jan. 1, 1911	Cebu waterworks	125,000	4	10/30	102.033
Dec. 1, 1916	Purchase of Manila Railway	4,000,000	4	10/30	100.76
Jan. 1, 1919	Santa Cruz waterworks	45,000	5	10/30	100.
Jan. 1, 1919	Majayjay waterworks	20,000	5	10/30	100.
Jan. 1, 1919	Bangued waterworks	20,000	5	10/30	100.
Sept. 1, 1920	Port of Manila improvement	6,000,000	5½	10/30	101.27
Dec. 1, 1920	Manila permanent improvements ^a	2,750,000	5½	10/30	100.
Aug. 1, 1921	Irrigation and public works	10,000,000	5½	20	95.62
Feb. 1, 1922	Financial interest protection	5,000,000	5	30	101.56
July 1, 1922	Sundry purposes	5,000,000	4½	30	98.337
July 1, 1922	Sundry purposes	2,250,000	4½	30	95.297
July 1, 1922	Sundry purposes	750,000	4½	30	95.
July 1, 1922	Sundry purposes	3,800,000	4½	30	97.578
July 15, 1922	Currency stabilization	23,000,000	4½	30	96.49
April 1, 1925	Metropolitan district waterworks	1,250,000	5	10/30	102.6319
Jan. 1, 1926	Iloilo, public works	976,500	4½	10/30	b.....
Mar. 1, 1926	Pangasinan, public works	428,500	4½	10/30	b.....
April 1, 1926	Occidental Negros, public works	400,000	4½	10/30	b.....
Total bonded indebtedness, July 1, 1926		\$81,815,000			

^a This bond issue by the city of Manila was covered by an issue of an equal amount of 4½ per cent collateral bonds by the insular government.

^b These bonds were purchased at par on sinking fund account by the Insular Treasurer at Manila when they were issued.

strengthened the safeguards of the sinking funds and limited the investment of these funds to securities of the government of the Philippine Islands or of the government of the United States.¹

Detailed information as to revenues and expenditures and the financial situation of the government is published annually in the reports of the Auditor for the Philippine Islands.²

Reports of the financial operations of government are embodied in the annual reports of the Governor-General, which include those of the Secretary of Finance with reference to the insular government, and of the Secretary of the Interior as to provincial and municipal governments.

An excellent summary of financial operations and the situation of the Philippine government is to be found in each annual report by the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs.

One of the most important reforms achieved by American administrators was that of the currency.

In the report of the first Commission³ is to be found an interesting account of the history of the currency of the Islands with details as to the different measures of value. It records that at one time coins were cut into pieces to supply the lack of fractional currency, and that at another the British Indian rupee was the monetary unit of the Islands, and tells of the establishment of the first Manila mint in 1857 for the coinage of a special Spanish-Philippine currency, of which little was produced.

When the Americans arrived, there was in use a non-descript currency⁴ of fluctuating values, and traders were by no

¹ The sinking funds on December 31, 1925, amounted to \$14,594,582.40. (*Report of the Auditor*, 1925, 17.) These assets were in the form of cash and approved securities.

Advantageous purchases have been made from time to time of Philippine government bonds, of the face value of \$9,244,000, on account of the sinking funds and of other trust funds, and are held in the Bureau of Insular Affairs for account of the Philippine government. (*Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs*, 1926, 23.)

² The established practice has been for these reports to cover: the insular government and the chartered cities of Manila and Baguio; provincial governments; and municipal governments.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 142 ff.

⁴ Mexican silver pesos, Spanish-Philippine silver pesos, silver subsidiary and minor copper coins, paper currency issued by the Banco Español-Filipino, by the British banks having branches in Manila, the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation

means scrupulous about taking unfair advantage of these changes, while the money-lenders knew very well how to fix the rates of the day to suit their business. There was a multitude of money-changers and it was always the poor man who suffered. He found that his produce brought less than it ought and that his purchases cost substantially more. The early reports of the Commission speak of the bitterness with which the civil employees of the government, whose salaries were stated in gold — that is, United States currency — complained at the discrimination made against them in local currency exchange,¹ as they found it sharply reduced the purchasing power of their emoluments. This so-called 'local currency' was on the silver basis typified by the Mexican peso coin or 'dollar.'

The importation of Mexican currency had been prohibited by the Spanish authorities for some years prior to American occupation, but it is alleged that with the connivance of the customs authorities it had constantly been brought into the country. The Military Governor, under the able guidance of Major-General Francis V. Greene, made an intelligent effort to establish a fixed rate of two Mexican dollars for one United States dollar,² but this was only partially successful, as an increase in the bullion value of silver made it unprofitable to the banks to continue the arrangement.³

Besides the difficulty of conducting business, that of keeping accounts in the fluctuating currency was extreme, and is noted in the early reports of the Secretary of Finance and Justice, who quoted the Auditor as saying: 'At one time disbursing officers were handling two kinds of currency involving, in effect, five standards of value.'⁴

and the Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China, and some silver and copper coins of the Straits Settlements, Hongkong, China, and Spanish governments. American gold and silver currency, and to a lesser extent paper and minor coins also, soon were used.

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1902, part 1, p. 700.*

² *Ibid.*, 1900, 85-86.

³ As a protective measure the Commission by law (Act No. 45, Philippine Commission, November 12, 1900) imposed a prohibitive export tax of ten per cent on Mexican silver coins, which was continued in force until repealed August 31, 1901. (Act No. 213, Philippine Commission, August 31, 1901.)

⁴ Report dated November 1, 1902, in *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1902, part 1, p. 702.*

In 1901, Mr. Charles A. Conant, an expert in banking and finance, was brought to the Islands, and on his advice plans were completed for a new currency for the Philippine Islands on a strictly gold basis. The Commission also had the advice and assistance of Jeremiah W. Jenks, Professor of Political Economy at Cornell University, who had made an extensive investigation into economic questions in the British and Dutch colonies in the Orient.¹

It was not until March 2, 1903, that Congress passed the necessary legislation to provide for a new coinage system in the Islands,² the provisions contained in the organic act of July 1, 1902, being deemed inadequate.

The peso,³ equivalent in value to a United States half-dollar, was made the unit of value.

The silver coins authorized were the silver peso,⁴ half-peso or fifty centavos, the peseta or twenty centavos, and the media peseta or ten centavos, the centavo being the lowest unit of value and equal to one-half cent of United States currency. Minor coins authorized were the nickel five-centavo and copper centavo and half-centavo pieces.

This silver Philippine peso was made legal tender in the Philippine Islands for all debts, public and private. At the same time, the gold coins of the United States, at the rate of one dollar for two pesos, were also made legal tender in the Islands.

The Secretary of Finance reported that the good effects of the announcement of the gold standard were immediately felt,⁵ although it was not until 1904 that the new currency found its way into circulation.⁶

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, part 1, pp. 180, 703.

² *Ibid.*, 1903, part 3, p. 282.

³ Twelve and nine-tenths grains of gold and 900 parts fine. (Act of Congress, March 2, 1903.)

⁴ The amount of silver in the coined peso was fixed by the Act of Congress at 416 grains, 900 parts fine and 100 parts alloy.

⁵ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, p. 282.

⁶ The government was fortunate in being able to secure the assistance of Dr. Edwin W. Kemmerer to aid in the establishment and maintenance of this new system. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, p. 289.) Supplementary to the annual reports of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and of the Philippine Commission, his book, *Modern Currency Reforms*, New York, 1916, is a valuable reference as to the Philippine currency system.

Following his excellent work in connection with the Philippine currency system,

The currency law provided for maintaining the parity of the silver peso and for financing the purchase of silver bullion for the new currency through the issue of notes or 'certificates of indebtedness' for periods of not longer than one year and bearing interest at a rate not exceeding four per cent annually. These debentures were exempted from taxation in the United States and in the Philippine Islands. The Act of Congress also provided for the use of paper currency in the form of silver certificates in various denominations in exchange for deposits of standard silver coins of one peso. These deposits constituted a special trust fund for the redemption of this paper currency.

The sale of the 'certificates of indebtedness' and the purchase of bullion were operations of importance and were executed with great success by the Bureau of Insular Affairs. Also, through the good offices of the bureau, the United States Mint coined the silver pesos and the subsidiary and minor coins, and the services of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing at Washington were secured for the preparation of the paper currency, as authorized by Congress.

The period was one of radical changes in the currency of the British government in India and in the Straits Settlements, the Japanese government, and the Dutch government in the East Indies, all of which then passed to some form of gold standard basis. It was reasonable to expect that the market value of silver would not materially increase, and after the Philippine government ceased purchasing silver for coinage for a time the market price of the metal gradually fell.¹

A fund known as the Gold Standard Fund was created for the purpose of maintaining the parity between the Philippine silver and the gold standard peso.² This special fund was made up of the proceeds of the 'certificates of indebtedness'

Dr. Kemmerer achieved distinction as an expert on currency and public finance by reason of his services as advisor to foreign governments, and became Professor of Economics and Finance at Princeton University.

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, p. 290.

² 'The Gold Standard Fund,' Act of Congress, March 2, 1903, Section 6, and Act No. 938, Philippine Commission, October 10, 1903.

The silver peso as originally fixed was substantially of the weight and fineness of the Mexican peso (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 1, p. 20), an arrangement which worked very well until 1906, when the price of silver rose to such a

already mentioned, the profits of seigniorage,¹ the profits from the sale of exchange, interest, and incidental receipts. By 1911, or at the end of eight years, this fund had risen to over \$10,300,000,² at which time it was deemed unnecessary to add to the sum further. And so from that time on, the funds which had formerly gone to swell the Gold Standard Fund were covered back into the treasury to be available for general appropriation.³

It was suggested from Washington that, rather than leave the whole of this sum of money in the banks in the United States drawing a low rate of interest, a portion of it could be safely brought to the Islands and utilized in loans to provinces and municipalities for income-bearing purposes. The Legislature in 1911,⁴ upon recommendation of the Governor-General, fixed the amount of the Gold Standard Fund at thirty-five per cent of the money of the Philippine government in circulation and available for that purpose and made fifty per cent of the fund available for loans to provincial and municipal governments to aid in the construction of public works, one-half of this fifty per cent being available for loans, for not to exceed thirty months at an annual interest rate of five per cent, on approved security to the Manila Railroad Company to complete certain of its southern lines.

This plan of investment was pursued with great advantage in the public interest. These loans hastened the completion of important sections of railways to the southward of Manila through the great coconut plantation regions of Batangas, Laguna, and Tayabas to an excellent harbor⁵ on the Pacific coast. The loans to provincial and municipal governments

point that it was found advisable to remint the currency, reducing the amount of silver and its fineness to 800. The subsidiary coins were of proportionate weights, but only 750 fine. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 1, p. 11.)

¹ Seigniorage is the difference between the face value of the minted coin and the cost of the bullion purchased for minting plus the cost of coinage, and represents the government's profit.

By September, 1904, the total seigniorage amounted to \$1,296,092.23. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 3, p. 361.)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1911, 147.

³ The depreciation of the currency during the Democratic régime and its subsequent stabilization are set forth in Chapters XXII-XXIV.

⁴ Act No. 2083, Philippine Legislature, December 8, 1911.

⁵ Hondagua, Tayabas Province.

facilitated the construction of important bridges, roads, municipal markets, and other important permanent improvements. In no case did any of the provinces or municipalities default on payment of either principal or interest of loans from trust funds of the insular government.¹

The amount of currency in circulation in the Philippine Islands, at the time of the close of Spanish sovereignty and until the gold standard currency had definitely displaced the previous heterogeneous paper and metallic currencies, cannot be stated even approximately, except that the notes of the Banco Español-Filipino amounted to slightly more than one million dollars, and the total amount of Mexican, Spanish, and Spanish-Philippine currency withdrawn from circulation (and hoards) during the period July 1, 1903, to December 31, 1915, was nearly seventeen million dollars.²

When the new currency became the only legal tender, all other currencies rapidly withdrew from circulation. The Mexican, Spanish, and Spanish-Philippine silver coins were received by the government at rates of exchange, announced by the Governor-General from time to time, approximating the bullion value of the silver. As a result these silver currencies were withdrawn from circulation by export to China, and the Spanish copper coins on private account, and by shipment to the United States for recoinage on government account, the private shipments somewhat exceeding those by the government.³ By the year 1906, when the new currency had come into general use, the amount in circulation was slightly in excess of \$15,000,000, a per capita of \$1.89.⁴

¹ See Governor-General Harrison's statement in *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1915, 26.

² The exact figures are \$16,884,450.845. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1915, 191.)

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1915, 191.

⁴ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1922, 121.

By 1912, this had increased to \$2.81, from which it receded until in 1915 it stood at \$2.62; then during the extraordinary circumstances of the war period it reached a maximum in 1919 of \$6.98. During the following period there was again a reduction, until in 1922 the per capita circulation was \$4.355, from which it increased gradually until at the close of 1925 (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 122) it stood at \$5.58. (The per capita circulation in the United States was \$32.32 in 1906, \$34.34 in 1912, \$50.11 in 1920, \$39.86 in 1922, and \$41.89 in 1925.)

In the early days of American administration business methods and confidence had not reached the point where a very general use of credit was practiced in the conduct of business in the Islands. As confidence grew and business methods became more understood, much more business was done on credit and the use of checks became more general.

The Americans found the prevailing weights and measures in use in the Islands to be even more chaotic than the currency. The picul — customary unit of weight in local as well as export trade in hemp, sugar, copra, and other products — varied in weight from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and forty pounds. The cavan, which was the customary unit of measurement of corn and unhulled rice, varied as much as ten per cent; the yard varied ten per cent, depending on which of various British or Spanish customary units were used. There was neither commercial standardization nor official verification of accuracy of weights and measures used in any part of the Islands. Besides this lack of standards, fraud was more or less generally practiced in the adjustment of scales for weighing and the use of different sizes of measures for buying and selling. The situation was complicated and the confusion was aggravated by the use of units of mediæval origin which had come to have varying values in different localities.

In 1906, the Commission passed a law ¹ making the metric system legal for all weights and measures throughout the Philippine Islands and providing for the inspection and sealing, and penalties for the use of fraudulent or unsealed weights and measures. The act defined the metric equivalents of the more generally used customary units, and permitted their use for two years, or until the first of January, 1909,² and provision was made for a limited extension under certain circumstances. It was specifically provided that the metric system only should be used in official documents and that no other weights or measures might be employed in contracts or other documents except those involving the ordering of commodities or articles from countries having other standards. The

¹ Act No. 1519, Philippine Commission, August 3, 1906.

² Exception was made permitting the use of 'board feet' in the measurement of manufactured lumber.

standards were deposited in the Bureau of Science, and the Collector of Internal Revenue was charged with enforcing the law through provincial and municipal treasurers. Charges for sealing were fixed at nominal rates and provincial and municipal treasurers were required to verify without charge exact weights and measures of products when disputed between buyer and seller. This measure had an important effect in encouraging agriculture and stimulating the general economic development of the Islands.

The revenues derived from fees and other charges incident to the operation of the weights and measures law are divided between provincial and municipal governments and, doubtless, somewhat more than cover the expense of services rendered in enforcement of the law.

The Reorganization Committee, whose operations have been mentioned in an earlier chapter, had found the government suffering under an extremely backward method of auditing and accounting.¹ It had been amazed to learn that the United States government at that time kept its books on a single entry basis under a system which ran back to the days of Alexander Hamilton. The Insular Auditor was appointed by the Secretary of War,² and, although responsible to the Governor-General for the conduct of his employees, his judgment on accounting matters was final and no more subject to review by the Governor-General than were the judicial decisions of a judge subject to review by executive officers. In fact, the law provided that, in case of disagreement between the Governor-General and the Auditor on accounting matters, a decision should be rendered by the Secretary of War.³ There was no adequate distinction made between the duties of the Treasurer and the Auditor. The imperfectly trained Auditors who came to the Islands overstepped the limits which should have been placed upon their independence

¹ Secretary Taft, in a letter to the chairman of a committee appointed by President Roosevelt to look into the matter of simplifying the federal government, wrote that 'the system of government accounting, which we improved but which we substantially followed in the Philippine Islands, is archaic, clumsy, ineffectual and unnecessarily expensive.' (From a letter written by Secretary Taft to the Honorable Charles H. Keep, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, December 18, 1905.)

² Act No. 90, Philippine Commission, February 28, 1901.

³ *Ibid.*

of action, and insisted in certain instances upon actually disbursing the departmental funds. The result was that whatever work of this sort was done by the Auditor became an unaudited function and deprived the government of the very check the Auditor's office was created to give. This defect in the system was not a surprising one, as even in successful commercial corporations the absolute division between auditing and accounting functions is often neglected, with occasional rather serious results.

The Committee found the Insular Auditor arbitrary and autocratic in his rulings and it estimated his unnecessary requirements cost the government annually hundreds of thousands of dollars. Moreover, his system was so faulty that he could not give the chiefs of the bureaus usual business information as to their assets, liabilities, and costs. His audit was made, usually by correspondence, often a year or more after events had happened. Defalcations were usually detected by the organization within the bureaus, and if discovered by the Auditor it was usually too late for effective remedial action.

So strongly entrenched was the existing system that the Committee found itself unable to dislodge it; nevertheless, as a result of its recommendations, many improvements were effected, the audit was expedited, and its burdens greatly decreased.

Following the recommendation of the Committee, the Reorganization Act passed by the Commission placed nearly all the bureaus on a system of so-called 'reimbursable appropriations,' based on the principle that appropriations from general funds should be made only for the difference between the estimated receipts not derived from taxation and the estimated costs of each bureau. Under this plan all receipts of each branch of the government for services and supplies and other purposes not taxation automatically went to the support of the office or bureau concerned,¹ and only the balance, if an adverse balance resulted from their operations, was appropriated. As most of the bureaus did services for other bureaus or offices of the government and charged for them, this device served a double purpose. First, it made the appropriations give the exact cost to the government of

¹ Act No. 1679, Philippine Commission, August 10, 1907, Section 10.

each bureau, and did not increase the apparent cost of government by the amount of inter-bureau charges. That is to say, where one branch of the government rendered service to another branch and received payment for it, the amounts thus paid across between bureaus did not appear as an added cost of government.

Take, for example, the Bureau of Supply, the purchasing agency of the government, all the revenues of which were derived from payments made by other bureaus for purchases made on their behalf. This bureau in 1913 did a gross business of \$3,500,000 in sales to other branches of the government.¹ Had these purchases been added to the gross expenses of the government and the receipts of the Bureau of Supply added to the gross revenues of the government, the same money would have appeared twice as revenue, the first time as collected from the public as taxation, and the second time as received by the Bureau of Supply from other bureaus and offices; and similarly the expenses would have appeared twice, once as expense of the Bureau of Supply, and second as expenditures by bureaus and offices for which the purchases were made.²

The second purpose which this device served was that it gave the bureau chiefs a direct interest in seeing that their earnings were maintained, bills rendered for all services performed, and the collections made, as they depended upon these revenues to meet their expenses.

A very minor but typical illustration will show the advantage to the government derived from having reimbursable accounts. The government maintained in the Bureau of Science an ornithologist who could either remain at his desk working up the accumulation of specimens, or incur additional expense to go out and get new specimens. The Philippine Islands abound in rare specimens of birds, the skins of which are greatly sought for in museums throughout the world, and it was found that the ornithologist could

¹ *Report of the Auditor*, 1913, part I, 84.

² When the purchases were made on behalf of some bureau also doing service for another bureau of the government, such as a supply of paper for the Bureau of Printing, this same amount might appear a third time when billed through to the bureau in which the article purchased was finally used.

earn not only the cost of his own expeditions by sale to scientific institutions of the skins collected, but also enough to repay the Bureau of Science for the whole of his salary and could in addition secure by exchange valuable skins of birds of other countries with which to enrich the museum in Manila. When the reimbursable feature of the law was later abolished and all revenues derived from the operations of the ornithologist were covered back into the treasury to be reappropriated by the Legislature, it was found that practically all incentive for these expeditions was lost, the revenues derived from sale of Philippine bird skins dropped to almost nothing, and further expeditions on the part of this ornithologist were discouraged because the cost had to be borne from the bureau's appropriations without any credit being given the bureau from his earnings.¹

Lest unrestricted use of receipts should lend itself to extravagance on the part of the bureau chiefs, an 'allowance' was made for expenditure under each subhead and no bureau chief could spend in excess of that amount without the written approval of the Governor-General.² Thus, if a bureau by reason of its efficient operation should double its business but in doing so require increased expenditure, it could secure a suitable increase in its 'allowance' by satisfying the head of the department and the Governor-General that the best interests of the government would be served by increasing the allowance. Some bureaus, like that of Printing, were wholly reimbursable and had no appropriation; in fact, turned back a small profit to the government. Some, like the Bureau of Posts, derived the bulk of the money for their expenditures from their own operations, requiring a comparatively small

¹ An illustration of the operation of the plan on a larger scale was that of the Bureau of Posts, whose appropriation from general funds of the government under the reorganization was limited to the amount required to cover the deficiency or difference between receipts and cost of operation. This amount for the fiscal year 1907 was \$200,600 of a total authorized operating cost of \$558,000 (Act No. 1527, Philippine Commission, August 8, 1906), while in 1913 but \$180,471.40 was required from general funds of government of a total operating cost of \$890,967.99, the remainder being covered by postal and telegraph receipts. (*Report of the Auditor*, 1913, part I, 48, 49.)

² A further device to encourage thrift was a provision in the appropriation acts for 1909 and succeeding years authorizing bureau chiefs to utilize in permanent improvements their savings from appropriations for current expenses.

balance from the general treasury to bring them out even. Other bureaus, like the Constabulary and the Bureau of Civil Service, had practically no revenues at all, but had to depend wholly upon their annual appropriations.

The reforms instituted by the Reorganization Committee marked a departure in government financing and for the few years they were allowed to endure worked admirably. But the Filipino Assemblymen, perhaps influenced by the constant clamor of the newspapers against the cost of government, early developed a marked prejudice against the system of reimbursable appropriations under which the government was conducted. They felt that somehow these resulted in an undue latitude being given to the bureau chiefs to expend more money than they would spend were they limited by a fixed amount contained in the appropriation bill.

The Legislature in 1914, the first which had a Filipino majority in both houses, insisted upon returning to the method of requiring that all receipts be covered into the general fund account of the government and that there be included in the appropriation act the total amount that might be expended for operation, with the result, to take the extreme example of the Bureau of Posts, that they raised the appropriation ¹ for that year to \$962,705, whereas the actual net cost to government of the bureau was but \$118,632.23.²

An analysis of the cost of government before and after these changes were made leads one to the conclusion that the reimbursable appropriation was more flexible and in the long run more economical. Part of the increased volume of appropriation following 1914 is due to the inclusion of these inter-bureau charges. All these increased expenses of the bureaus, however, cannot be attributed to the changed method of accounting, although there can be no doubt it was less economical than the former one. As additional revenues became available, it was inevitable that expenses should increase. All governments will spend their revenues as collected. All bureaus are desirous of extending their activities, and, with the extension of these activities, there is also necessary increased expense which will keep pace with the revenues. And

¹ Act No. 2319, Philippine Legislature, January 31, 1914.

² *Report of the Auditor*, 1914, 77.

so the explanation of much of the greatly increased expenditure of the government after 1914 is to be found in the fact that the Legislature found itself possessed of greatly increased revenue, and like all legislative bodies it had no difficulty in finding ways of disposing of everything it could get.

Toward the end of the second session of the Philippine Assembly its leaders found themselves confronted with the embarrassing fact that they had exceeded their appropriation. As almost all the members of the Assembly had been elected on a platform of reducing the expenses of the government and curbing the 'extravagance' of the Americans, of which they had heard frequent complaints, their own shortage was keenly felt and the leaders of the Assembly were particularly desirous that it be met without a public exposure of their predicament. This was accomplished by the passage of an act ¹ providing that any balances of appropriations unexpended by any bureau at the end of each year could be used by the Governor-General to make up the deficiencies of any other bureau or office. Thus, without asking the Legislature for a deficiency appropriation, the Governor-General had a sum — amounting usually to four or five hundred thousand dollars — which he could utilize to make up deficiencies, which generally ran to less than half that amount. This enabled the government to get along with much smaller total appropriations than would have been necessary had each bureau been compelled to have a reserve fund to care for unforeseen contingencies. No bureau could be quite sure of what its requirements were going to be. In case of an insurrection, for instance, or the depredations of a very strong band of outlaws, the cost of the Constabulary in taking the field and in carrying on a campaign might be vastly and unexpectedly increased, as in fact occurred in 1904 and 1905 in quelling the outbreak in Samar. The Constabulary could not remain quiet under such circumstances any more than a fire department could wait for an increased appropriation while a conflagration was in process. Similarly with the Bureau of Health, the outbreak of an epidemic of cholera or of plague might render costly activities necessary, carrying the bureau's expenditures far in excess of the amount of appropriation

¹ Act No. 1902, Philippine Legislature, May 18, 1909.

asked for and secured at the beginning of the year. Later this situation was met by the creation of a semi-legislative emergency board,¹ with a fund reaching in 1920 as high as a million and a half dollars.²

The Commission in 1906 enacted a corporation law³ based on laws in effect in conservative states. Conflicting portions of the Spanish code of commerce and other laws were repealed.

In 1906, also, the Commission created⁴ the Philippine Postal Savings Bank as a branch of the Bureau of Posts.⁵ The charter was prepared by banking experts after careful studies of the systems in force in England, France, Japan, India, and other countries. Its success is proved by the remarkable increase in the number of depositors from 2331 in 1907 to 176,056 in 1925, and in amount of deposits from \$254,732 in 1907 to \$2,941,321 in 1925.⁶ Necessary safeguards were provided to assure the security of funds and no serious fraud in connection with its management is reported to have occurred.

This admirable institution, in which Secretary Taft personally took great interest, resulted in the deposit and use for income-bearing purposes of much of the hoarded savings which the people had been accustomed to keep buried in the ground or concealed about their premises. It is a noteworthy fact that the Philippine Postal Savings Bank was well under way and the Filipinos enjoying its advantages before the United States had made similar provisions for the convenience of its own citizens.⁷

For the purpose of aiding in the establishment and operation of an agricultural bank, Congress, by Act of March 4, 1907, authorized the Philippine government to guarantee an income of four per cent upon the cash capital invested in such an enterprise, under certain restrictions. The Legislature in

¹ Act No. 2319, Philippine Legislature, January 31, 1914.

² Act No. 2875, Philippine Legislature, December 28, 1919.

³ Act No. 1459, Philippine Commission, March 1, 1906, effective April 1, 1906.

⁴ Act No. 1493, Philippine Commission, May 24, 1906.

⁵ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 2, p. 410.

⁶ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 41.

⁷ For mention of school children's use of the Postal Savings Bank, see Chapter X, 'Education,' *post*, 468.

1908 created ¹ the Agricultural Bank of the Philippine Government, and appropriated one-half million dollars for its capital. The bank was authorized to receive deposits of funds of provinces and municipalities, of the Postal Savings Bank, of societies, corporations, and private persons, and to pay interest on such deposits not exceeding four per cent per annum. The Board of Directors were the Secretary of Finance and Justice, the Insular Treasurer, and three citizens of the Philippine Islands or of the United States resident within the Islands, to be appointed by the Governor-General with the advice and sanction of the Commission; the Insular Treasurer was manager; the provincial and municipal treasurers were agents of the bank; and authority was given the Governor-General, on request of the Board of Directors or the manager, to require any other officer or employee of the government to perform service or render assistance to the bank.

The bank was authorized to 'make loans only for the payment or satisfaction of incumbrances on agricultural lands, for the construction of drainage and irrigation works, and for the purchase of fertilizers, agricultural seeds, machinery, implements, and animals, to be used exclusively by the borrower for agricultural purposes. . . .' ² No loans were to be made by the bank to any person or corporation not engaged in agricultural pursuits. ³

In 1916, when the National Bank of the Philippine Islands was established by the Philippine government, all the assets and liabilities of the Agricultural Bank were transferred to it. ⁴ The Agricultural Bank was thereafter 'deemed abolished.' ⁵

¹ Act No. 1865, Philippine Legislature, June 18, 1908.

² *Ibid.*

³ Loans were made only upon resolution of the Board of Directors, and in amounts not less than \$25.00 nor more than \$12,500.00. Fifty per cent of the capital of the bank was set apart for loans of not more than \$2500 to any one person or corporation. Loans were to be made on first mortgages on not exceeding forty per cent of the value of improved urban property, or upon unencumbered agricultural land, or by chattel mortgage to the bank on crops already harvested, gathered, and stored, with the same limitation as to amount of loan to value. The bank could not charge more than ten per cent on its loans and no loan was to be for a period of longer than ten years.

⁴ Act No. 2612, Philippine Legislature, February 4, 1916.

⁵ Provision was made that any loan so transferred to the National Bank by the Agricultural Bank 'found upon demand after its maturity to be uncollectible, shall

Prominent Filipinos made persistent but unavailing efforts between 1912 and 1914 to secure a charter for a land bank to be financed by French capital,¹ which the Philippine government could not see fit to grant.²

The Legislature passed an act in 1915 to encourage rural credit associations under government supervision.³ By 1924 there were 546 associations with 81,971 members and total assets of \$1,326,890.94.⁴

The admirable institution known as the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, managed from London and Hongkong, had been a great factor in international finance and in fixing the rates of exchange. This bank maintained an office in Manila usually directed by one of its capable managers. The Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China was another great British-owned bank that shared the business, as also did the Banco Español-Filipino, rechartered by the Commission under the title of The Bank of the Philippine Islands.⁵ After the advent of the United States the International Banking Corporation, an American institution, entered this field and under a series of capable managers⁶

be redeemed by the Government and become the property thereof . . . ' provision being made that, by agreement between the Insular Treasurer and the National Bank the latter might renew any such credits for a period not exceeding five years without losing the benefit of the above guarantee. These loans were still in course of liquidation in 1925, a balance of \$46,000 appearing in the accounts of the government for that year. (*Report of the Auditor, 1925, 17.*)

¹ See Acts Nos. 2124, February 1, 1912; 2215, February 3, 1913; 2375, February 28, 1914; authorizing the creation of the proposed bank. These acts contained the best terms the government was willing to grant, but they were not accepted by the French capitalists.

² See Chapter XVII, 'Attitude of Filipinos,' II, 91-92.

³ Act No. 2508, Philippine Legislature, February 5, 1915, designated them 'Rural Agricultural Credit Coöperative Associations.' The purposes were to encourage thrift among the farmers, provide depositories for savings, make small loans at a low rate of interest for the purchase of seeds and work animals to pay the expense of land titles, and for other agricultural needs. By Act No. 2566, Philippine Legislature, February 3, 1916, municipal treasurers were required to serve *ex officio* without additional compensation. Act No. 2818, Philippine Legislature, March 4, 1919, appropriated five hundred thousand dollars to be loaned at not to exceed six per cent per annum, in amounts not exceeding one thousand dollars to any one person, for cultivation of food crops, especially corn and rice.

⁴ *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 175.*

⁵ Act No. 1790, Philippine Commission, October 12, 1907.

⁶ Among these managers Charles D. Palmer, W. H. Taylor, and Stanley Williams were prominent.

reached out for and maintained an important share of the business.

The Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902,¹ authorized the government of the Philippine Islands to grant franchises, privileges, and concessions, including the authority to exercise the right of eminent domain for the construction and operation of works of public utility and service. This authorization contained various restrictions and safeguards. No franchise, privileges, or concession might be granted to any corporation except under the condition that it should be subject to amendment, alteration, or repeal by Congress. All grants of franchises and other concessions should forbid the issue of stocks or bonds except in exchange for actual cash, or for property of fair valuation, equal to the par value of the stocks or bonds so issued. The declaring of stock or bond dividends was also forbidden. In the case of public service corporations, it was required that provision be made for the effective regulation of charges, for the official inspection and regulation of the books and accounts of such corporations, and for the payment of a reasonable percentage of gross earnings to the public treasury.²

Congress by the same law imposed severe restrictions on corporations engaged in agriculture and mining, and expressly provided that 'no corporation shall be authorized to conduct the business of buying and selling real estate.'³

Franchises were granted for electric lighting, telephone, railway, and other public utilities with great benefit to the public interest.

On October 12, 1907, the Commission passed a rate regulation law providing a board of three, consisting of the Governor-General and the Secretary of Commerce and Police *ex officio*, and a third to be appointed. The Supervising Railway Expert was appointed to this place without additional compensation, the only paid official being one secretary.⁴ This

¹ Section 74.

² These revenues are divided between the insular, provincial, and municipal governments, and in 1926 amounted to about \$260,000. (*Report of the Auditor*, 1926, 325.)

³ Act of Congress, July 1, 1902, Section 75.

⁴ This law, Act No. 1779, Philippine Commission, October 12, 1907, provided that the 'Board shall exercise a watchful and careful supervision over the rates of

board seemed to serve all the then existing needs of the situation.

Governor-General Harrison during his first year of office secured the passage of an act ¹ creating a Public Utility Board of three, later abolished and its place taken by a Public Utility Commissioner.² In 1923 the commission form was reestablished and an assistant commissioner provided.³

The number of cases presented to this commission for action during 1925 was 2493; and in that year the total number of public carriers and other enterprises falling within the jurisdiction of the commission was 2208.⁴

every public-service corporation, and the said Board shall have the power and it shall be its duty to fix, revise, regulate, reduce, or increase the said rates from time to time as justice to the public and the corporation may require.' (Section 5.) It required every public-service corporation to make full and complete reports to the board upon all matters required by the board. The board had power to compel the attendance of witnesses and the production of such books as it needed, and was empowered to 'determine what will be just and reasonable rate or rates to be thereafter observed in such case, and what regulations or practices in respect to such service are just, fair, and reasonable . . .' (Section 16.)

¹ Act No. 2307, Philippine Legislature, December 19, 1913.

² Act No. 2694, Philippine Legislature, March 9, 1917.

³ Act No. 3108, Philippine Legislature, March 19, 1923.

⁴ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 293.

CONSOLIDATED BUDGET STATEMENT, FISCAL YEAR 1926¹**Budget credits:**

Revenue from taxation

Import duties.....	\$8,527,773.89
Excise tax.....	7,588,738.48
License and business tax.....	13,386,190.94
Real estate tax.....	7,239,600.68
Cedula tax.....	2,429,552.50
Wharfage tax.....	1,026,654.26
Franchise tax.....	262,144.19
Documentary stamp tax (internal revenue).....	342,075.48
Documentary stamp tax (customs revenue).....	300,628.69
Income tax.....	1,943,783.76
Immigration tax.....	169,912.00
Tonnage dues.....	186,894.18
Inheritance tax.....	240,237.75
Road tax.....	39,635.00
Others.....	4,190.82
Total revenue from taxation.....	\$43,688,012.62

Incidental revenue

Revenue from public forests.....	\$634,562.52
United States internal revenue.....	524,862.48
Fines and forfeitures.....	1,152,375.87
Sales of public domain.....	65,809.64
Municipal grants of fishery privileges.....	547,932.14
Cattle registration fees.....	372,315.20
Property and mining claims registration fees.....	760.00
Others.....	713,011.35
Total incidental revenue.....	\$4,011,629.20

Earnings and other credits

Operating income of commercial and industrial units.....	\$9,968,044.80
Other income of operating units.....	56,761.42
Income incidental to functional activities.....	2,006,647.02
Sales of fixed property.....	91,509.58
Sales of Friar Lands real estates.....	369,051.18
Sales of San Lazaro real estate.....	39,743.13
Sales of mortgaged property and collection of agricultural bank loans.....	8,874.80
Proceeds from sales of bonds.....	2,092,463.35
Proceeds from loans.....	377,745.92
Interest repayments from railway companies.....	422,760.92
Repayments of advances to exchange stores.....	5,843.26
Unadjusted cash contributions from the central government..	292,276.23
Voluntary contributions from the public.....	271,405.64
Credit adjustments — prior year.....	386,775.13
Other credits.....	64,890.80
Total earnings and other credits.....	\$16,454,793.18
Total budget credits.....	\$64,154,435.00

¹ Report of the Auditor, 1926, 325-26. This statement includes all departments, bureaus, offices, provinces, chartered cities, municipalities, and other political subdivisions.

Budget charges:

Salaries.....	\$22,784,247.98
Wages.....	4,646,058.27
Travel expense of personnel.....	1,596,188.29
Freight, express, and delivery service.....	528,317.88
Postal, telegraph, telephone, and cable service.....	406,286.31
Illumination and power service.....	539,743.10
Rental of buildings and grounds.....	424,921.14
Consumption of supplies and materials.....	5,167,387.30
Printing and binding reports, documents, and publications....	144,015.63
Cash contributions and gratuities (other than to local govern- ments).....	413,228.72
Cash contributions to Teachers' Pension and Disability Fund..	381,885.04
Cash contributions to Constabulary Pension and Retirements Fund.....	50,000.00
Retirement gratuities, Act 2589 as amended.....	92,320.39
Pensions, Act 2922.....	6,000.00
Maintenance and repair (contract payments only).....	5,278,125.48
Engineering construction (contract payments only).....	4,338.52
Property, fidelity, and work animals insurance losses.....	107,483.43
Losses from revaluation of stock inventory.....	20,237.20
Deterioration and other extraordinary losses.....	101,902.26
Interest and exchange on bonded and loan debt.....	3,994,313.25
Interest and exchange on railroad bonds under guaranty con- tract.....	344,832.80
Discretionary expenditures.....	76,075.09
Purchase and construction of equipment.....	1,423,060.52
Purchase and construction of public works.....	9,676,725.55
Other permanent investments.....	43,750.00
Payments to sinking funds.....	1,670,941.06
Repayments of loans.....	290,247.22
Acquisition of sinking fund investments.....	2,877,595.84
Contingent losses for the rehabilitation of the Philippine Na- tional Bank.....	5,905,690.06
Purchase of Philippine National Bank stock (private shares) ..	111,550.00
Other expense.....	901,756.98
Total budget charges.....	\$70,009,225.31
Total budget credits.....	64,154,435.00
Decrease in surplus during the year.....	(\$5,854,790.31)
Current surplus at the beginning of the year.....	48,447,332.68
Current surplus at the end of the year.....	\$42,592,542.37

CHAPTER VII

JUSTICE

THE organization of the Philippine courts is simple and well suited to the prompt administration of justice.

1. Courts of justices of the peace have preliminary jurisdiction in all criminal cases, and are trial courts in minor civil and criminal cases much as in the rural districts in the United States. Justices of the peace also have powers to perform notarial duties and to solemnize marriages.

2. Courts of first instance are provided for the entire territory of the Islands. These are trial courts of record for all civil and criminal cases.

3. The Supreme Court of the Islands, the members of which are appointed by the President of the United States, with their salaries fixed by Congress, is the court of appeals from decisions of the courts of first instance and orders by the Public Utility Commission. The Supreme Court has power to investigate the official and personal conduct of judges of first instance and recommend to the Governor-General suspensions and removals of such judges when in its opinion there is sufficient cause for such disciplinary action. The Supreme Court also is charged with the admission to practice and the disbarment of lawyers.

4. The Supreme Court of the United States has jurisdiction 'to review, revise, reverse, modify, or affirm the final judgments and decrees of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands in all actions, cases, causes, and proceedings . . . in which the Constitution or any statute, treaty, title, right, or privilege of the United States is involved' or in which the value in controversy exceeds twenty-five thousand dollars.¹

The Governor-General has no power of intervention in civil litigation, and in criminal cases only by pardon or commutation after final sentence.

The Secretary of Justice has administrative supervision over the Bureau of Justice, courts of first instance and in-

¹ Act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, Section 27.

ferior courts, the Bureau of Prisons, the Public Utility Commission, and the Philippine Library and Museum.

The principal law officer of the government is the Attorney-General, whose duty is to represent the government of the Islands in all civil and criminal cases to which the government or any of its officers in his official capacity is a party. It is also his duty to give legal advice to the Governor-General, the presiding officers of the houses of the Legislature, the chiefs of other branches of the insular government, the trustees of government institutions, and the law officers of the government of the city of Manila and the provincial governments. The Attorney-General is the chief of the Bureau of Justice and is provided with a staff of assistant attorneys and other necessary employees. A *fiscal*, or attorney, is provided for the city of Manila and for each province. The provincial *fiscal* acts also as law officer for the municipal governments within his province.

The General Land Registration Office, under the supervision of the judge of the fourth branch of the court of first instance of Manila, is charged with the clerical and certain other duties in the registration and issue of land titles. A register of deeds is provided for Manila and for each province.¹

At least one notary public is required to be appointed for each municipality by the judge of first instance of the jurisdiction. So far as possible appointees must have been admitted to practice law or have qualified by civil service examination for clerk of court of first instance, unless they had qualified to hold the office of notary under the former Spanish sovereignty.² Many officers are authorized to act as notaries *ex officio*. The Spanish notarial system has been replaced by one modeled generally in accordance with the American practice, and with duties and powers strictly prescribed by statute. Except in the cases of salaried officers acting as notaries *ex officio*, who are required to collect and account for the prescribed fees as for government funds, the office is one of the few compensated by fees.³

¹ George A. Malcolm: *The Government of the Philippine Islands*, 286, 287; Act No. 2711, Philippine Legislature, March 10, 1917, Section 179.

² Act No. 2711, Philippine Legislature, March 10, 1917, Sections 232, 233.

³ *Ibid.*, Section 252.

Following the surrender and military occupation of the city of Manila, August 13, 1898, a perplexing situation existed as to the jurisdiction of the courts of justice until the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, February 6, 1899. Under the articles of capitulation and the laws of war, the United States became responsible for such inhabitants and private property as lay within the American lines. General Merritt, commanding the army of occupation, immediately on entering Manila issued a proclamation¹ in which he stated that existing laws affecting private rights of persons and property, regulating local institutions, and providing for the punishment of crime, were continued in force so far as compatible with the purposes of military government and would be administered through the ordinary tribunals by officials appointed by the government of occupation. Some of these tribunals, however, notably the Supreme Court,² had jurisdiction beyond the occupation lines, and when they undertook to function without having obtained the sanction of the military governor, he was forced to close them temporarily.³

The Americans found the prisons filled to overflowing with political prisoners and persons awaiting trial on more or less serious criminal charges. Provost courts were created for the trial of ordinary civil and criminal cases, and military commissions for the trial of civilians charged with serious crimes.

The Supreme Court and the lower courts had large numbers of pending cases awaiting trial and decision. On October 7, 1898, the Military Governor, in view of the necessity of tribunals to determine cases of a strictly civil character, permitted the civil courts, as constituted by the laws of Spain at the time of the surrender of Manila, to resume the exercise of civil but not of criminal jurisdiction. The Spanish judges were dissatisfied with their abridged functions, and gradually closed their courts, sailing for Spain without giving notice of their intention to depart nor taking necessary steps to assure the safe-keeping of court records, many of which could never be found.⁴

The Military Governor was called upon to determine mat-

¹ See Appendix IV.

² *Audiencia Territorial*.

³ *Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, p. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

ters involving property interests and to take on in connection with both Church and State the functions exercised by the Spanish Captain-General. Among the many other complex questions were those pertaining to the administration and disposal of properties in process of confiscation for political reasons by the Spanish authorities at the time of the occupation of the city of Manila and *de facto* suspension of their administration of government.

The civil courts were reestablished by the Military Governor,¹ beginning in May, 1899.

The codes of procedure and other laws had been framed to suit the Spanish colonial system. The practicing lawyers understood these codes, and to meet the new situation the military authorities appointed qualified Filipino and American judges on the reestablishment of the courts.² It is noteworthy that the Supreme Court named by Military Governor Otis had a majority of Filipino justices — six Filipinos to three Americans. For Chief Justice the Islands were fortunate in the selection of Don Cayetano S. Arellano, a jurist of the highest character and learning, who gave admirable satisfaction. He was reappointed Chief Justice upon the reorganization of the Supreme Court by the Commission in 1901, and continued in office until his retirement April 1, 1920.³ In all, he served as Chief Justice twenty-one years. In this high position his work was beyond praise, and he carried to his grave the high esteem of everybody who was associated with him or knew of his work.⁴ The Filipino jurists appointed by

¹ General Orders Nos. 20, 21, and 22, May 29, June 5 and 17, 1899. (*Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, pp. 146-48.)

² The problems involved in the reestablishment of the courts and following the occupation of the city of Manila and the Treaty of Paris are discussed at length by Military Governor Otis in his report for the year ended June 30, 1899. (*Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, pp. 12, 35, 36, 144-48.)

³ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1920, 101.

⁴ 'Early in 1899 the speedy reestablishment of the judiciary was determined upon. With the indispensable assistance of Judge Arellano (a native of the islands, a profound lawyer, and probably the best-posted man living, whether Filipino or Spaniard, in Spanish political colonial history — at least, in so far as the Philippines are concerned), a supreme court for the islands and subordinate courts for the city of Manila were established . . .' (*Report of the War Department*, 1900, I, part 4, p. 449.)

The honorary degree of doctor of laws was conferred on Chief Justice Arellano by Yale University on the recommendation of Governor Taft.

In March, 1920, the Philippine Legislature by special act granted to Chief Justice

General Otis as associate justices included Don Manuel Araullo, a lawyer of fine character, high attainments, untiring devotion, and remarkable capacity for work, who, in November, 1921, became Chief Justice; and Don Gregorio Araneta, who later was Secretary of Finance and Justice on the Commission, an official of great distinction, proved integrity, and notable capacity. As attorney of the Supreme Court (Attorney-General) the Military Governor appointed Don Florentino Torres, who became an associate justice upon the reorganization of the Court in 1901 and rendered distinguished service until his retirement in 1920.¹ Among the American army officers appointed to the Supreme Court were Lieutenant-Colonel Enoch H. Crowder, Major Richard W. Young of Utah, and Captain William E. Birkhimer, all men of high character, great capacity for work, and exceptional legal ability.

In 1900, Colonel, later General, Crowder,² then Secretary to the Military Governor of the Islands, reported that the 'laws of criminal procedure should be entirely substituted or radically amended,' as he found the existing system contained 'harsh and oppressive features . . . in conflict with American standards.'³ But he wisely saw that it was impossible without careful study and deliberation to repeal the existing code and substitute a wholly new one. Furthermore, it would be necessary to give the Filipino judges and lawyers time to learn the new order of things and adapt themselves to it. In April, 1900, the Military Governor, following the recommendations of Colonel Crowder and of leading Filipino lawyers, put into effect⁴ certain necessary changes, some of them fairly radical, amending the Spanish code of criminal

Arellano a life pension of six thousand dollars per annum in 'consideration of the long and meritorious services rendered to the Government and the People of the Philippine Islands . . .' (Act No. 2909.)

¹ Ex-Justice Torres died April 29, 1927.

² Enoch H. Crowder became Judge Advocate General of the army, February 14, 1911; and as Provost Marshal General he was charged with the enforcement of the law which provided for conscription when the United States entered the World War; and later he became the first American Ambassador to Cuba, where he has rendered fine service in connection with the United States supervision of Cuban activities.

³ Crowder, 1900, 17.

⁴ By General Order No. 58, April 23, 1900.



THE HONORABLE CAYETANO S. ARELLANO
Chief Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court

procedure to conform more nearly with American practice and principles of justice.

The reforms effected by these changes included the requirement of a specific complaint charging but one offense, in lieu of the Spanish practice which frequently was the prosecution for several distinct offenses under one complaint; preliminary examination of the complainant and his witnesses to determine whether arrest should be ordered; the extension of the rights of a speedy and public trial to include defense in person or by counsel; exercise of the right of the accused to testify in his own behalf and exemption from testifying against himself; the right of the accused to confront the witnesses of the prosecution; compulsory attendance of witnesses for the defense; the right of appeal in all cases from the decision of the trial court; the privilege of pleading a former judgment or jeopardy; the right of joint defendants to be tried separately; the right of a new trial in certain cases; the right of providing bail except in capital cases where the presumption of guilt is strong; and the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*. Colonel Crowder reported that nearly one hundred prisoners held over from the Spanish régime were liberated from unwarranted detention.¹

Another reform brought about by the military authorities was the legalization of civil marriage.²

The Taft Commission, on taking over the civil administration, found that under the able direction of the military government a real start had been made toward remedying some of the most glaring evils of the Spanish system, but it remained for the Commission to put into effect the fuller reorganization of the courts foreseen by Colonel Crowder. The structure of the courts as held over from the Spanish régime was continued temporarily, as the change to a new system was too complicated a matter to be undertaken hastily.

Of the five alert and vigorous Americans who made up the Taft Commission, three, including Judge Taft himself, were lawyers, and set themselves earnestly to reform the antiquated, corrupt, and inefficient judicial system which they found in the Islands.³

¹ Crowder, 1900, 18, 19.

² See Chapter XVI, II, 56-57.

³ Authoritative discussions of the laws and administration of justice by Spain

It was early seen that further drastic changes would have to be made in the Spanish system of court procedure.¹ The Taft Commission in its first report gave an interesting description of the evils of the system it found as to procedure in civil cases.² There were many preliminaries in the details of which any oversight or technical failure on the part of the plaintiff gave grounds for objections and appeal, which in turn gave further opportunities for an endless series of delays, that, together with the right of challenging the competency of the judge, or the jurisdiction of the court, or the sufficiency of the proceeding, made it difficult to bring any case to trial on its merits.

Judge Ide, Secretary of Finance and Justice, very vividly described the evils incident to the challenging of judges in his report for 1901, in which he said the system was found to result in 'an absolute paralysis of all the machinery of justice in certain cases. Aside from the ordinary grounds of disqualification of judges which exist in the United States, the Spanish law allowed a peremptory challenge of the competency of judicial officers on the ground of undue friendship or hostility to either party or his counsel.' The attorney of either party to a suit, who imagined the judge or magistrate was liable to decide against him, could challenge him, and, thus challenged, the case could be referred to another judge, who could be challenged in turn; and so on indefinitely, even in criminal

in the Philippine Islands are to be found in the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, 225-41, Exhibit 'J,' by Chief Justice Arellano, and in the chapter 'Judiciary' in the *Census*, 1903, I, 389-410.

¹ Crowder, 1900, 18.

² '... Before a suit can be instituted in a court of first instance, which is the ordinary trial court for all matters of importance, the plaintiff must execute a power of attorney authorizing a solicitor to act for him. The power of attorney must be acknowledged before a notary public, and must then be declared sufficient by an attorney who will act in the cause. The intervention of these three paid officials — attorney, solicitor, and notary public — is necessary for the institution of an action. Any defect in the certificate of the notary public, or in the power of attorney itself, or in the declaration of sufficiency, is ground for a dismissal of the action, and an appeal from the ruling of the court in either of these matters is allowed, whereby the cause will pass to the supreme court at its initial stage. All the proceedings must be upon stamped paper. Any irregularity in that respect may lead to a ruling by the court and another appeal. Then the competency of the judge may be challenged, and an appeal may be taken from the ruling upon that subject. Then the jurisdiction of the court may be assailed, by inhibitory or declinatory pleas, and an appeal may be taken from the ruling upon that subject. All these surroundings and

cases, until 'the alleged criminal was able to hold the public entirely at bay and prevent all proceedings to secure his conviction.'¹

On the other hand, decision in criminal prosecutions was sometimes delayed for years in spite of the efforts of the accused to secure speedy trial and determination of his case.

One extreme instance of the delays incident to Spanish 'justice' came to light in connection with the case of a man of sixty-five years of age, who in later years of American administration was denounced by a personal enemy, brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment. It transpired that he had already in Spanish days languished nine years in jail awaiting trial for murder, had somehow secured his release in the days prior to the insurrection, and had lived at home peaceably, and had behaved himself for twelve years. Upon learning the details of the case, this man was promptly pardoned by the American Governor-General.²

Beginning their work on the 1st of September, 1900, by the 11th of June, 1901, the Commission reorganized the courts by

appeals are preliminary to any investigation of the merits of the controversy.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, 81.)

¹ The complete phrasing of Judge Ide's report went into greater details as follows:

'Under the Spanish procedure, a system of challenging of judges, magistrates and justices of the peace existed, which was found to result in an absolute paralysis of all the machinery of justice in certain cases. Aside from the ordinary grounds of disqualification of judges which exist in the United States, the Spanish law allowed a peremptory challenge of the competency of judicial officers on the ground of undue friendship or hostility to either party or his counsel. Upon these or other grounds, it was practicable for the party to challenge the competency of a judge or magistrate at nearly every stage of the proceedings, when the party wished to secure delay or imagined that the judge or magistrate was liable to decide against him. Upon the filing of the challenge as to the competency of the judge or magistrate, the question of competency was referred to another judge or magistrate to determine, and the original proceedings awaited the termination of this side issue. But the competency of the judge or magistrate sitting to determine the competency of the first judge or magistrate, could be challenged upon the same ground, and the fitness of the second judge or magistrate to sit in the trial of the question of the competency of the first one was referred to a third, and so on, ad infinitum. Criminal prosecutions were pending in the city of Manila, in which every available judge and justice had been challenged, so that the alleged criminal was able to hold the public entirely at bay and prevent all proceedings to secure his conviction.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, pp. 75, 76.)

² *Journal*, III, 174-75, June 21, 1909.

establishing 'a complete system of civil tribunals for the administration of justice in every portion of the Philippine Archipelago.'¹ It provided a Supreme Court with a Chief Justice and six Associate Justices and defined its jurisdiction, abolishing the existing Supreme Court, the form of which had been held over from Spanish days. The Chief Justice received \$7500 and the Associate Justices \$7000 per annum each.² The Chief Justice has always been a Filipino and the majority of the justices under the new act have always been American. Among the four American justices one notes the Honorable James F. Smith, who, after serving with distinction in that capacity, became Secretary of Public Instruction, Vice-Governor, and later Governor-General, and upon his retirement from the Philippine service was appointed by President Taft Judge of the Court of Customs Appeals in Washington, D.C. Later appointments to the Supreme Court carried out the original high average of character and ability.³

Courts of first instance were established in each province, the Islands being divided into judicial districts, each of which had one or more judges. Additional judges, called at first judges-at-large, and later auxiliary judges,⁴ were appointed who were available for detail to assist in clearing up the docket where the work in any court exceeded the power of the district judge to handle. Within a month of the passage of this act six additional acts were passed by the Commission providing reforms for the need of which there was abundant evidence. For example, in the island of Negros alone the Commission reported⁵ that there were 'in round numbers, 1,000 cases pending in the two provinces of that island in the courts of first instance,' and there were prisoners who had

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 77.

² By a later enactment of the Congress of the United States, approved February 6, 1905, the salary of the Chief Justice was authorized at \$10,500 and of the Associate Justices at \$10,000 per annum each. These salaries were reduced by the Jones Law (Act of Congress, approved August 29, 1916) to \$8000 for the Chief Justice and \$7500 each for the Associate Justices.

³ A complete list of Chief and Associate Justices of the Philippine Supreme Court is given in Appendix XIV.

⁴ Act No. 2347, Philippine Legislature, February 28, 1914.

⁵ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 81.

been waiting trial for nearly two years, some of them for offenses the penalty for which could not by law exceed a few months' imprisonment.¹

After very careful consideration of the numerous applicants for appointment as judges of the courts of first instance, Governor Taft appointed six Filipinos, among whom are to be noted the names of Manuel Araullo, afterward Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Felix Roxas, a charming and competent member of a distinguished family, afterward mayor of Manila; and Ignacio Villamor, from a prominent family of that name in the Ilocos provinces, who later was president of the Philippine University, and subsequently an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. In addition to these, seven new men from the United States were appointed, among whom was E. Finley Johnson, who has served the cause of justice in the Islands with lifelong devotion, and for twenty-five years has been a worker notable for the ability and promptness with which he has dealt with his cases in the Supreme Court. Moreover, his devotion to his work has been so unrelenting that he has handled an extraordinary volume of cases. Five other American judges were appointed to the courts of first instance, four of whom were selected from lawyers serving in the Islands as officers of United States volunteer troops. These men held to their posts while the great cholera epidemic raged, and one of them, the Honorable Lyman J. Carlock, of Illinois, lost his life a victim to this disease.

There was some bitterness of feeling among the Filipinos over the selection of so many American judges, but the earnest and active manner in which these young lawyers set about fulfilling their arduous service in the tropics soon silenced these criticisms and in most cases justified the selection made by the Commission. The exuberant energy which they brought to their work made them extremely efficient in the matter of keeping their dockets clear. Prejudice against them gave way to complete confidence, and not infrequently

¹ On one of his inspection trips in 1910, the Governor-General made the following note: 'I think I shall establish a quiet system of inspection of jail records, and follow up the cases that drag, and see if I can't place the blame. The fiscal . . . looks inefficient. I found two men arrested in October who hadn't been tried in the February term of court.' (Journal, iv, 90-91, May 15, 1910.)

instances arose in which litigants on both sides requested that their cases be tried before an American judge, thus avoiding any possible family or partisan influence. A notable example of this was a letter addressed to the Governor-General and signed by three delegates to the Assembly, requesting the appointment of an American judge to a vacancy that had occurred in their province by reason of the death of a former American incumbent.¹

The first Filipino judges were chosen generally from an older class of men in more advanced stations of life, and, although not as rapid workers as their young American colleagues, in the main they performed their duties impartially and fairly. After only a few months' experience with Filipino judges, Vice-Governor Ide, Secretary of Finance and Justice, felt able to write: 'With perhaps one exception, they have administered the law fearlessly and ably, dealing with their own people and with Americans with an even hand. It is believed that the wisdom of appointing a considerable number of Filipinos judges has been aptly vindicated by experience and that in the process of time the proportion of Filipino judges may be increased without impairing the efficiency of the administration of justice.'² Further experience abundantly proved Governor Ide's words to be true. Filipinos made ad-

¹ This letter was in part as follows:

'January 10, 1913.

'Honorable Sir:

'The undersigned members of the Philippine Assembly for Occidental Negros respectfully submit to consideration by Your Excellency, the following suggestions with reference to filling the vacancy in the office of Judge of First Instance of Occidental Negros, if our opinion were consulted. Our desire in this delicate matter is that if the appointment should be one of entrance to the service, it be given to a Filipino; but if by reason of policy of the government the appointment be by transfer from among the judges now holding such office, we would desire that the appointee be one of those who does not now pertain nor has pertained to any of the political parties now existing in the Philippines. Because otherwise it would arouse certain suspicions on the part of the inhabitants of the province of Occidental Negros, and would produce some lack of confidence which we would wish to avoid at any cost in order to preserve, in all their brilliancy, the attributes of justice.' (Translation.)

Further confirmation of this fact is contained in a note attached to a copy of this letter, made by the former Governor-General, which is as follows: 'Again, and again, and again Filipinos came to me and begged me to have Americans appointed to certain offices, and always closed by saying: "For God's sake, don't say I asked it, as it will be my political ruin."''

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, part 1, p. 692.

mirable jurists, and performed their duties impartially and fairly.¹

Having established the courts, the Commission immediately took up the revision of the codes with the same vigor and enthusiasm which had characterized their every activity. The new code of civil procedure² was passed on August 7, 1901.

During the period of Spanish administration the execution of sentence of capital punishment was by a firing squad if sentenced by military tribunal, or by the garrote if sentenced by civil court. Under American military government civilians tried and sentenced by military tribunals to capital punishment were executed by hanging. The Philippine Commission in its revision of the existing penal laws substituted hanging for the garrote.³ In this connection it appears that a question was raised as to the technical legality of so executing a person found guilty of committing a capital offense prior to the date of the law substituting hanging for the garrote. To meet this anomalous situation it was necessary to provide in the law for the use of the garrote in such cases.

Other significant legislation introducing American ideas and practice as to penology included amendments of the penal code making slander and offenses against chastity public crimes to be prosecuted in the same manner as other crimes;⁴ provision for the reduction of the term of imprisonment in reward for good conduct while serving sentence;⁵ the parole of convicts; and a vagrancy law which proved a most effective measure against vicious persons whose misconduct did not fall within other penal laws.⁶

¹ General Frederick Funston, United States Army, is reported as saying of the Islands in a speech made at Honolulu in May, 1913: 'They have the finest force of judges — some Americans, and some Filipinos — that I have ever known of.' (The *Philippines Free Press* of June 21, 1913, quoting from the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of May 12, 1913.)

² Act No. 190, Philippine Commission.

³ Act No. 451, Philippine Commission, September 2, 1902.

Later, electrocution was substituted for hanging.

⁴ An exception was that in certain classes of offenses prosecution could be instituted only on complaint by the aggrieved person unless the offender was a public official or employee. (Act No. 1773, Philippine Commission, October 11, 1907.)

⁵ See Chapter XI, 'Prisons,' *post*, 498.

⁶ Further information in regard to treatment of criminals will be found in Chapter XI, 'Prisons.'

The question as to whether English or Spanish should be the official language of the courts was a difficult one. It was met by providing that Spanish should be the official language of all the courts to the first day of January, 1906, after which English should be the official language, with some reservation in regard to the use of Spanish or a native dialect in the meantime.¹ The time when English should be required was postponed for two-year periods by successive acts of the Commission.² Finally in 1919, the Philippine Legislature provided that until January 1, 1930, both English and Spanish shall be the official languages of all courts, it being at the discretion of the court to order its records to be made in either language as it may deem best for the public convenience and the interest of the parties.³

The Spanish substantive law was admirable and in later years was to a great extent based on the Code Napoleon. The evils which had crept in were more in the nature of excessive technicalities or otherwise objectionable provisions in the codes of procedure, and in administration, rather than defects in the substantive laws. Thus, while the code of criminal procedure was necessarily greatly modified by the Military Governor, and a new code of civil procedure was enacted by the Commission, the civil and penal codes inherited from the Spanish régime in the main continued in force, although from time to time somewhat amended by the Philippine Commission and Legislature.

To revise the civil, commercial, penal, and procedure codes, and the mortgage and land registration acts, and to prepare new codes 'in accordance with modern principles of the science of law and with the customs of the country,' the Legislature in 1909 created a Code Committee⁴ composed of a president and four members. The Governor-General ap-

¹ The law authorized the use of a native dialect in the examination of witnesses, or in the making of an oral argument; or, by mutual consent of all the parties, all the court proceedings might be conducted in English or in a native dialect only. In all cases the record was required to be made in Spanish as well as in the language in which the case was conducted.

² Further aspects of this language question and the attitude of the Filipinos toward it are dealt with at greater length in Chapter X, 'Education,' *post*, 444-46.

³ Act No. 2830, Philippine Legislature, March 6, 1919.

⁴ Act No. 1941, Philippine Legislature, May 20, 1909.

pointed to this committee eminent members of the legal profession, both American and Filipino.¹ The scope of the committee was extended from time to time, and several changes in personnel, occasioned by death and other unavoidable circumstances, delayed the conclusion of its work until June 30, 1917. The administrative code² and amendments of the code of civil procedure are the most important measures proposed by the committee which have been enacted into law. It prepared a new penal code, but this measure was not adopted by the Legislature.³ The committee also completed a great amount of valuable work in compilation of royal decrees, ordinances, and regulations having the force of law under Spanish rule, and in special reports and recommendations requested by the Legislature on pending legislation.

In the reestablishment of the courts the Commission introduced the American office of sheriff as the instrumentality for service of notices, maintenance of order in the court-room, and execution of court orders. In the city of Manila a separate office of sheriff was created, and in the provinces the governors were required to act *ex officio*, with the right, however, of failing to qualify, in which event the judge of first instance appointed another person. The sheriff and deputies in Manila were salaried officers, all fees accruing to the public treasury. In the provinces the fees were perquisites of the sheriff and his deputies.

Clerks of courts were charged with practically the same duties as are such officers in the courts in the United States. Appointees were Filipinos with the exception of the districts comprising the Moro and Mountain Provinces.

The office of sheriff of the city of Manila was later merged with that of the clerk of court of first instance, orders of arrest of criminal offenders and similar matters being handled

¹ The personnel of the committee on January 1, 1913, was as follows: president, Manuel Araullo; members, Washington L. Goldsborough, Francisco Ortigas, Rafael del Pan, and Thomas A. Street.

² Act No. 2657, Philippine Legislature, February 24, 1916.

³ The failure of the Legislature to adopt the correctional or proposed new penal code is probably due to the generally conservative attitude of the majority of the Senate on the subject, the proposed code being understood to include some radical changes, especially in amelioration of penalties and in the definitions of penal offenses.

by the city police. This arrangement proved economical and effective.¹

Governor-General Smith devised a provision of law² calculated to expedite the work of the courts. Before any judge or justice of the peace could draw his salary he had to certify that all cases submitted to him for decision for a period of ninety days or more had been decided. Before the adoption of the law, judges sometimes had been known to delay as much as two years before handing down their decisions. This law, however, was not made applicable to Justices of the Supreme Court.

The Secretary of Finance and Justice had the power to detail judges to help clear up dockets in districts where the work became too much for the judge in charge. There were some provinces where, either by reason of unruly characteristics of the people or the number of the population, the courts were utterly unable to keep the docket clear. When an accumulation of cases reached a point that was considered serious, the Secretary of Finance and Justice detailed one of the judges-at-large, of whom up to 1914 there were two Americans and two Filipinos, to go to the place in question and clear up the docket.

During the period of early Commission administration critics of the government levelled many venomous shafts at this power, charging the Secretary of Justice with endeavoring to influence judicial decisions. The idea which they intended to convey was that, by selecting judges with known leanings on certain subjects, verdicts could be secured of a sort desired by the administration. No instance occurred where this charge could be made with any semblance of justice. All the designations were made utterly regardless of the kind of cases to come up in the docket. The only instances in which men were specially chosen were for the trial of cases having a

¹ Later, in the reorganization of the Moro Province and Agusan as seven separate provinces, there was adopted the plan of requiring the clerk of court of first instance to perform *ex officio* the duties of sheriff, the Constabulary handling criminal cases for the courts of first instance, and municipal police for courts of justices of the peace. The extension of this plan to other provinces was opposed by the elective provincial governors, who found the fees and power of appointment of deputies valuable assets in their political party organizations.

² Act No. 1552, Philippine Commission, October 27, 1906.

political tinge when, largely at the request of the litigants themselves, American judges were selected rather than Filipinos, who were not so free from the bias of local party politics.¹

The spirit infused by the American administration into the whole judicial system was little short of marvellous. It can be written down as one of the bright pages of American achievement. It was a change from black to white; prompt justice against lingering injustices in the courts throughout the whole judicial and penal system of the archipelago. It was the expression of the genius of the American administration by such men as Governor Taft and his colleagues of the Commission on the legislative side, and by Chief Justice Arellano and his earnest and capable Associate Justices on the judicial side. From these men there radiated a spirit of fairness and of enthusiasm for the good of the service which became the dominant note in the courts throughout the archipelago, and reached down, somewhat tardily, to the justices of the peace.

A notable case of the improvement of the administration of justice resulting from American intervention was that of a man by the name of Pajarillo, of the province of Capiz. In the days of the insurrection, Pajarillo had been concerned in an intrigue with another man's wife and found it convenient to dispose of the husband. He had the man called to his door and shot by a squad of his command of insurrecto soldiers. Later he made use of his rank to become the most powerful man of the town and was able to avoid punishment for his crime, in spite of the efforts of the murdered man's sister to bring him to justice. Years later, he had the hardihood to run as a candidate for the Philippine Assembly, and his political opponents, spurred on by this same sister, raked up the old story until it came to the attention of one of the American prosecuting attorneys. This American looked up the matter, found the complaint had been filed and still remained on the court docket, collected additional evidence, and insisted upon action against the newly elected Assemblyman in spite of the efforts of influential Filipinos to have the matter quashed. To the amazement of the people of the province, Pajarillo,

¹ See *ante*, 302, footnote 1.

in spite of his power and high position, was convicted and served his sentence in jail.

Vice-Governor Gilbert had a very interesting experience while judge of the court of first instance. He was holding court in Cervantes when a young Igorot was brought before him by an old man at whom the youth had thrown a spear from ambush, wounding the man in the fleshy part of his arm and disabling him from work for twenty-one days. Nearly one hundred of the men of each of the rancherias involved, dressed only in their loin cloths and all with head axes and spears, came to attend the court. They were allowed to enter provided they did not bring their arms, and they attended the trial with great interest. Judge Gilbert found the young man guilty and sentenced him to thirty days in jail, and, as required by law, to pay the injured party what he would have been able to earn had he worked during the period of his disability. This came to \$1.05. The old man refused to accept the money and persisted in his refusal in spite of repeated urgings, and finally launched into a speech in a local dialect which was translated to Judge Gilbert as follows:

I did not cause this suit to be brought in order to get money from the defendant. I caused the suit to be brought because it was the American law that a man shall not throw a spear at another and if he does he shall be punished for it; but I did not bring the suit in order to collect money from him. I scorn his money. We have methods for doing that better than any court. I have great respect for the court and I hesitate to fail to do what the court commands but rather than take the money I will go to jail myself.

Another rather unusual case, recorded in the journal of the Governor-General, was that of four Igorots condemned to death for the murder of an Ilocano. They had been hired to commit the crime by the nephew and heir of the murdered man, the motive being to get earlier possession of the man's property. The four Igorots were condemned to death; the instigator to life imprisonment. Governor Pack, of the Mountain Province, consulted a group of Igorot elders as to what they thought the proper course for justice to pursue in this case. Their answer was a rather surprisingly intelligent survey of the situation. They were agreed that a life had been taken and a life should be taken to atone for it, but not

more than one; that the Ilocano, who instigated the crime, should pay the death penalty. In this it will be noted they were at variance with the decision of the court, which had ordered the assassins to be hanged and the instigator to serve a life sentence. Asked if the assassins should go free, they said no; the assassins were bad men and should be punished — sent to prison. Asked for how long, the Igorots replied they did not know, they should be imprisoned until they were good; the jailer would be able to tell that, and it might take different times for different men, but they should certainly be punished and held until it was safe to release them.¹ This is the modern principle of the indeterminate sentence now in practice in some of the more enlightened courts of justice.

A notable episode in 1910 was the deportation without notice of twelve undesirable Chinamen who had been leaders in a 'tong' and had been terrorizing the Chinese community for a number of years. Most of the Chinese residents in Manila belonged to 'tongs' or secret societies, usually beneficial and formed for coöperative assistance. Some of these 'tongs,' however, were wholly evil. They made large sums by blackmail and extortion, did not hesitate at murder in carrying out their threats, and were so powerful and had their members in such absolute control that they could always produce the necessary number of witnesses to prove an alibi to clear any of their members of the crimes with which they were charged and of which they were guilty, thus rendering the courts powerless.² The more responsible and reputable Chinese merchants were very anxious that the situation should be cleared, as was the Chinese Consul, and they appealed for assistance and protection to the Governor-General.

The twelve men deported had a certain amount of promi-

¹ It is a curious fact that the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands later gave the death penalty to the instigator and he was hanged; and on behalf of the Igorot assassins the Governor-General exercised executive clemency and commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment. As such prisoners were able to earn their freedom by good behavior, in the course of time it was thus brought to pass that the decision of the Igorot elders prevailed and justice was ultimately administered in accordance with their ideas.

² The experience of British colonial governments in dealing with Chinese secret societies is summarized by Sir Spenser St. John as follows:

'Chinese colonists are the mainstay of every country in the Further East; but they carry with them an institution which may have its value in ill-governed coun-

nence in the community, but there was no doubt that they were undesirable citizens and a menace to the peace of the community.¹ They were summarily arrested and placed aboard a foreign steamer in the harbor chartered for the purpose and delivered to representatives of the Chinese government.

This action was very bitterly assailed by some of the American and Filipino newspapers. The right of the Governor-General was questioned, and a suit brought to determine it was decided emphatically in favor of the Governor-General by the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands. The case was carried on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. The decision of that court, a powerful document written by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, confirmed the decision of the Philippine Supreme Court and upheld the Governor-General. Justice Holmes set forth that governments have the power to deport aliens; that this power may have to be exercised in a summary way; that the Philippine Bill of Rights cannot prevent such summary action, and that the action taken was not without due process of law.²

Meanwhile the Governor-General's action was approved, ratified, and confirmed by Act of the Philippine Legislature.³ The summary manner in which the deportation was carried out, rather than the fact of the deportation, was the subject of much adverse criticism in the community, and later the

tries, but which in our colonies is an unmitigated evil. I refer to their secret societies. A secret society is ostensibly instituted under the form of a benevolent association, but actually its members are banded together to obey no laws but their own, to carry out the behests of their leaders without question, and to afford protection to each other under all circumstances. If a member of the secret society commit a crime he is to be protected or hidden away; if he be taken by the police, the society is bound to secure him the ablest legal assistance, furnish as many false witnesses as may be required, and if he be convicted, pay his fine, or do all in its power to alleviate the discomforts of a prison. . . . Should the society suspect any member of revealing its secrets, or from any cause desire to be rid of an obnoxious person, it condemns the individual to death, and sentence is carried out by its members, who, through fear of the last penalty, always obey their oath. On these occasions the mark of the society is put on the victim to show who has ordered the deed. In our colonies we have not been altogether successful in putting down these pernicious associations.' (Sir Spenser St. John: *Rajah Brooke*, 141-42, London, 1899.)

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1910, 33.

² *Tiaco v. Forbes*; 228 U.S. Decided May 5, 1913.

³ Act No. 1986, Philippine Legislature, April 19, 1910.

Legislature, with the cordial assent of the Governor-General, provided a specific procedure to be followed in lieu of summary action in carrying out future deportations.¹

It will be seen from the table given below ² that, beginning with a larger number of American judges of first instance, the number of Filipino judges was greatly increased by 1912, when the proportions became half American and half Filipino. Governor-General Forbes announced as his policy the maintenance of this proportion in the judges, in the belief that further Filipinization at the time was undesirable. Governor-General Harrison departed from this policy in 1914 by appointing ten additional Filipinos and but two Americans. It is further seen that the substitution of Americans by Filipinos was resumed in 1917 and carried on consistently until in 1926 there were two Americans and fifty-one Filipinos.

Judges of first instance are appointed by the Governor-General by and with the advice and consent of the Philippine

¹ Act No. 2113, Philippine Legislature, February 1, 1912.
² The following table shows by years the number of judges, American and Filipino, of first instance and of land registration:

[Source: Data furnished by the Department of Justice.]

Year	Number of judges of first instance			Number of judges of land registration ^a		
	American	Filipino	Total	American	Filipino	Total
1902.....	10	6	16	...	...	...
1903.....	15	6	21	1	1	2
1904.....	15	5	20	1	1	2
1905.....	15	8	23	1	1	2
1906.....	^b	^b	^b	1	1	2
1907.....	13	10	23	1	1	2
1908.....	13	10	23	1	1	2
1909.....	14	9	23	1	2	3
1910.....	12	10	22	3	3	6
1911.....	12	11	23	3	3	6
1912.....	12	12	24	3	2	5
1913.....	12	12	24	3	4	7
1914.....	14	22	36	2	3	5
1915.....	14	22	36	...	...	...
1916.....	13	22	35	...	...	...
1917.....	9	25	34	...	...	...
1918.....	8	27	35	...	...	...
1919.....	7	28	35	...	...	...
1920.....	4	31	35	...	...	...
1921.....	3	32	35	...	...	...
1922.....	3	40	43	...	...	...
1923.....	3	42	45	...	...	...
1924.....	2	49	51	...	...	...
1925.....	2	51	53	...	...	...
1926.....	2	51	53	...	...	...

^a The Court of Land Registration was organized in 1903, and abolished in 1914, its duties having been transferred to the judges of courts of first instance.
^b Number of judges of first instance in 1906 unavailable.

Senate.¹ They are removable from office by the Governor-General at his discretion, upon recommendation by the Philippine Supreme Court, for serious misconduct or inefficiency.²

Courts of justices of the peace, which had been established by the Spaniards in 1885, were reestablished in every municipality upon the reorganization of the judiciary by the Commission in 1901. They have exclusive jurisdiction in civil suits involving not more than one hundred dollars, and concurrent jurisdiction with the court of first instance when the amount exceeds one hundred but is less than three hundred dollars.³ Except in the city of Manila justices of the peace have jurisdiction for the trial of persons charged with misdemeanors and with other infractions of law for which the penalty does not exceed six months' imprisonment and a fine of one hundred dollars. Appeals in civil or criminal cases may be taken to the court of first instance and in any criminal case may be carried to the Supreme Court.

Upon the incorporation of the city of Manila later in 1901, municipal or police courts were provided for the trial of misdemeanants and minor criminal cases, the jurisdiction of the courts of justices of the peace in Manila being limited to petty civil litigation.

In the Moro Province there were created 'tribal ward courts'⁴ having practically the same jurisdiction as the

¹ Act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, Section 26.

² Act No. 2711, Philippine Legislature, March 10, 1917, Section 173.

³ Jurisdiction is withheld in matters of probate and various other statutory exceptions. In the absence of the judge of first instance, the justice of the peace of the provincial capital may exercise interlocutory jurisdiction within the province, especially on petitions for writs of *habeas corpus*, appointment of a receiver, qualifications of electors, and other cases of urgency.

⁴ These 'tribal ward courts,' presided over generally by army officers, were discontinued in 1914 and the general laws providing for courts of justices of the peace in the remainder of the Islands were extended to the territorial department of Mindanao and Sulu, which included the former Moro Province. (Act No. 2409, Philippine Legislature, July 24, 1914.) Also, judges of first instance and justices of the peace are authorized to call assessors from among the *cadis* or other men of popular repute as authorities in the interpretation of Mohammedan or other customary laws, when the civil litigants or accused criminals are Moros or tribal peoples. In the trial and decision of such cases the judges are authorized to modify the application of the general laws of the Islands, not Acts of Congress, 'taking into account local laws and customs; *Provided*, that such modification shall not be in con-

courts of justices of the peace in other provinces. In the Mountain Province the provincial officials and the lieutenant-governors in the sub-provinces were *ex officio* justices of the peace.¹

The justices of the peace at first were appointed by the Commission on recommendation by the provincial board,² the term of office being 'during the pleasure of the Commission.' This was later modified to provide for selection and appointment by the Governor-General with the advice and consent of the Commission, from names proposed by the judge of first instance of the district, and the term of office was fixed at two years.³ On July 1, 1911, they were placed on a salary basis,⁴ a graduated scale being adopted in accordance with the classification of municipalities on the basis of population, and fees collected were required to be covered into the public treasury. The tenure of office was changed from the term of two years to 'during good behavior.' Candidates were required to be not less than twenty-three years of age; citizens of the Philippine Islands, or of the United States; of good moral character; admitted by the Supreme Court to practice law,⁵ or to have passed civil service examination for clerk of court, or the examination for justices of the peace by a board composed of the judge of first instance, the provincial fiscal, and a practicing lawyer, under rules prescribed by the Attorney-General.

The Governor-General is authorized to remove any justice of the peace for cause, upon his own motion or upon the recommendation of the judge of first instance of the jurisdiction, who is charged with the supervision of justices of the peace.⁶

flict with the basic principles of the laws of the United States of America.' (Act No. 2520, Philippine Legislature, April 3, 1915.)

¹ Act No. 1396, Philippine Commission, September 14, 1905, Sections 22, 24 (f).

² Act No. 136, Philippine Commission, June 11, 1901, Section 67.

³ Act No. 1450, Philippine Commission, February 3, 1906.

⁴ Act No. 2041, Philippine Legislature, February 3, 1911.

The Governor-General on March 23, 1912, wrote: 'The administration of justice has been greatly improved by the new justice of the peace law, which puts the justices of the peace on a salary basis, and enables us to select for the work men trained to the law.' (Journal, v, 128.)

⁵ Justices of the peace of the city of Manila and provincial capitals are required to have been admitted by the Supreme Court to practice law.

⁶ Act No. 2711, Philippine Legislature, March 10, 1917, Section 229.

Justices of the peace and other minor officials, as well as employees of the judiciary, from the beginning of civil administration were with rare exception Filipinos.

To provide for appeal from decisions of the Insular Collector of Customs and for the review of certain cases in the discretion of the Secretary of Finance and Justice, the Commission in 1902 created the Court of Customs Appeals.¹ Subsequently certain decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States conclusively determining 'questions relating to the right to assess customs duties at all on imports into and exports from the Philippine Islands,' and also the decisions of the Court of Customs Appeals, itself, so fully covering the classification of imported goods, reduced the appeals to the Court to such an extent that it was abolished in 1905, and all its functions transferred to the court of first instance of the city of Manila.² Thus there passed to the courts of first instance jurisdiction in customs appeals, in addition to admiralty, probate, and other civil and criminal cases.³

The adjudication of titles to real estate soon became and continues to be a most important function of the courts.

The Spanish system of land titles, however admirable as provided by law, in practice had created a most unfortunate situation. Of some 2,300,000 parcels of land claimed to be privately owned⁴ relatively few were represented by title deeds acceptable for transfers of ownership, mortgage purposes, or as collateral for bank credits. A more serious feature of the situation was the lack of exact definition of metes and bounds, even in the instances of royal grants or other recorded titles, due either to vague description of natural boundaries or faulty surveys. The boundaries were sure to be disputed sooner or later and such disputes were likely to run for generations, giving ground for much ill-feeling, controversies between neighbors, and, as sometimes happened, serious infractions of public order, including crimes of violence.

¹ Act No. 355, Philippine Commission, February 6, 1902.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 4, pp. 7, 8.

³ The only special trial court of record forming part of the judiciary in 1913 was the Court of Land Registration.

⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1910, 10.



THE HONORABLE GREGORIO ARANETA
Philippine Commissioner and Secretary of Finance and Justice

Lord Curzon, in a notable speech,¹ points out how disputes over international boundaries have been prolific causes of war between nations. Similarly, boundaries of lesser units, as between towns and individuals, have always been productive of community or personal controversies.

It was early felt by Americans that no measure would make for better citizenship, economic progress, and contentment on the part of the people than one which would give them clear documentary titles, guaranteed by the government, to the land they, and in most cases their ancestors, had cultivated, improved, and considered their own.² In November, 1902, the Commission enacted a law³ for the registration of land ownership under the Torrens system, which provides for the granting of titles to real estate, with government guarantee, after compliance with appropriate requirements as to surveys and proofs of ownership. A special tribunal, the Court of Land Registration, was created because of the immense volume and technical character of the potential cases falling within the provisions of the law.

Inasmuch as the law was an innovation and did not make the registration of titles compulsory, landowners were slow to take advantage of its provisions, except the comparatively few who understood the use of first-class security in financing agricultural and other commercial enterprises. As a result less than four thousand land titles were registered during the first seven years of operation of the court,⁴ and these com-

¹ Romanes lecture on 'Frontiers,' delivered at Oxford, November 2, 1907.

² The feeling of these Americans, however, was tempered on the part of some students of colonial problems by the fear that the ability to dispose of his property might work ultimately to the disadvantage of the poorer landowner by making it possible for him to give title, and therefore make him a mark for the rapacity of neighboring landlords who might loan money on the security of his land at exorbitant rates of interest and presently foreclose and deprive him of his title.

The Dutch in Java and throughout their colonies have taken a paternal attitude and adopted measures that in effect prohibit actual ownership of agricultural land by foreigners or even by natives. The right to use the land is given, the ownership remaining in the State, and people cannot transfer their rights without official approval, thus making sure that the land be held for the benefit of the natives and particularly of the person who works it. (See Clive Day: *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java*, 370-78, New York, 1904.)

³ Act No. 496, Philippine Commission, November 6, 1902, effective January 1, 1903.

⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1910, 10.

prised almost wholly large private properties and lands purchased by the government. But few small landowners brought their claims before the court for registration of titles because of the expense of surveys and attorneys,¹ and in most cases lack of knowledge of the facilities offered. The titles to friar land estates purchased by the government were registered each estate as one case. As these were disposed of to tenants and others, these lands were subdivided and certificates of title were issued on about forty thousand parcels.² The surveys of these estates, and their subdivision into so great a number of parcels of individual holdings, were made by qualified surveyors of the Bureau of Lands with every effort to assure accuracy.

The cases brought before the court by private owners, termed 'voluntary cases,' were presented on surveys made by private surveyors, many of whom were lax in their methods or inadequately trained. Upon investigation and check surveys by the Bureau of Lands, it appeared that fully eighty per cent of these early private surveys were seriously defective.³ To meet this situation the Legislature authorized the employment of a sufficient number of qualified surveyors to enable the Bureau of Lands to assist the court, imposed the requirement that private surveyors might not prepare cases for submission to the court unless they had qualified by examination for the civil service or by the Bureau of Lands; also, private surveyors of property for registration were required to send their maps and reports to that bureau for verification.⁴

The private surveyors had their permits from the Spanish government to practice their profession, and, partly as

¹ To encourage the registration of small properties the Legislature authorized the suspension of most of the court fees in cases in which the value of the parcel of real estate did not exceed two hundred and fifty dollars and the owner claimed to be without money to meet the regulation charges. (Act No. 1937, Philippine Legislature, May 20, 1909.)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1910, 10.

³ *Ibid.*, 1909, 117.

Training classes for student surveyors combining theoretical work in the Manila School of Arts and Trades and practice in the Bureau of Lands (Act No. 1491, Philippine Commission, May 22, 1906) proved increasingly attractive to young men and eventually relieved the serious lack of competent land surveyors.

⁴ Act No. 1875, Philippine Legislature, June 19, 1908.

a matter of pride and partly with genuine apprehension as to their ability, resented the requirement that they should qualify by examination. They organized to secure a repeal of the law and used their influence to arouse antagonism to the Court of Land Registration and the Bureau of Lands.

Improved economic conditions stimulated agriculture to such a point that people began to take much more interest in the development of cultivatable lands. Moreover, use was made of the privilege of homesteading, and many more parcels were taken up by squatters.

The annual increase in the number of occupied parcels of land was estimated at twenty thousand. These, together with the more than 2,300,000 parcels occupied or claimed in private ownership at the time of the enactment of the registration law, became one of the major problems confronting the government.¹ There was growing danger of conflicts between the rich landowners and the poorer people, increasing numbers of whom were asserting their claims to the ownership of lands they cultivated or were seeking homestead locations on lands they believed to be of the public domain. These homesteads often were later claimed by wealthy men as being within the boundaries of their holdings. Furthermore, it was found that the provincial and municipal treasuries were being defrauded of substantial amounts of tax revenue because of the failure of many landholders to declare more than a fraction of the areas they claimed. In some instances valuable parcels of land wholly escaped the assessment rolls.

It was necessary to devise a comprehensive, far-reaching measure which would assure justice to all interested, including the illiterate, small landowner and the local government treasuries, as well as the rich claimant of large areas of land. Such a measure was framed in 1910 in the form of a pro-

¹ The Director of Lands stated that by December 31, 1926, 4,516,137 parcels of land, having a total area estimated at 10,691,481 acres, were claimed by private owners. The great increase was probably due in large part to more accurate enumeration of parcels and also to the movement on to public lands accelerated by construction of roads through unpopulated districts between, or communicating with, regions of dense population.

It was estimated by the Director of Agriculture in 1927 that there were more than 1,500,000 families who cultivated their own land.

posed cadastral law.¹ Under the operation of this proposed law, the government was to undertake the survey of all the occupied lands in the archipelago, municipality by municipality. It proposed, just so soon as a sufficient number of parcels had been surveyed — say one thousand — to hold a special session of the Court of Land Registration in the municipality itself. The friendly object of the government was to be explained to the Filipinos through the medium of Filipino orators, and the Bureau of Justice was to detail and pay the salaries of two lawyers, one American and one Filipino, to defend the causes of the landowners. The government was thus to require all occupants of these parcels to prove their claim for ownership of the land they held. The landowner, through his attorney supplied by the government, would then bring forth his proof and, if satisfactory, after due publication and hearing, the government would issue him a title for the land, settling the question of disputed titles or disputed boundaries as between different claimants when the cases came up for trial. A thousand parcels of land were thus included in a single case, and it was estimated that an active judge could handle ten cases in a year, thus adjudicating the ownership of ten thousand parcels of land. Under this system it will be seen that it was proposed to try to bring it to pass that each judge settle in one year more cases than the whole court had settled in six years under the voluntary system that had prevailed before. The expense of these surveys, including the salaries of the lawyers, was to be advanced in the first place by the insular government and to be in part reimbursed in five annual installments in the following proportions: ten per cent by the province, ten per cent by the municipality, and seventy per cent by the landowners, leaving ten per cent as the ultimate net cost to the insular government. By this device the terms of securing title were made so easy that they were in no way burdensome to the landowner, and the increased tax revenue to the provinces and municipalities in most cases was found to be more than enough to cover their ten per cent of the cost.

The additional annual cost for the first few years to the

¹ *Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 2d Philippine Legislature, 1st Session, 921.

Bureau of Lands was estimated to be something over \$500,000, which would gradually diminish as the volume of repayments from previous surveys began to roll up, until finally the necessity for further annual appropriations on the part of the insular government would practically disappear. It was not, however, practicable to put this system into effect immediately, as the government at that time had very little financial margin above the amount absolutely necessary to maintain its existing activities,¹ and it was difficult to see where an additional half million dollars a year was to come from. Moreover, some years would be required for the training of the necessary number of additional surveyors.² The Director of Lands estimated that it would take three years to reach the required rate of achievement.

Differences between the two houses of the Legislature, due in great part, it was believed, to opposition by lawyers and surveyors in private practice and by large landed proprietors, delayed enactment of the cadastral bill. Meanwhile, under a provision of the public land law a test was made of the operation of the principal features of the plan in the densely populated province of Pangasinan, where a block of 970 parcels of land was surveyed³ and carried through to conclusion in the Court of Land Registration, 906 cases being disposed of by one judge in three weeks at a net average cost of \$3.75 per parcel. No effort was spared to inform the people in advance as to the purposes of the government, and the plan of having lawyers provided by the government to assist the landowners without charge in the preparation of their cases was tried and found to work well. The people enthusiastically coöperated.⁴

¹ Including the maintenance of the public works programme.

² The government has maintained since 1906 school classes in surveying, covering a two-years' course in theory and practice, in preparation for the civil service examination for junior surveyor. Further study and field practice are required to become eligible for the assistant surveyor examination, upon passing which certificates of proficiency as private land surveyors may be given. The classes in surveying were at first in the Normal School, later in the School of Arts and Trades, and subsequently incorporated in the College of Engineering. There is no private school of surveying in the Islands. In 1927 there were one hundred and twenty-six authorized private surveyors.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1910, 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1911, 7.

The continued opposition in the Assembly to the passage of the proposed cadastral act caused the Commission in 1911 without further delay to enact the law for the territory inhabited chiefly by Mohammedans and tribal peoples.¹ A cadastral survey was then ordered of lands in the municipal jurisdiction of Zamboanga, the capital of the Moro Province. More than two thousand parcels of land, valued at nearly \$1,000,000, were surveyed in blocks and within less than two months titles of ownership determined by the court. The expense, apportioned on the basis of valuation, ran from \$1.25 to \$8.00 per parcel,² due to the economies in avoiding duplication of expense which would have occurred had each parcel of land been presented independently for registration.

Finally, in February, 1913, the Legislature passed the cadastral act,³ but did not provide an increase in the number of judges. The land registration act of 1902⁴ had authorized the immediate appointment of two judges of the Court of Land Registration. The authorized number was later increased to five⁵ and appointments made in 1910, when the passage of the cadastral act seemed imminent. An additional judgeship was created by the Commission for the territory within its exclusive legislative jurisdiction.⁶ Anticipating the enactment of the law and premised on the results obtained in Pangasinan and Zamboanga, a programme had been prepared contemplating the adjudication of cases in-

¹ Act No. 2075, Philippine Commission, October 3, 1911.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 24.

³ Act No. 2259, Philippine Legislature, February 11, 1913.

⁴ Act No. 496, Philippine Commission, November 6, 1902.

⁵ Act No. 1875, Philippine Legislature, June 19, 1908.

⁶ Act No. 2267, Philippine Commission, February 17, 1913.

The Governor-General made the following note in his journal on February 23, 1913: 'It occurred to me on the trip south, while talking with Judge George of the Land Court whom I picked up at Puerto Princesa, that we could create a judgeship of the Court of Land Registration for the territory over which we have exclusive legislative jurisdiction, and give the courts of first instance in those regions the powers we want them to have all over the Islands, and thus get one additional judge and give the Moros and tribal peoples the advantages of rapid registration. . . . I got Judge George to prepare a law, and submitted it to the Commission, and the idea took like hot cakes. We remodelled the law *viva voce*, and passed it at one sitting.' (Journal, v, 189, 190.) The journal further stated that Commissioners Gilbert and Worcester were greatly pleased.

volving one hundred thousand parcels per annum.¹ At this rate twenty-five years would be required to conclude the cadastral survey for the entire archipelago. To carry out this programme the insular government would have been obliged to increase the number of judges of the Court of Land Registration to twelve.

Surveys were immediately authorized in various municipalities and work begun in the province of Occidental Negros. The Bureau of Lands developed a staff of highly efficient, specially trained personnel, and the judges of the Court of Land Registration were selected for their ability to give prompt dispatch of cases with justice to interested parties.

The completion of a cadastral survey and the granting of titles, which under the Torrens system were guaranteed by the government, resulted in an average of a twenty-five per cent increase in the receipts from land tax, an important source of revenue to municipal and provincial governments, urgently needed for the extension of primary schools and of roads. The settlement of titles also made for better order; citizens were more contented and more likely to respect property rights if they had their own rights to support. If they wished to sell their land, or a part of it, they could give a satisfactory title. Also, people are much more likely to improve land if they are sure that the improvements will belong to them than if they are uncertain whether their land, improvements and all, will be awarded later by the court to some neighbor claiming title.

On the whole, the policy of the registration of lands has worked well, and a summary made in 1927 indicated that in the towns in which the titles were earliest given to occupants of the land there was no general tendency revealed on the part of the occupants to sell their lands. On the other hand, they have taken advantage of their titles to borrow money at lower interest rates² and have been able to pay up their old

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 21, 172.

Bureau of Lands survey parties in 1912 concluded work on seventy-five thousand parcels of land for submission to the Court of Land Registration, and at the time of the passage of the cadastral act the bureau was prepared to enter upon the schedule of 100,000 parcels per annum.

² Letter from Justice James A. Ostrand, of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, formerly of the Court of Land Registration, dated April 9, 1927.

mortgages bearing the former burdensome rates. A tendency is noted among Moros and tribal peoples to be improvident in this respect¹ and the government, as a measure of protection, has deemed it wise to require the consent of the Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to validate their transfers of lands.²

Governor-General Harrison, who arrived in the Islands only a few months after the passage of the cadastral law, removed the highly efficient Director of Lands and appointed a new man to the place. In 1914, the Philippine Legislature reorganized the courts of first instance.³ Although the number of judges of first instance was increased by twelve, the Court of Land Registration with six judges was abolished. This made a net increase of six judges, but the additional work of the cadastral cases added so much to the volume of the already greatly overburdened courts of first instance that land registration was seriously retarded as a result of the change.⁴ During the ensuing seven years, 1914–20, the courts decreed titles to less than one hundred thousand parcels of land, which did not cover the number of new parcels estimated to have been taken up during that period, so that little headway was made in settling the great mass of cases.⁵

¹ Letter from Justice James A. Ostrand, of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, formerly of the Court of Land Registration, dated April 9, 1927.

² Act No. 2874, Philippine Legislature, November 29, 1919, Section 118.

³ Act No. 2347, Philippine Legislature, February 28, 1914. By the terms of this act the work of the Court of Land Registration was turned over to the courts of first instance. Judicial districts were increased in number from eighteen to twenty-six. The salaries of judges were reduced from \$4500, \$5000, and \$5500 to \$3500, \$4000, \$4500, and \$5000 per annum. This resulted in the resignation of some of the American judges, their places being taken in most instances by Filipinos.

⁴ The land cases were of a highly technical character and required special training and knowledge. It was much more economical and efficient and in the interest of public service to have this work done by judges specially selected for that service and devoting themselves exclusively to it. The results of giving some of this work to each of the judges were inevitable delay and much less efficiency in the conduct of the cases.

⁵ The Philippine Independence Mission of 1922, in its memorial to the President and Congress answering comments in the Report of the Wood-Forbes Mission, undertook to gain credit for the great increase in the volume of land registration cases dispatched during the period of control of government by Filipinos. (House Document No. 511, 67th Congress, 4th Session, 39–40.) In their specious presentation of the matter the Filipinos made a comparison between the number of cases dispatched during the periods 1915–20 and 1908–13, ignoring the facts that the

The administration of public lands involves so many legal questions and became so prominently identified with the work of the courts that it seems appropriate to discuss the matter at this point.

Under the Treaty of Paris, the United States acquired from Spain the public lands in the Philippine Islands. There has been no comprehensive survey of the public domain, but the most conservative official estimate of the area classifiable as agricultural is somewhat in excess of 16,600,000 acres.¹

The Commission gave early consideration to facilitating the acquisition of lands from the public domain by private parties. Congress, in the first organic act² for the government of the Islands, had placed the public domain under the control of the Philippine government to be administered for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Islands, and made detailed provisions for the acquisition of homesteads and sale of agricultural lands to individuals, limiting the areas to forty acres each for homestead entries under conditions which practically restricted such acquisitions to Filipinos. In the case of corporations, lease and ownership were limited to twenty-five hundred acres, thus, in effect, excluding any large enterprise which presumably would be financed by American or foreign capitalists. These and other severe restrictions,³ imposed by Congress ostensibly for the protec-

cadastral act with its obligatory provisions did not become effective until 1913, about the time of the beginning of the régime of the Democratic Party, and that at that time there had been surveyed for dispatch by the court practically the same number of parcels that were decreed during the three and a half years following.

¹ *Census*, 1918, III, 873.

² Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902.

³ 'Sec. 75. That no corporation shall be authorized to conduct the business of buying and selling real estate or be permitted to hold or own real estate except such as may be reasonably necessary to enable it to carry out the purposes for which it is created, and every corporation authorized to engage in agriculture shall by its charter be restricted to the ownership and control of not to exceed one thousand and twenty-four hectares [2500 acres] of land; and it shall be unlawful for any member of a corporation engaged in agriculture or mining and for any corporation organized for any purpose except irrigation to be in any wise interested in any other corporation engaged in agriculture or in mining. Corporations, however, may loan funds upon real estate security and purchase real estate when necessary for the collection of loans, but they shall dispose of real estate so obtained within five years after receiving the title. Corporations not organized in the Philippine Islands, and doing business therein shall be bound by the provisions of this section so far as they are applicable.' (Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902.)

tion of the Filipinos, in reality were the results of a very powerful lobby maintained in Washington by the beet sugar interests, who looked with alarm upon possible Philippine competition and endeavored to cripple the Philippine sugar industry by preventing corporations from holding enough land to supply a modern sugar central. The machinations of the beet sugar interests were materially assisted by the activities of the Anti-Imperialist League, which, for wholly different reasons but with the same general effect, brought all the influence it had to bear to discourage American capital from going to the Islands.¹ None the less, the centrals were built in spite of the limitation. The government-owned Philippine National Bank assisted in financing a number of these enterprises. The limitation, however, undoubtedly served as a deterrent to early private enterprise in sugar development and to the development of rubber and other industries requiring large tracts of land for economical operation. It also has inured directly to the benefit of the Dutch colonies of Java and Sumatra and to the British-controlled Federated Malay States. The Commission, in its annual reports up to 1913, repeatedly recommended to Congress a liberalization of the land laws in the interest of the early development of the Islands.²

Under the powers granted by Congress, the Commission in 1903 enacted a law³ prescribing regulations governing the homesteading, selling, and leasing of portions of the public domain. The law further provided for the granting of free patents and for the adjudication by the Court of Land Registration of imperfect titles arising under Spanish

¹ See Vol. II, 89-90.

² The journal of the Governor-General, under date of November 14, 1909, read: 'We have recommended that the land laws be liberalized, and that corporations be allowed to buy 6000 hectares (15,000 acres) of land. The present limit of 2500 acres was a device of the sugar people to prevent the proper development of the Islands, fearing they would become formidable as a sugar producer in competition with existing lines of trade.' (Journal, III, 343.)

A later note to this passage is as follows: 'I think the principal conspirators in this matter of handicapping sugar production in the Islands were the beet sugar interests. They played on the fear of the people for trusts, and finding it an easy chord to harp on, managed to get quite an opposition on the part of Democrats and Filipinos to an adequate corporate ownership of land for sugar purposes and also for many others, such as cattle, etc.'

³ Act No. 926, Philippine Commission, October 7, 1903.

grants, and otherwise facilitated the administration of the public domain for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Islands. This act, and all subsequent legislation as to the public domain in the Islands, required approval by the President and sanction, expressed or implied, by Congress. Such approval was in no case withheld.

The Filipinos at first received these provisions of law with apparent indifference. Filipinos of means desiring to acquire large tracts of land were able to purchase holdings under former Spanish grants often very vague in their definitions as to metes and bounds, and frequently this very vagueness enabled holders of such grants to make good their claims to larger tracts than the grants ostensibly described. Many of these grants greatly exceeded the limit of twenty-five hundred acres placed by Congress on the acquisition of public domain as distinguished from private domain. In some instances these grants were found to include within their boundaries land occupied by small farmers who had believed the farms to be their own. The Filipino had been so long under a feudal system where the word of the local *cacique* was his law that in many instances these small landholders were deprived of their property without realizing the possibility of recourse to the courts to assert their rights.

Many years elapsed before the Filipinos began to avail themselves in large numbers of the opportunity to obtain land through homesteading.¹ That movement gradually gained headway and during the years 1913, 1914, and 1915 began to reach important proportions. The growth of the province of Isabela, following upon the opening of the new road from Nueva Ecija and Nueva Vizcaya, is perhaps the most striking evidence of the manner in which the Filipinos availed themselves of these opportunities once they came to

¹ The failure on the part of the public to take up lands was the subject of an editorial comment on the part of a leading American paper in the Islands. The *Cablenews-American*, in its issue of May 9, 1912, had this to say:

‘... The framers of the homestead law took it for granted that the agricultural people of the Philippines were accustomed to settle on isolated farms and live in dwellings far removed from their neighbors. They ignored the very patent fact that the Philippine farmer does not live on the land he tills and cannot be persuaded to do so. The folly of this assumption has been abundantly proved during the years that the homestead law has been on the books by the very few entries that have been made under it.’

understand them. In the year 1924, this road through the mountains was opened, and within two years the population of the province is reported to have doubled and its production to have trebled.

The Filipino is essentially a lover of his home and is very devoted to his native town. Inducement had to be very alluring to make him move. The steps taken by the government to assist in such movements are set forth in another chapter dealing with the whole problem of Philippine labor.¹

There have been various amendments of the law prescribing the procedure for acquisition of public agricultural lands by homestead, lease, and purchase by individuals. By an act of the Legislature in 1924, approved by the President, more liberal conditions were given, and the maximum area that may be purchased by an individual was increased to three hundred and sixty acres.²

Unfortunately the situation was complicated by the ignorance of the average homestead applicant, and the fact that many of them got into the hands of unscrupulous land sharks or men of influence in the vicinity, who either encouraged them to cultivate and improve lands other than those they had officially filed upon, so that, when the time came for them to prove up, they discovered to their dismay that the land they had improved did not lie within the lines of their homestead claim, or who used other means to drive them off land upon which they had planned to make their home.

Some shocking cases of abuse of power arose, violence resulting in a number of instances, even reaching to the extent of murder, or the filing of false charges resulting in the poor man being thrown into prison while his property and crops were taken possession of by the rapacious *cacique* of his region. Cases of this character came to the attention of the Wood-Forbes Mission in 1921, especially in the province of Nueva Ecija, in some districts of which homesteaders were terrorized by lawless landgrabbers with whom the government seemed unable to cope. These conditions were cor-

¹ Chapter XII, 'Various Governmental Activities.'

² *Report of the Governor-General, 1924*, 189.

rected by energetic action on the part of Governor-General Wood soon after his appointment.

In reviewing the homestead statistics, there are to be noted great discrepancies between the number of applications received and the number of patents issued, which are stated to be due to delays in surveys by the Bureau of Lands, to cancellations of applications because of conflicting claims and protests, the inability or failure of the applicant to reside on and cultivate the homestead, and failure to pay the required fees, amounting only to ten dollars and payable in annual installments.¹ Practically none of these failures occur among government directed homeseekers.

The following table sets forth the operations under the homestead provisions of the public land law:

[Source: Data furnished by the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources.]

Year	Applications received		Titles issued	
	Number	Area in acres	Number	Area in acres
1904.....	69	2,336.19	...	...
1905.....	354	11,003.78	...	...
1906.....	1,543	47,092.18	...	...
1907.....	2,643	80,187.35	...	...
1908.....	2,023	66,492.87	...	...
1909.....	1,463	47,472.06	...	...
1910.....	2,210	68,668.16	1	39.53
1911.....	2,995	93,997.28	1	38.69
1912.....	3,706	109,309.99	27	822.18
1913.....	4,962	156,040.11	106	2,908.01
1914.....	5,552	183,746.15	160	4,720.16
1915.....	7,446	257,990.93	515	16,464.61
1916.....	8,198	261,278.36	192	5,709.66
1917.....	8,922	276,090.40	322	9,014.48
1918.....	8,259	219,126.58	309	9,117.78
1919.....	7,026	233,424.51	326	8,843.88
1920.....	9,561	397,115.03	739	20,629.05
1921.....	6,672	287,228.10	835	24,359.86
1922.....	8,572	370,662.61	1,120	31,530.20
1923.....	7,286	301,906.40	1,224	33,091.11
1924.....	6,820	265,779.07	974	29,465.37
1925.....	7,781	311,360.09	1,727	45,350.16
1926.....	13,173	545,095.44	1,572	42,549.89
	127,256	4,593,403.65	10,150	284,654.62

Under the land law of 1903, provision was made for the issue of free patents to Filipinos who, prior to August 1, 1898, had settled on unappropriated public lands and who had

¹ *Census*, 1918, III, 880, 881. Act No. 2874, Philippine Legislature, November 29, 1919, Sections 12-15.

complied with certain conditions as to residence and cultivation.¹ A total of 11,088 such free titles, covering an aggregate area of 87,560 acres,² had been issued at the close of 1926 to persons who, through ignorance and lack of money, had been unable under the Spanish government to secure documentary titles to lands they, and in many cases their ancestors before them, had improved and cultivated.

Foreigners, especially Japanese and Chinese, by organizing corporations under the Philippine corporation laws were able to acquire lands from the public domain, which otherwise were available to Americans and Filipinos only. These larger areas selected for lease or purchase, usually in each case the full twenty-five hundred acres permitted by law, sometimes included small farms which had been cultivated by tribal peoples or others and under their customary land tenure belonged to them. Justice demanded that satisfactory arrangements for quitclaims be made with these settlers, or recourse had to the courts, if the proposed lease or purchase were not abandoned.

Up to December 31, 1926, under the various provisions of the public land laws, more than 550,000 acres of agricultural land have passed from the public domain to more than 21,000 private persons.³

The determination of land titles has thrown a heavy burden on the courts, and careful observers believe that the problem would be more expeditiously and economically handled were the Court of Land Registration to be reëstablished along the same lines as formerly, but with a sufficiently larger number of judges to care for its constantly increasing volume of business.

The number of judicial districts was increased during the period 1902 to 1926 from fifteen to twenty-seven, and the number of judges of first instance from sixteen to fifty-three. The work of the courts increased from 4194 civil and 6555 criminal cases presented in 1904⁴ to 10,824 civil and 12,505 criminal cases in 1926. Notwithstanding the increase in the

¹ Act No. 926, Philippine Commission, October 7, 1903, Sections 32-35.

² Data furnished by the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ No statistics are available for previous years.

number of judges, there were 18,510 civil and 4799 criminal cases pending at the close of 1926. The land registration cases pending at the close of the year increased from 850 in 1914 to 3234 in 1926.¹

¹ Data furnished by the Department of Justice.

CHAPTER VIII

HEALTH

AT the time of American occupation the health conditions in the Islands were deplorable. Hygiene and sanitation were in practice but little advanced from mediæval days. Except as to vaccination against smallpox in Manila and to a limited extent in the provinces, there was little knowledge of the prevention of disease. The people of all classes, although living in the tropics, closed the windows of their houses and covered their heads against the night air, with the idea that it carried harmful properties. Dysentery, malaria, tuberculosis, and skin diseases were common. Vaccination was desultory, smallpox was endemic, and the deaths from that disease alone often were at least forty thousand annually.¹ There was no effective maritime quarantine. Bubonic plague was occasionally introduced, brought in, as discovered later by American health officers, by rats on ships from Oriental ports and transmitted to the people by fleas. The rats carried the infection from district to district. Cholera repeatedly swept in waves over the Islands, carrying off its victims by hundreds of thousands.² None of the cities had an adequate supply of potable water. Garbage and sewage disposal were primitive, even in the city of Manila.

Perhaps the most prevalent and serious of all the evils were the insidious intestinal parasites, causing a reduction in efficiency and an inability for sustained physical effort which had much to do with the prevalent unfavorable reputation of the Filipino as a laborer.³

The failure of the Spanish administration and public to

¹ Victor G. Heiser: 'Sanitation in the Philippine Islands since American Occupation,' in *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, LII, 97-99, January 9, 1909.

² *Census*, 1903, III, 18.

³ Dr. Paul C. Freer, Dean of the Medical School, in a lecture delivered in October, 1907, 'pointed out that as a result of the first hundred autopsies they could state positively that the physically diseased condition of the Filipino was such that he absolutely couldn't do the work that a well man could.' (*Journal*, II, 325, October 19, 1907.)

progress in accord with the advance of science in other countries during the nineteenth century is attributed by some observers to the fact that higher education passed to the control of unprogressive institutions upon the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Before the Americans could begin their effective labors in public health and other beneficial activities in the Islands, it became necessary to put down insurrection and establish public order; the close of hostilities left the people prone to entertain ill-feeling and racial distrust, and it was obvious that some time must elapse before the Filipinos would subject themselves to the somewhat onerous health requirements which the Americans, trained to modern methods, felt it necessary to enforce. Moreover, the American military health officers were not always suave and considerate in their manner of dealing with the Filipinos, and had not learned, as the officers under civil administration came to do later, to give a rational explanation of the need of these measures before taking drastic action.

There had been a tendency among the Spanish authorities to consider a pestilence, whether of cholera, plague, or other communicable disease, as an act of God sent in His inscrutable wisdom as a punishment for some lack of piety in the lives of the persons visited. Disease, according to their theories, was not to be combated by any medicine, or change in the manner of life of the people, or by preventive measures, but by an increase in piety, which often took the form of liberal gifts to the church. A common method of combating pestilence was to form a procession to carry the image of San Roque through the village. Sometimes the result was the spread of disease and increase in deaths, as they called the people together to pray for cessation of cholera, thus bringing about a condition of crowding more likely to disseminate widely the germ of the disease.

From the beginning of American occupation, serious attention was given to the public health, first by medical officers serving with the troops, and, following the occupation of the city of Manila, by army medical officers detailed exclusively to public health work and by selected Filipino phy-

sicians.¹ Extension of this service was coincident with the extension of military occupation throughout the provinces. Successive chief surgeons of the army of occupation directed public health work until a board for the whole archipelago was created by the Philippine Commission, July 1, 1901. Colonel L. V. Maus, detailed from the medical corps of the army, was appointed first president of the board, with the title of Commissioner of Public Health,² and began the organization of the service in the provinces. During the cholera epidemic of 1902,³ he overworked to an extent that necessitated his relief. Dr. Franklin A. Meacham, former major and surgeon in the United States volunteer troops, chief health inspector, and J. L. Mudge, superintendent of sanitation in Manila, were among those who died in the service from exhaustion in this campaign against cholera. Many other officers and employees of the bureau became broken in health during this period.

Major E. C. Carter, also of the medical corps of the army, as Commissioner of Public Health, carried on and extended the organization of the service, until, in turn exhausted by his labors, he was relieved April 27, 1905, by Dr. Victor G. Heiser, Passed Assistant Surgeon, United States Public Health Service, at that time Chief Quarantine Officer of the Islands, who took on, in addition to his quarantine duties, the direction of the Bureau of Health, as the public health service came to be designated. He came with a masterly grasp of his problems, great tact, infinite patience, and a

¹ The chief surgeon of the army forces was charged with the creation of the public health service, and a board of health for the city of Manila was organized under Major Frank S. Bourns, Surgeon, United States Volunteers, in September, 1898, which included two of the most distinguished Filipinos of the medical profession — Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera and Dr. Ariston Bautista Lim. (*Report of the War Department*, 1899, I, part 4, p. 260.)

² The title of 'Commissioner' given to bureau chiefs made inevitable confusion with the members of the Commission, who were also called 'Commissioners,' and later, under the Reorganization Act of 1905, the title 'Director' was adopted for the chiefs of the bureaus.

³ '... the board of health had scarcely opened its offices before there began one of the severest epidemics of cholera that has been known in modern times. In a little more than a year it numbered over 300,000 victims, of whom 150,000 or more died.' (Dr. V. G. Heiser, Director for the East, International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation: 'American Sanitation in the Philippines and Its Influence on the Orient,' in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LVII, 61, 1918.)

mind of an extremely practical turn. An accomplished linguist, he soon learned how to deal with the Filipinos, discount their prejudices, and take advantage of their strong points to attain his objects, which were always directed with a single eye to the best interest of the Philippine people. Dr. Heiser developed the Bureau of Health to the marvellous degree of efficiency which it finally reached.

The death rate from all causes under Dr. Heiser's administration was reduced from 27.46 per 1000 in 1905 to 18.82 per 1000 in 1913, and rose after he had left the service to 35.28 per 1000 in 1918. It was not until the later years of General Wood's incumbency as Governor-General that it was reduced to 19.94 per 1000.¹

Writing in 1909, Dr. Fulleborn of the Hamburg School of Tropical Medicine, one of the world's greatest authorities, had this to say:

Your health authorities have put into actual practice the theories that have been propounded of late to secure an ideal sanitary condition in tropical countries. I most heartily congratulate Dr. Heiser and all his staff on his excellent work and can say that we, the Germans, and all other nations having colonies in the far east, will have to take lessons from the Manila sanitary authorities in dealing with the evils that beset us.

In regard to vaccination, I am sure many of our physicians will demand cold figures when I tell them that in the Philippines the Americans have vaccinated over six millions of people without a single death.²

Dr. J. K. Elkington, Health Officer for the Port of Brisbane, gave similar evidence of the excellence of the work of the Philippine Bureau of Health.³

¹ See table, *post*, 359.

² As reported in the *Cablenews-American*, July 4, 1909.

³ Dr. Elkington was quoted in the *Manila Times* of June 8, 1912, as follows:

'Americans have accomplished two of the great sanitary achievements of the age. I refer to the cleaning up of the Panama canal zone and the bringing to a state of unexampled health the city of Manila and the Philippine Islands in general.

'... I came to Manila and the Philippines especially to study the sanitary system in vogue here, as we had heard down in Australia that your health officers had accomplished tremendously satisfactory results in cleaning up your city and the islands in general. These reports have been more than confirmed by me. It is simply marvelous how well your medical officers have succeeded in eliminating all the dangerous epidemics and unsanitary methods of living which prevailed here during the old Spanish days. The thing that impressed me most was the fact that your

The revenues of the government were extremely small and not nearly enough to care adequately for the health needs of the people. When one thinks of a gross population of almost ten million, about ninety-five per cent of whom came into the world, lived, and died without opportunity to obtain medical assistance, one can see the wonderful field open to an able, public-spirited, and disinterested administrator. But when one realizes that the total annual expenditure for the public health service during the nine years 1905-13 averaged less than seven cents per capita, one can see with how pitifully small an amount a real service could be rendered to the population as a whole.

The work of the Bureau of Health was constructive and educational. The prejudices of the people against any health measures, against the use of hospitals, and against the Americans, had to be overcome. Popular interest, enthusiasm, and confidence once aroused, a long period had still to elapse in which to train Filipino doctors in modern methods, to train hospital and health nurses of both sexes, and get them at work. In a lecture delivered in October, 1907, Dr. Paul C. Freer, of the Philippine Bureau of Science, made the statement that statistics showed one doctor for every twenty thousand people.¹

The maritime quarantine service of the archipelago was maintained as a separate bureau because it was under the United States Public Health Service.² Although the control was in Washington, the cost was met by Philippine revenues. This service was conducted in the most modern and up-to-date manner without undue interference with commerce or

legislature had so wisely given your medical men the widest powers to handle the situation. Medical men know what to do and when given the hearty support that your legislators here have evidently provided, the result is always satisfactory.'

¹ Journal, II, 325, October 19, 1907.

This figure doubtless was for physicians and surgeons lawfully qualified to practice their profession. The cure of diseased persons when household remedies failed was almost wholly in the hands of 'herb-doctors' or *arbolarios* and other empirics who were known as *curanderos* and frequently combined incantations and other forms of magic with the use of plants and other substances of reputed curative properties.

By 1926 the situation had so improved that there was one registered physician for every 6380 inhabitants. In addition, the quality of the doctors had improved, and there were nearly 2000 registered nurses.

² Executive Order of the President, January 3, 1900. (*Report of the War Department*, 1901, I, part 4, p. 421.)

with the movement of ships, and at the same time with absolute thoroughness in the protection given to the people from the introduction or reintroduction of communicable diseases.

It was essential to teach the people generally the fundamental principles of hygiene. The matter of prenatal care for expectant mothers and the feeding of children had a direct bearing on infant mortality. The belief, to which allusion has been made, that all illnesses were an act of God, had to be combated and the people taught that most ailments were preventable and that an intelligent application of the laws of health would prevent them.

The early campaign against cholera was bitterly and fiercely waged. Officer after officer succumbed to the disease or as a result of exhaustion from overwork. In the early military days the measures taken against the spread of the infection were drastic. Houses which had been occupied by the sick were burned, a measure, however, not so extreme as it sounds because most of these houses were built of bamboo, thatched with leaves of palm or with grasses, and could be rebuilt without burdensome expense. Later, Dr. Heiser was able to apply methods of effective disinfection without destruction of property. Americans soon learned to take precautions against infection; but even so, some were caught and the death-roll among them was heavy. Preventive measures consisted mostly in the early diagnosis of the cases and their isolation, in the safe disposal of human discharges,¹ the use of boiled water, sterilization of table utensils, washing hands in disinfectants before eating, and extreme care against flies in markets as well as in private places and kitchens.² By effective new methods of treatment the mortality from the disease was greatly reduced.

¹ The disease is sometimes transmitted by flies and unless the utmost care is taken in regard to the sanitary conditions surrounding the patient, opportunity may be given for flies to pick up the infection and carry it to food, or to infect the water supply of other people in the neighborhood.

² In a speech made by Dr. Heiser, Director of Health, in May, 1912, he called attention to the importance of washing and disinfecting the hands during a cholera epidemic, which in many cases disappeared in three or four days when police enforced such disinfection; the danger of overeating; the danger of flies; and the necessity for exercise. ('A Talk on Health Conditions in the Philippines,' delivered by Dr. Victor G. Heiser to newly arrived teachers from the United States, May, 1912.)

This work against cholera was done by devoted heroes, without fanfare of trumpets, and never received the same degree of public attention as that of American administrators in dealing with yellow fever and malaria in other tropical countries. The sense of relief that came to the community when cholera was brought under control is keenly recalled by those who lived through the terrible days when a friend who might have been perfectly well at noon, was stricken ill by mid-afternoon, and died during the night; when the burial forces were all too slow to keep pace with the swath cut by the grim reaper, and the bodies were laid in rows in the trenches, the earth covering just reaching to the corpses of the latest victims being constantly brought up in carts only to be covered in turn by a few shovelful of earth.¹

The bubonic plague was fought by an intensive campaign against rats brought into Manila by ships from certain foreign ports. The rats, destroyed by thousands, were sent in to the Bureau of Science from every part of the city, labelled with the names of the regions in which they were caught, and examined microscopically. Whenever evidence of infection of bubonic plague was detected, the region from which the rat carrying it came was immediately placed under suspicion, and the health authorities systematically killed all the rats in the immediate locality. Bacteriological diagnoses and other studies were made by the Bureau of Science into the nature of the more dangerous communicable diseases, and in some instances vaccines or serums were devised for the production of artificial immunity. Very advanced work of this sort was carried on under the extremely able direction of Dr. Richard P. Strong.²

¹ 'Cholera has almost disappeared, one case only to-day, three yesterday, and none in Bilibid for five days. This is a real accomplishment and is of the kind that makes you glow all over. It means that we have done and are doing what other nations have failed in and is of the kind of accomplishment about which all factions must approve.' (Journal, I, 312, September 11, 1905.)

A later note to this entry reads:

'Looking back at it I am still greatly impressed with the greatness of this achievement. The health records in the Islands show achievements that compare favorably with the best health work done in Cuba by General Wood and in Panama by Colonel Gorgas. And it is to be remembered that the amount of money per capita we had in the Philippines was very much less than they had in those places.'

² On the occasion of a visit to the Islands in 1906, Dr. Presley M. Rixey, Surgeon

Also, in the Bureau of Science the specific and successful cure of yaws was developed and important advances were made in the diagnosis and treatment of the various forms of tropical dysentery and of cholera.

Smallpox was vigorously dealt with. Vaccination was compulsory and was systematically extended to the whole population in spite of very great difficulties, with results that left no doubt of its efficacy. It was not easy to convince the people. There were vaccinators to be trained and they were not always reliable; and vaccine does not keep well unless maintained at a certain fairly cool temperature, a very difficult thing to do in the tropics. The result of these difficulties was that, although the sanitary officers learned the necessity and the means of keeping the vaccine cool, a good deal of it got into careless hands and became spoiled or rendered ineffective before use. Moreover, Filipino vaccinators were not always scrupulous about doing the actual vaccination. It was much easier to dump the vaccine in the wastebasket and report the people vaccinated, and in some instances health authorities found proof of this having actually been done. But despite all this the result of the fight against smallpox was little short of miraculous, reducing the number of deaths annually from this cause from forty thousand to but a few hundreds.¹

A very extraordinary instance indicative of the development of popular belief in vaccination against smallpox was reported by the Director of Health.² On the little island of Caluya, just south of the island of Mindoro, a man arrived suffering from an illness which soon proved to be smallpox,

General of the Navy, 'spoke in high terms of the laboratories, the scientific work that was done there, saying that Strong was leading the world in his work on the plague bacillus. It is cheering to hear some authentic praise.' (Journal, II, 40, July 3, 1906.)

'... Strong's vaccine, or whatever it's called, has worked pretty well. He has inoculated 8000 persons and but three of them have had cholera and two died; so it looks like a success. They are now inoculating whole towns where the disease seems most virulent and had recurred most frequently.' (Journal, II, 48, July 14, 1906.)

¹ Dr. Victor G. Heiser, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LVII, 64, 1918.

² Victor G. Heiser: 'A Note on Smallpox and Vaccination in the Philippine Islands,' in *United States Public Health Reports*, 26, No. 15, April 14, 1911.

and from which he died. An old woman, claiming to understand the matter of vaccination, took the contents of a pustule from the man shortly before his death and commenced to inoculate a number of the inhabitants. Nearly one thousand cases of smallpox resulted before the facts became known to the outer world. Vaccinators, properly equipped, were immediately sent to Caluya to vaccinate the remaining population, some of whom were found to have been vaccinated previously. Of a total population of two thousand about four hundred died from smallpox, all the deaths occurring among persons who had never been properly vaccinated previous to exposure to the disease. The epidemic was checked by proper vaccination.¹

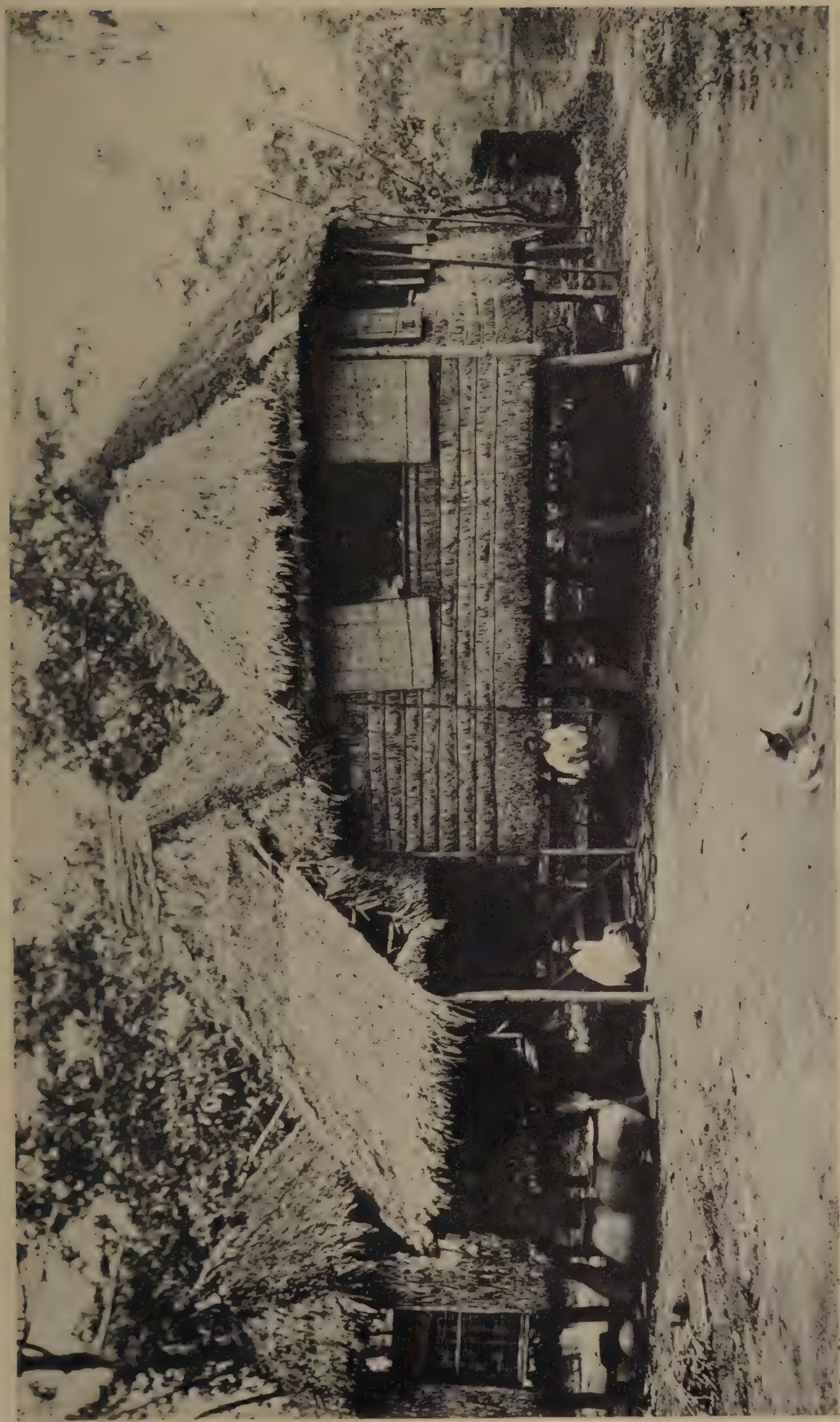
With the passage of the Jones Law and control of both houses of the Legislature placed in the hands of elective Filipinos, there was a marked falling off in legislative interest in health matters, which reflected itself in a decrease in the appropriation available for vaccine and vaccination against smallpox.² Dr. J. D. Long, of the United States Public Health Service, who was Director of Health in the Islands succeeding Dr. Heiser, is authority for the statement that the amount spent on vaccination was greatly reduced and the interest shown by vaccinators and the efficiency of their work were greatly impaired during the period 1916-18,³ and

¹ This circumstance was the subject of an editorial in the London *Lancet* of April 29, 1911 (p. 1149), in the course of which the following comment was made: 'This is only one of the object lessons that the Philippines under the administration of the U.S. Government have afforded us as to the protective value of efficient recent vaccination against smallpox. We cannot hope that it will influence those opposed to vaccination, but it should nevertheless be put on record and published as widely as possible.'

² The policy of the administration of this time was to let the Filipinos learn how to govern by making their own mistakes. It was costly in various ways, none more so than in lives lost in the smallpox epidemic, estimated to exceed seventy thousand, largely children under twelve years of age.

³ The following is quoted from a letter from J. D. Long, Assistant Surgeon General, U.S. P.H.S., dated May 11, 1926:

'... In 1916, due to the increase in the number and of the severity of cases reported as varioloid, I asked for an increase in appropriations for vaccination — the law for that year contained an item of ₱100,000.00. The increase was refused and by the year 1918, the item for vaccination had been reduced to ₱2,000.00. (See Annual Report, Philippine Health Service, 1916, where the prediction is made that smallpox will appear again before long.) A few cases occurred in Manila in January, 1918,



TYPICAL PHILIPPINE VILLAGE HOUSE

he handed in his resignation on account of lack of support.

The public health statistics reveal the immediate effect of this failure. The mortality from smallpox in the Islands rose from 4.77 per 100,000 in 1917 to 527.19 per 100,000 in 1919.¹ In the city of Manila there had been no deaths from smallpox from 1909 until its reappearance in 1916; in 1918, as shown in the figures taken from the report of Governor-General Harrison, there were 869 deaths.² The official figures for the whole archipelago reveal 16,147 deaths from smallpox in 1918, and 49,971 in 1919.³ Most of the deaths from smallpox occurred among children who showed no evidence of vaccination. It is probable the actual deaths from smallpox were much greater than shown in the official reports, as there was a tendency among culpable health officers who had not pro-

having come from Palawan, three shipwrecked sailors brought in on a Coast Guard vessel. In May, the epidemic was on in full force, but was controlled by the end of July in Manila, and by the end of December in the adjoining provinces of Rizal, Cavite, Bulacan, Bataan, and Pampanga. The vaccine was not of much use and some deaths from smallpox occurred among persons recently successfully vaccinated. I then took the matter up with the Bureau of Science and found that they had been using the same 'seed' vaccine for about 12 years. They declined to increase the potency until I personally wrote out a prescription and signed it. Soon the supply ran out, and in the midst of the epidemic [we] were without vaccine for about 10 days; by telegraph I succeeded in obtaining a supply from Shanghai and Saigon, and when the Bureau of Science began to use this new 'seed,' deaths in vaccinated persons stopped and our supply was sufficient.

'The reason for the insufficient supply was that Dr. Apacible, who was the Secretary of Agriculture I think it was, refused to allow the Director of the Bureau of Science to spend the money necessary to buy the calves required and to put up some extra small buildings to house them.

'After the smallpox in the provinces in the vicinity of Manila was wiped out, and as there was no more smallpox reported, I resigned and insisted on acceptance of my resignation, though efforts were made to compel me to withdraw it. I resigned because Health officials and Sanitary Inspectors were not reporting the presence of the disease, and were also making false reports of vaccinations performed. Discipline was out of the question because I could get no one to testify to facts that I knew and that they knew I knew.

'After a lull of two or three months from December, 1918, the disease made its appearance in Ilocos Norte or Sur, I do not remember exactly which, in March, 1919. I had urged that every effort be made to vaccinate these provinces as well as the southern provinces, but without avail. So nothing was done till the disease had appeared in virtually epidemic form.'

¹ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1924, 8.

² *Ibid.*, 1918, 13.

³ The following table taken from the *Report of the Governor-General*, 1924, 8,

perly performed their vaccinations to fail to report smallpox as the cause of deaths occurring in their districts.¹

That inert vaccine was used in some instances is shown by the following extract from the report of Honorable Frank W. Carpenter, Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, for the year 1917:

The acceptance and increasing popularity of modern medical and surgical treatment among both Mohammedans and pagans has continued throughout the year, except in those localities where vaccination against smallpox proved a failure apparently because of the deterioration of the virus en route from Manila to the remote points where it was used.² This failure of vaccination in some localities was a serious discredit to the government's health service, and even threatened disturbance of public order. The necessity of greater care and efficiency in the preparation and handling of vaccine virus needs no further comment. It is understood that the Bureau of Science, which is charged with the preparation of vaccine virus, is endeavoring to remedy past failures and that most of the recent vaccinations have been more successful.³

In the light of the foregoing it is a curious fact that anti-vaccinationists have pointed to the Philippine Islands as giving abundant proof of the ineffectiveness of vaccination. If anybody has any last, lingering doubt, it is not too much to assert that a fair analysis of that situation gives a most startling and unanswerable proof of the value of vaccination.

shows the total deaths from smallpox in the Islands, by years, in actual numbers and per 100,000 population for the period 1915 to 1924 inclusive:

Year	Total deaths from smallpox	Deaths per 100,000 population	Remarks
1915.....	276	3.30	Epidemic with 72,740 deaths in three years. These were years when vaccination was neglected.
1916.....	610	7.18	
1917.....	436	4.77	
1918.....	16,147	173.42	
1919.....	49,971	527.19	
1920.....	6,632	68.91	
1921 ^a	^a 728	^a 7.22	Lowest rate for the Islands.
1922.....	19	.18	
1923.....	5	.05	
1924.....	^b 6	.05	

^a The year in which General Leonard Wood became Governor-General.

^b Five were foreigners who arrived in Manila already in the incubation period.

¹ See *ante*, 338, footnote 3.

² This was the opinion of the Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. His belief that the deterioration of the virus was caused en route is a charitable one, as can be seen from the quotation from Dr. Long's letter in an earlier footnote.

³ *Report of the Governor-General, 1917, 59.*

The cases cited by anti-vaccinationists of death or failure of the vaccine to protect either were of persons not vaccinated, or were due to treatments now known to have been improperly administered, or to the use of deteriorated vaccine.¹

One of the most lamentable results of this failure properly to maintain vaccination manifested itself in a terrible calamity which overtook some Ifugaos who had been brought down by the Constabulary in 1918 to work on the construction of a necessary road from the province of Nueva Ecija into the province of Nueva Vizcaya. This road would have been of great benefit to the provinces of these people, but that did not justify fifteen hundred of these men being driven down against their will to work on the road, where they were exposed to contagion from smallpox. This disease was at that time prevalent owing to the failure of the health authorities to maintain the efficiency of the programme of vaccination against smallpox so effectively administered during Dr. Heiser's régime. So-called Spanish influenza was also prevalent at that time in the Islands and both diseases were contracted by the Ifugaos. The mortality was extremely heavy, and those who succeeded in returning to their province, where preventive measures were also lacking, carried with them the contagion, and the resulting mortality was appalling.

It is only fair to the Filipinos to say that this episode occurred largely under American direction. The governor of the Ifugao sub-province, the engineer who had charge of the road, and the chief foreman, all were Americans, and it is humiliating that these men should have been implicated in so indefensible an affair as forcing the Ifugaos to do this work.

Leprosy is believed to have existed in the Philippine Islands at the time of the first Spanish exploration and provision for the care of persons suffering from this as from other diseases was first made by the Franciscan friars in the six-

¹ In May, 1912, Dr. Heiser said: 'I know of no one in these Islands who ever died of smallpox who had a good vaccination mark. . . . From . . . ten million vaccinations there has resulted not one single death or loss of limb, a record which has never been equalled anywhere else. . . . Fortunately there are very few anti-vaccinationists in the Philippine Islands. Most of them have died of smallpox.' ('A Talk on Health Conditions in the Philippines,' delivered by Dr. Victor G. Heiser, May, 1912.)

teenth century by the erection of a shelter in front of their monastery, within the walled city of Manila, where the hospital of San Juan de Dios was subsequently erected. It was not until 1632, however, that there is authoritative record of the disease in the Islands and that provision was made for the separate hospital care of lepers. In that year the Japanese government was making a determined effort to drive all Christians from its empire. The Spanish records state that among the Christians deported to Manila by the Japanese authorities were one hundred and thirty Japanese lepers who had been converted to Christianity.¹ After their arrival special provision was made by separate accommodation in the native hospital for their segregation, and later a special hospital was provided.

This hospital, first located in the immediate vicinity of the walled city of Manila, was for military reasons removed to a place more remote from the fortifications and, following the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Islands in 1767, their extensive estate in the suburb of Santa Cruz was turned over by the Spanish government to the Franciscan friars as an endowment for the maintenance of a leper hospital, which was provided with quarters in the estate buildings. This arrangement continued with some assistance from the government until May 23, 1898, during the siege of the city of Manila by American warships and Filipino insurgent forces, when the friars petitioned the Spanish authorities to assume the administration of the hospital and its properties, they abandoning the care of the hospital and seeking refuge within the walled city. On the occupation of the city by the Americans, the Franciscans did not resume charge of the hospital.² Lepers became scattered throughout the city and its environs, and the American military authorities, upon taking charge of the hospital, returned the lepers as rapidly as recognized and they have remained charges of the government since that time. The Spaniards called this hospital San Lazaro, the

¹ Letter from Governor Juan Niño de Tavora to King Philip IV of Spain, July 8, 1632, in Blair and Robertson, xxiv, 206.

See also Victor G. Heiser: 'Leprosy in the Philippine Islands and the Present Methods of Combating the Disease,' in the *Medical Record*, June 8, 1907.

² *Report of the War Department*, 1901, I, part 4, pp. 248-50.

name it still bears, and the ownership of the land and buildings comprised in the former Jesuit estate of Mahaligue was the subject of prolonged negotiations between the American officials and the Church.

There are few records giving authentic information as to the care of the lepers by the Spaniards elsewhere in the Islands, except that reservations were set aside for them in different places, and here and there generally inadequate shelters built for them. The government and private persons gave some assistance, usually through the Church, for their maintenance.

Aside from the San Lazaro Hospital at Manila, there were but two leper hospitals that had been in existence in the latter days of Spanish rule which merit mention, one at Cebu and another at Nueva Caceres, but these were little more than poor lodgings for lepers who cared to use them.¹ The lepers of the wealthy families remained in private houses with or near relatives and friends, thus tending to infect those with whom they came in contact. The poorer lepers were more or less outcasts and sometimes segregated in little groups a short distance from the main towns, where they felt themselves neglected and often ill-treated. It is said that in some of the cities instances occurred of revolts against the poor food and treatment, when the lepers rushed the markets and fingered the food which was held there for sale.

When the American government organized the public health service, leprosy was found to be growing and to have reached formidable proportions in various provinces. By 1902 conditions were ripe for an intensive campaign to segregate the lepers, not only for the protection of the public against infection, but in order to give the lepers themselves better care and opportunity for modern treatment. Although estimates supplied by friars and others indicated a leper population of twenty-five thousand, a systematic investigation conducted by the Bureau of Health during that year revealed the probability that this was greatly exaggerated, the revised estimate being about five thousand cases.²

¹ The total capacity of the three institutions in 1898 was four hundred. (*Report of the War Department*, 1901, I, part 4, p. 248.)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, 347.

In 1904, the total number found was 3623,¹ and an unknown, doubtless lesser number was not detected.

On April 12, 1902, the Commission appropriated fifty thousand dollars for the establishment of a leper colony under the direction of Commissioner Worcester;² and, better to assure segregation and adequate location, Governor-General Wright, August 22, 1904,³ set aside the island of Culion for this purpose and the work of construction began.⁴ A coast guard ship, the *Basilan*, was designated for the work of gathering up the lepers. Effective segregation began in May, 1905.⁵ The colony by 1913 numbered nearly 3500 souls⁶ and later reached 5400, and the arduous task of gathering the lepers from all parts of the Islands and carrying them to Culion was undertaken largely by Dr. Heiser in person.⁷

¹ Heiser, in the *Medical Record*, June 8, 1907.

² Act No. 389, Philippine Commission, April 12, 1902.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 2, p. 9.

⁴ 'There are some five thousand lepers here and leprosy is increasing very rapidly. We have the island of Culion set aside. We have good houses, an excellent doctor, sisters of some Catholic order for nurses, and a water system, instruments for a band, and the whole island cleared of other inhabitants for the purpose.' (Journal, II, 58, July 25, 1906.)

⁵ Heiser: 'Leprosy in the Philippine Islands and Its Treatment,' in the *American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, September, 1909.

⁶ 'The population of the leper colony is now about 3500, and we are constantly getting new ones. We have brought double this number to the colony, and with the good care and food they are getting they die less rapidly than before, which means a serious additional expense to the government — but one which I gladly face. Heiser has put up a lot of fine new buildings, is planning a plaza and some ornamentation — and I was surprised to receive no complaints from any one.' (Journal, V, 265, June 15, 1913.)

⁷ In regard to Dr. Heiser's work at Culion, Eleanor Franklin Egan wrote as follows in the *Saturday Evening Post* of February 2, 1918:

'They say of Doctor Heiser that he has handled with bare hands from two to three thousand lepers in all the horrible stages of that most horrible of all diseases; and I myself have seen him pick up a helpless leper in his arms and carry him aboard the leper ship to be taken to Culión with as little apparent concern for his own safety as he would display under the most ordinary circumstances. Other Americans connected with the work showed the same splendid courage.

'Culión Colony is the finest institution of its kind in the world now — and the largest, I believe. It is a little city of lepers, with shaded streets, flower gardens and well-kept houses. For the majority of the afflicted — those who do not live in the cottages — there are splendid concrete barracks with baths and recreation halls and every modern device for clean and comfortable living; and the hospital, lying along a little bay shore and overlooking a wide blue stretch of waters, is among the finest in the archipelago.'

This island, conveniently situated about a day's travel from Manila by steamer, has a beautiful harbor and high, rolling country. Here a concrete hospital was constructed, as well as other service buildings. An old Spanish church was made available and Jesuit priests secured to minister to the colony. It is typical of the Jesuits that, when the call for volunteers for this service went forth, every priest responded, including Father Algué, Chief of the Weather Bureau. Unselfish and high-minded clergymen attached to various Protestant missions, both in the Philippine Islands and the United States, also volunteered and some of them were rather insistent that they should be given the opportunity to join in rendering this self-sacrificing service. So large a proportion of lepers were Roman Catholic that it was manifestly proper that priests of their religion should be selected. A corps of nurses was secured, mostly of the religious order of the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres,¹ who devoted themselves to this rather dreadful service with a piety and sacrifice that command the profoundest admiration. The lepers for the first time found themselves tenderly cared for, treated as human beings and not as outcasts, and properly fed.² The decrepit and advanced patients were given beds in the hospital, and ministered to by the nursing sisters. The colony had a playground, a band of its own, the patients were given an allowance of money, and they were permitted to marry if they desired, a priest performing the marriage ceremony. Children born of lepers are free of leprosy and likely to contract the disease only by contact later with those having it. Measures were taken to prevent this occurring.

It was not until some years after the establishment of the leper colony that scientists announced that the disease of beriberi was the result of a prolonged diet that consisted

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 126.

² Dr. Heiser, after an inspection trip, said in an interview published in the *Cable-news-American*, May 29, 1912: 'The election fever has even reached Culion. The Culion Leper Republic is the only place in the Philippines where suffragettes and women's suffrage exist. The women there take a very prominent part in the elections.

'Just now there are four candidates in the field for the position of president of the republic and many others for members of the privy council. Among the candidates for election as president is an American, who has the support of all the suffragettes and his election is almost conceded.'

principally of polished rice. It had come to pass that in government institutions, such as hospitals, sanatoria, prisons, and barracks, where polished rice was served, beriberi was often prevalent. Rice in its natural state carries a thin coating containing nutritive substances necessary for the maintenance of healthy human life. Polished rice is much nicer looking than the more healthful, unpolished rice, and people to whom it was served were apt to prefer it. The mortality in the leper colony due to beriberi was sometimes extremely high, running at times to an average of three patients a day. The government made early use of the new knowledge concerning beriberi and substituted the unpolished rice for the ration of polished rice previously served, with the result that the death rate in the colony decreased sharply and beriberi practically disappeared. At first the lepers were disposed to complain at the change to unpolished rice. The Bureau of Health met this by informing them that it did not wish to be responsible for anything known to be to their disadvantage, but that they were at liberty, in case they did not like the rice served to them, to exchange it for polished rice at the colony store. Not only did the colonists soon become reconciled to the unpolished rice, but later even complained of having to take the polished when the Bureau of Health, owing to a rice shortage, was compelled to supply some of it.

Leprosy is a disease which usually progresses very slowly. Many of the afflicted parts lose their sensibility and become painless. In advanced stages, the extremities, such as fingers, toes, noses, and ears, come away. Lepers are very apt to die from some other disease than leprosy as their power of resistance is lowered.

Experiments with chaulmoogra oil were early undertaken in the treatment of leprosy. As first administered, the oil produced extremely nauseating effects and most patients preferred the disease to the treatment. In later years methods were found by which the oil could be successfully administered by hypodermic injection without the nauseating effects. Until the arrival of General Wood as Governor-General in 1921, although there had been a number of cases and some reported cures, only ten per cent of the lepers had undergone this treatment and the Legislature had failed to provide funds

for a more extensive use of the oil. General Wood’s personal devotion to the cause of the lepers was such that during his administration a much larger proportion underwent treatment, reaching as high as seventy per cent. By the end of the year 1924, of these, seventy-five per cent were improved, four hundred and nine cases being ‘negatives’ — free from evidence of disease — and one hundred and ninety-seven former lepers returned to their homes as cured.¹ In February, 1927, Governor-General Wood in a cablegram to the War Department reported that nearly a thousand cures had been effected.

It was hoped that the establishment of the colony would result in the rapid elimination of the disease, but notwithstanding more than twenty years have elapsed, reports received as late as 1926 indicate that the number of new cases admitted annually continues to be high. It is said, however, that in later years nearly all the new admissions are in the early stages of the disease, which proves that the carriers of infection are being more quickly discovered and segregated. The exact manner in which the infection of leprosy is communicated is not yet known to science, and as it may be communicable before its symptoms become manifest, and, moreover, years may elapse after the infection before such manifestations occur, it is feared the complete elimination of the disease may be remote.

By the end of 1926 a total of 16,582 lepers had been admitted to the Culion colony. A glance at the table below ²

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1924, 7.*

² The following table shows by years the number of admissions and the population at the Culion colony:

[Source: Data furnished by the Philippine Health Service.]

Year	Culion Leper Colony		Year	Culion Leper Colony	
	Admissions	Population		Admissions	Population
1906.....	802	546	1917.....	613	4485
1907.....	690	780	1918.....	973	4692
1908.....	1603	1126	1919.....	551	4706
1909.....	1378	1726	1920.....	605	4862
1910.....	930	2172	1921.....	514	4973
1911.....	889	2511	1922.....	819	5232
1912.....	964	2991	1923.....	733	5445
1913.....	795	3298	1924.....	434	5330
1914.....	859	3602	1925.....	464	5267
1915.....	555	3680	1926.....	445	5133
1916.....	966	4265			

shows that the maximum number of inmates seems to have been reached in 1923, the ensuing years showing a slight annual decrease. It is noticeable that the number of admissions has also decreased since 1923,¹ and the Director of Health in 1927 estimated a probable decrease of five per cent annually thereafter.

It is interesting to note that in Dutch and British colonies, which have been under European rule in some instances for hundreds of years, lepers are still allowed at large and are not cared for at public expense.²

The Philippine Islands were particularly badly off in the matter of hospital facilities when the Americans first came to the Islands. There were two general hospitals in Manila under the charge of religious orders. These hospitals had a total of one hundred and thirty-three beds,³ and therefore were sadly inadequate for a city of more than two hundred thousand population. There were but few hospitals in the provinces. The United States Army established and maintains a military hospital in Manila, and also one at each military post in the provinces, in which emergency civil cases have always been given relief. Through the generosity of Mrs. Whitelaw Reid a hospital for American women and children was maintained for the first few years of American administration and until some time after the government established the Civil Hospital of one hundred beds in the latter part of 1901.⁴

¹ These decreases may be in part due to the fact that all lepers are not being taken to Culion; many are being treated locally and a substantial number are retained at San Lazaro Hospital in Manila, so that the population of the colony is in no sense a complete roster of the leper population of the Islands.

² This is notably the case in Java. The following passage appears in the *Handbook of the Netherlands East-Indies*, 1924, 85, published by the Division of Commerce of the Department of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, Java:

'The number of lepers in the Dutch East-Indies is unknown: estimates vary between 25 [25,000] to 125,000. The number of leprosy cases is about 20, to which institutions a total of 2 [2000] to 3000 patients have been admitted. But as the stay in these homes is not compulsory, the number of patients always varies.

'There are two societies for fighting leprosy . . . of which the first one looks after the treatment of the patients in their homes, while the second mainly gives financial aid to the leper homes. It is probable, at any rate for some of the districts, that leprosy is on the increase which will make it imperative before long to take stringent measures.'

³ *Census*, 1903, IV, 408, 409.

⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 54.

Under the terms of the contracts entered into between the civil government and its employees free medical and hospital service was promised in all cases of diseases incurred in the service.

The Bureau of Health finally, in 1907, secured an appropriation of about four hundred thousand dollars ¹ for the construction of a general hospital in Manila. A splendidly designed modern hospital, with proper operating-rooms and wards for various purposes, was built; an adequate staff secured; and an out-patient department opened. The formal opening of the Philippine General Hospital took place on September 1, 1910, and the capacities of its wards and free dispensary or out-patient clinics were soon overwhelmed by the popular demand for medical and surgical relief.

The experiences of a German doctor, Rembe by name, who had charge of the eye, ear, and nose service of the hospital, were extremely interesting. People frequently came under his care who illustrated to what extremes easily cured ills can grow when neglected. Every week, for example, Dr. Rembe performed operations which restored the sight of people some of whom had been utterly blind for years. His fame swept through the provinces and people came trooping in to place themselves in his care. Many had to be sent away disappointed, their diseases having reached the point where they were no longer curable.

Within a year of the opening of the hospital the 'Manila Times' ² was able to say:

Applications for treatment at the dispensary connected with the General Hospital have increased to such an extent in the past few months that at the present time the entire staffs of both the hospital and the college of medicine and surgery of the University of the Philippines have been called upon to handle the work of giving free treatment to the poor. New doctors are being taken on nearly every day to assist in the work, and the present building occupied by the dispensary on the hospital grounds has become so overcrowded that extensions are being planned for the structure.

. . . Patients come in from every part of the Philippines to receive treatment at the clinic, several cases having been known where five days have been taken up by an applicant in coming by ship and

¹ Act No. 1688, Philippine Commission, August 17, 1907.

² In its issue of September 22, 1911.

carabao to the hospital to receive an examination and free treatment.

... The dispensary is divided into departments, or clinics, where each disease is treated especially by physicians trained in practice along specific lines, and who give their services, the medicines, surgical dressings and bandages, without cost to the patient.

In 1912, the Philippine Commission reported as to this dispensary, which it stated ranked 'among the principal clinics of the world,' as follows:

The growth of the Free General Hospital Dispensary has been phenomenal. During the fiscal year 1911 it treated 24,335 patients and filled 39,178 prescriptions. During the fiscal year 1912 it treated 64,673 patients and filled 83,517 prescriptions. It is now treating patients at the rate of 80,000 per year.¹

By 1925, the capacity of the hospital wards had been increased to more than six hundred beds without meeting the growing popular demands upon it.²

On the San Lazaro Hospital grounds, in another part of Manila, where the insane and lepers were already housed, there was built a group of hospitals for plague, cholera, small-pox, tuberculosis, and other dangerous communicable diseases. It is doubtful whether so many different dangerous diseases and human ills were ever before collected in one spot, and it is a veritable triumph for modern science that no instance occurred of one of these diseases being communicated from one patient to another.

It was gratifying to get evidence from competent observers

¹ The report continued:

'The hospital proper is constantly taxed to its full capacity, and it has been necessary to turn away a large number of would-be patients on account of lack of accommodations.

'The work of the eye, ear, nose, and throat department has been especially noteworthy. Dr. Rembe, aided by his Filipino assistant, Dr. Ubaldo, performed 925 major operations, 1440 minor operations, made more than 11,000 dressings, and 1228 refractions of the eyes.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 97.)

² Some idea of the service the hospital renders is recorded in the annual number of patients received, which shows a steady increase from year to year, reaching in 1926 the impressive number of over thirteen thousand patients, and more than one hundred and sixty thousand out-patients served.

In the Southern Islands Hospital, completed in 1912 as a branch of the Philippine General Hospital, there were in 1926 two thousand five hundred patients received and over thirty-one thousand out-patients served. (Data furnished by the Department of the Interior.)

in no way associated with the American government that its work was good. A visiting Belgian official spoke in highest terms of the Philippine General Hospital, and in an interview given to a Manila paper announced that he had got some important points of which he proposed to make use in connection with a new hospital to be built in Antwerp.¹

It was not long before other Philippine regions began to demand hospitals. A well-planned institution was built in Cebu; another one in the province of Bontoc for the savages in the hills; and another, including cottages for tuberculosis patients, in the mountain capital of Baguio. The ideal to be sought was a hospital in each sanitary district and provision for medical service at least in all the urban centers within reach of the more accessible portion of the rural population. The scanty funds of the treasury and the small interest taken by the leading Filipinos in these matters until they had seen the practical value of hospitals delayed the realization of this dream so that much of it is still a dream, but one to the accomplishment of which Governor-General Wood up to the day of his death devoted an important part of his immense energies.

At the end of 1926 there were in operation 45 government hospitals and 1028 dispensaries.²

Tuberculosis was very prevalent in the Islands and its development was due in large measure to three causes. The first was the fear of exposure to the night air and consequent sleeping with closed windows and covered heads, as already mentioned. This was largely brought about by a fear of contracting malaria and also because of the failure on the part of

¹ The Belgian official, Mr. Edward Nyssens of Antwerp, as recorded by the *Manila Times* of September 6, 1912, stated: 'I will say that Manila may well be happy and proud of that hospital. As far as the building is concerned, it is perfect. The administration, under the management of the actual superintendent, is as good as can be wished, the doctors are good and in sufficient number to do good and quick work, and of the nurses I can only say: I wish that such good nurses could be had in our country.'

'As to the kitchen and food, what I have seen and talked of, it is good and ought to satisfy anyone. Antwerp will in the next couple of years have to build a new general hospital of 1000 to 1500 beds . . . With a view of these new hospitals to be erected, my study of Manila hospital has been a very interesting and instructive one and many a detail that I have observed here will find its place there.'

² Data furnished by the Philippine Health Service.

the people to provide themselves with mosquito bars against the anopheles prevalent in certain parts of the Islands. The second cause was weakened physical condition resulting from inadequate diet and the prevalence of intestinal parasites. And the third was the absolute ignorance of the masses in regard to the simplest methods of protection from infection, especially in their intimate associations with members of their family suffering from the disease.

In 1910, an American woman, Mrs. Eleanor Franklin Egan, noted for her public spirit, had the vision and energy to take the first steps toward organizing an association calculated to awaken the Philippine people to a realization of the peril attendant on this condition of affairs and to move in the matter of its cure; and under her able direction an anti-tuberculosis league was organized, of which she was the first president. A hospital for segregating cases in the vicinity of Manila was established, funds raised, and an appropriation secured from the Legislature.

In his report for 1913 Acting Governor-General Gilbert said: 'Tuberculosis continues to be the most serious existing menace to the general health and longevity of the people of the Philippines, and the existing facilities for combating it, while productive of much good, are altogether inadequate as a means of grappling with the problem.'¹

Further light on the menace of this disease is found in the words of the Governor-General to the Anti-Tuberculosis Society on the occasion of its organization:

We are here to save hundreds of thousands of lives which are threatened and millions which will be if this terrible disease is not brought under control. It is estimated that in these islands 400,000 are afflicted and 40,000 die every year from this disease.

It is hard to put into cold hearted figures the money loss to the community through this disease, yet it takes dollars and cents to fight it and as it is estimated that over a period of years the annual loss to the community is ₱20,000,000 [\$10,000,000], it would seem worth while to spend several hundred thousands of dollars a year to combat this costly disease.²

A sustained campaign against tuberculosis has been carried

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 17.

² As reported in the *Manila Times*, July 30, 1910.

on by the government with the coöperation of the Anti-Tuberculosis Society. Governor-General Wood summarized this feature of public health service in his annual report for 1922 as follows:

The control of tuberculosis has been undertaken principally through education of the people. Available resources have not permitted the building of extensive sanitaria, which are needed. However, the Philippine Antituberculosis Society has contributed liberally to the maintenance of the sanitarium near Manila and aided in the struggle against tuberculosis to the best of its ability.¹

Throughout the early days of American administration a crying need was for more trained personnel for the medical department of the government. Not only were doctors needed, but it was very necessary to have nurses, both male and female, and sanitary inspectors. As will be seen in the chapter on 'Education,' the colleges carried forward from Spanish days had neither the facilities nor the teaching staff trained in modern scientific methods. The capable and aggressive Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Dean C. Worcester, very shortly realized that there would have to be a medical school established by the government, capable of educating a higher standard physician and surgeon, and also in larger numbers, if the dire need of the country were to be met adequately. The mere statement of the fact, previously noted, that there was but one doctor to every twenty thousand persons, is sufficient proof of the urgency of the need for a new medical school.

It was impossible to make a very early start because as a necessary preliminary there had to be potential students who had had an adequate academic education in schools conducted in English. This meant that, after going through the primary, intermediate, and part of the high school course, candidates for this instruction had to have a two-years' preparatory course, which was given in the Normal School in Manila. Thus it was not until 1907 that the medical school was finally started, and even this was before the creation of the University of the Philippines, of which it later became a part.

In order to assure a supply of young doctors well distrib-

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1922, 8.*

uted geographically throughout the Philippine Islands, and further to assure that each province should have its quota of graduates, and to counteract in part the tendency of graduates of such institutions to settle in the large centres of population and not return to the rural regions from which they came, it was provided ¹ that there should be as many scholarships as there were regularly organized provinces in the Islands, and that such scholarships should be awarded by the school departments after competitive examination in the provinces. It was stipulated that upon graduation the student should return to the province from which he came and there give his service to the people of his province for a number of years equal to those during which his education was paid for by the government. This assured the medical school a constant supply of carefully selected young students, and also tended to make good the need of the provinces for a properly trained medical staff.

The plan for the medical school was most carefully thought out, the first dean being Dr. Paul C. Freer, Director of the Bureau of Science, and a man of high scientific attainments. The school was co-educational and was given the facilities of the Bureaus of Health and Science and of the different hospitals and clinics in Manila for practical education. The aim was to make the standards of entrance and graduation the same as those of the Association of American Medical Colleges.²

Evidence of the high standards of the school can be found in the words of Chancellor Henry M. McCracken, of New York University, who said during a visit to Manila in 1910: 'I am talking from the standpoint of an experienced administrator, and am not exaggerating when I say that your medical school is starting in at a point which it has taken other schools two generations to reach. We have the largest medical school in the State of New York, and are not much if any ahead of you with respect to organization and equipment.'³

¹ Act No. 1632, Philippine Commission, April 25, 1907, Section 3.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 2, pp. 78, 159.

These standards were not maintained when the rapid Filipinization of the service went into effect in later years.

³ As quoted in the *Cablenews-American*, November 24, 1910.

The total number of graduates to include the year 1925 was 263. The average

The health officials gave special training courses for sanitary inspectors, and in 1909 adopted a novel method of improving efficiency and raising the standards throughout the force. They divided the sanitary inspectors into three classes or grades and limited the number in the highest grade. The doctor in charge of each inspector's service made a careful rating of his work each month. If any in a lower class had a higher rating than those in a higher class, the latter were transferred to the lower class and their successful rivals promoted to their places. The incentive for good work was very strong. This system meant that it was not only necessary to do good work to reach the highest grade, but that the standard of this grade had to be continuously maintained if the incumbent was to stay there.

Training classes for nurses were established in 1907¹ and met with a ready response from the Filipinos. In 1909 the Legislature recognized the success of the undertaking by providing fifty scholarships annually for candidates to be selected by the division superintendents of schools throughout the Islands.² Thereafter the government training school for nurses developed into an institution of high standards and great usefulness. Young men and women took the course and both made admirable nurses. They had all the necessary qualities. Young girls of the very best families came to Manila and devoted their lives to this service and did so with a wholehearted devotion which spoke well for their earnestness of spirit and their genuine desire to better the condition of their people. The fame of the school reached also beyond the boundaries of the Philippine Islands and girls came from China and even from Siam to take the course.

The matter of training nurses was an easier and simpler one than that of training doctors. For one thing the course of preparation was much shorter and students were admitted to the nurses' training classes without the two years of college required for the medical school.

Graduate nurses often, after a period of further practice in

number graduated annually during the five years 1921 to 1925 was 19. (*Report of the President of the University of the Philippines*, 1925, 36.)

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 3, p. 152.

² Act No. 1931, Philippine Legislature, May 20, 1909.

the government hospitals following graduation, returned to their native towns, where they spread the gospel of hygiene and sanitary living and helped out in filling, so far as their training permitted, the shortage of trained medical officers in the community.

Training schools for nurses were organized also in connection with some of the larger hospitals supported by church missions and other private enterprises. Later it was deemed necessary to regulate the practice of the nursing profession by requiring registration, fixing standards of qualifications, and creating a board of examiners.¹

At the close of the year 1926 there were nearly two thousand registered nurses in the Islands.

Selected graduates of the schools of medicine and of nursing were sent on government scholarships to the best universities in the United States for post-graduate courses and training in special branches. Some of these distinguished themselves by reaching high standing in the schools in which they received their advanced training.

The general organization of the Islands into sanitary districts was a matter of somewhat late development because it had to wait for the availability of trained personnel. In February, 1912, however, an act ² was passed by the Legislature authorizing consolidation of municipalities into sanitary divisions, and it was provided by this law that each division should be in the charge of a duly qualified physician. It also provided that a proportion of municipal and provincial funds should be set aside to be known as the 'health fund.' It was evident that the lack of qualified physicians and of sufficient funds to pay adequate salaries would delay for many years the full realization of this important undertaking of public service.

One of the conditions most distressing to the earlier American administrators of the Islands was the fact that so many urgent needs of the people had to be neglected owing to lack of funds. Congress for many years failed to extend the power of the Philippine Commission to borrow money, and, as has been seen, most of the public works necessary for the econom-

¹ Act No. 2808, Philippine Legislature, March 1, 1919, Section 1.

² Act No. 2156, Philippine Legislature, February 6, 1912.

ical conduct of government and of the affairs of the people had to be met from the scanty revenues of one of the lowest taxed countries in the civilized world. One of the things which had to be postponed was the construction of asylums for suitable care of the insane. Hospital facilities in Manila were inadequate even for the dangerous and violent cases. In Spanish times and during the earlier days of American administration, the violently insane were committed to prison when brought before the courts. About three hundred insane, including especially women, were cared for in the church institution known as the Hospicio de San José. In the provinces insane people were apt to be maltreated, locked up in the local jails, and, if they got too troublesome, were brought to Manila and turned loose in the streets. They would ultimately find their way into the courts and would be committed to prison if dangerous. In some cases they were kept in stocks or chains.

It was estimated that there were four thousand insane people in the Islands, and it is obvious that without adequate and proper institutions built for the purpose and trained forces — not only doctors but nurses, matrons, and attendants — to care for them, these unfortunates had little chance of cure or proper care. In 1904, some of the old buildings at San Lazaro were made available for the confinement of the violent insane.¹ In 1907, a new insane asylum was constructed in Manila which could care for two hundred and fifty of the most urgent cases.² An adequate general institution, with proper wards and surroundings for each class of cases, was one of the great requirements of the situation that had not been met as late as 1927.

One of the most potent means of improving the general health of the people was the installation of modern pure water systems, especially in Manila, Cebu, and some of the lesser cities. But that which contributed more than any other one thing toward improvement of the health conditions of the people was the supply of potable water obtained by boring artesian wells. As will be seen in the chapter on 'Public Works,' wells were bored on a very extensive scale. In

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1905, part 2, p. 183.*

² *Ibid., 1907, part 2, p. 106.*

many parts of the Islands these wells provided a constant stream of pure water which flowed sometimes in sufficient quantities to be used for irrigating purposes; and wherever they were bored the result, as manifested by the lowered death-rate of the people, was immediate and most gratifying. As a direct result of some of these artesian wells the death-rate from water-borne disease was cut almost in half.¹

The Spanish administration in the Islands made no provision for the compilation of vital statistics until the latter part of the nineteenth century, when a central office of statistics was created to which parish priests were required to send reports of births, marriages, and deaths. These reports, while comprehensive as to sex, race, and nationality, did not include causes of deaths and other data which would make the statistics valuable for comparative study.²

Records of births and deaths during the early and greater

¹ The *Manila Times*, January 24, 1908, gives statistics showing the value of artesian wells in saving life as follows:

‘As a result of the introduction of artesian wells in seven towns of Pampanga it appears that a saving of about five thousand lives was effected in these towns last year, and that in certain diseases alone. That Pampanga appreciates the benefits such agencies of hygiene afford is shown by the fact that it contemplates expending ₱100,000 [\$50,000] in putting in more such wells . . .

‘The causes of death, in the towns mentioned, and the diminution in the mortality figures of 1907 as compared with 1906 in those specified diseases, are found in the following table:

<i>Causes of death</i>	1906	1907
Typhoid fever	211	147
Infectious fevers	1,554	908
Dysentery	458	223
Diarrhea and Enteritis	472	213
<i>Annual mortality</i>		
First Quarter	2,393	1,595
Second “	2,058	1,562
Third “	4,060	1,701
Fourth “	1,547	1,442

Dr. Heiser, after an inspection trip, said in an interview published in the *Cable-news-American*, May 29, 1912: ‘Outside the jails and markets, the general health conditions are undoubtedly due to the existence of artesian wells. These wells have been a godsend to the people during the several months of drought that have afflicted so many of the provinces.’

Governor-General Harrison in his report for 1914 stated that a good water supply ‘is not only a preventive of active disease, such as cholera, but of many slower and less frequently fatal infections of the intestines. In some municipalities where artesian wells have been drilled the death rate has been observed to drop 50 per cent.’ (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, 39.)

² *Census*, 1918, II, 963, 964.



A BASTION OF THE MANILA WALL

part of the period of Spanish government were not found in the archives of government following American occupation. At the time of the preparation of comparative statistics for the report of the Census of 1903, the only records obtainable were for the year 1876 and from 1885 for subsequent years. While these records related to only a fraction of the people, that fraction was so large and generally distributed it is believed that the birth- and death-rates derived from them are reliable.

Following American occupation and the reorganization of government, the recording of vital statistics was brought into accord with modern practice and placed under the control of the Bureau of Health.

The following table presents for typical years the birth- and death-rates derived from available Spanish data, and annual statistics from 1903 to 1925:

[Sources: Data furnished by the Philippine Health Service; Census, 1903; and Statistical Bulletin of the Philippine Islands No. 3.]

Year	Birth-rate per 1000 population	Death-rate per 1000 population
1876.....	46.2	26.7
1885.....	50.5	28.9
1892.....	48.1	36.7
1898.....	47.6	30.5
1903.....	37.3	^a 43.18
1904.....	39.11	26.59
1905.....	40.32	27.46
1906.....	35.05	23.57
1907.....	40.47	21.29
1908.....	37.39	29.08
1909.....	37.92	25.80
1910.....	31.34	25.08
1911.....	38.67	24.07
1912.....	36.54	23.26
1913.....	37.12	18.82
1914.....	41.49	19.69
1915.....	38.61	20.94
1916.....	35.19	21.71
1917.....	38.71	23.16
1918.....	37.15	^b 35.28
1919.....	33.03	^c 34.89
1920.....	35.24	21.08
1921.....	35.36	21.06
1922.....	35.86	21.20
1923.....	38.26	20.29
1924.....	37.37	22.39
1925.....	37.42	19.94

^a High rate due to cholera epidemic.

^b High rate due to smallpox and influenza epidemics.

^c High rate due to cholera and smallpox epidemics.

The corresponding data for the United States for the year 1925 were: birth-rate, 21.4; death-rate, 11.8.

The principal causes of death among adults are tuberculosis and malaria. Against both these and other diseases campaigns of education have been carried on by the government through the schools and otherwise in conjunction with private philanthropy and popular organizations. Among the latter the women's clubs and the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, whose work has been discussed earlier in this chapter, are the most important. Information has been disseminated as to the method of infection from malaria, and the use of mosquito nets has become popular. The Bureau of Health through its own local representatives and other agencies has made quinine available in even the most remote settlements.

Scarlet fever and typhus are unknown in the Islands.

On the request of the Philippine government in 1921 the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation permitted its Director for the East, Dr. Victor G. Heiser, to make a survey of public health conditions in the Islands, including the Bureau of Health, the College of Medicine and Surgery, and all other directly related agencies. Following this survey, Dr. Heiser outlined a programme for more intensive health work which received the approval of the Governor-General, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippine Legislature, the President of the University of the Philippines, the Dean of the College of Medicine and Surgery, and the Directors of the Bureaus of Health and Science.

The Foundation generously coöperated in putting this programme into effect by providing highly qualified specialists to assist as consultants and otherwise in the reorganization and expansion of the public health laboratories of the Bureau of Science and the College of Medicine and Surgery, and to improve the standard of nurse training. The Foundation also from its resources of scientific personnel entered upon coöperation with the Bureau of Health in experimental work on malaria control, and in the provision of a better balanced, cheaper, and generally more satisfactory ration for the Culion Leper Colony. In addition to all these contributions to public health in the Islands, the Foundation provided

six fellowships for qualified Filipinos in universities in the United States and Europe — two in public health, two in public health laboratory work, and two for training teachers in nursing or higher administrative posts.

Governor-General Wood in his annual reports repeatedly expressed his appreciation of the generous assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation and the value of its work in improving the health service.

A systematic campaign against infant mortality was initiated in February, 1912, when a bill, introduced in the Assembly and concurred in by the Commission,¹ created a committee of physicians for the purpose of investigating the causes and recommending the methods which should be adopted further to decrease the excessive infant mortality. The rate in the city of Manila had been reduced from 811.35 per 1000 births in 1904 to 334.45 per 1000 in 1913, chiefly through strict inspection of milk supply and the enforcement of requirements that milk, whether fresh or canned, offered for sale should come up to certain standards not only as to purity but also as to content of butter fat and consequent nutritive value. This was reflected by a reduction in the infant mortality rate throughout the Islands during the same period from 224.40 to 152.91 per thousand.² Credit for these results must be given in due part to the success with which the educational campaign of the Bureau of Health was carried on through the public schools and also the women's clubs³ and other beneficent institutions actively engaged in the instruction of mothers in the care of newborn infants. The enforcement by the Director of Health of the pure food law and the increasing popularity of canned milk imported from the United States and from Europe also were important factors.

¹ Act No. 2116, Philippine Legislature, February 1, 1912.

² Data furnished by the Philippine Health Service.

These rates were reduced by 1925 to 167.02 for the city of Manila and 150.18 for the Islands as a whole. For the same year the rate reported for the United States was 71.7.

³ 'The woman's clubs on the islands have been a valuable agency for the dissemination of sound information concerning sanitary conditions and have aided much in the campaign to reduce infant mortality and in the establishment of generally better sanitary conditions. A great deal of valuable work in the dissemination of propaganda has been done through the intermediate and higher schools.' (*Report of the Governor-General, 1923, 13.*)

The great problem of reducing infant mortality in the city of Manila was undertaken by the establishment in 1907 of a private institution popularly known as *La Gota de Leche*,¹ to furnish pure sterilized milk to infants whose mothers were unable to nurse them.² For this beneficent enterprise the greatest credit must be given to an accomplished Filipino lady, Mrs. Concepcion de Calderon, and to Dr. David J. Doherty, of Chicago, who gave liberally of both money and time. This enterprise, duly incorporated as *La Protección de la Infancia*, was continued with success from its small beginning in Manila and proved to be the nucleus from which has been developed a far-reaching organization with branches in most of the important centres of the population throughout the Islands, systematically coöperating with the government in its efforts to reduce infant mortality.

Appropriations of significant amounts were made annually, and, in 1916, \$500,000 was appropriated for expenditure in the discretion of the Governor-General throughout Mohammedan and tribal regions as well as in the Christian provinces 'to assist in the campaign for the protection of early infancy, including the establishment of "Gotas de Leche" wherever it may be feasible and necessary,' a condition imposed being that any locality desirous of an allotment from this appropriation should provide an equal amount contributed locally.³

In the cities and in the rural districts inhabited by Christian population the regulation of interments and disinterments and of burial places had been practically altogether within church control by reason of the administration of parish cemeteries by the ecclesiastical authorities. Among the Mohammedan and tribal peoples, their own customary practices governed. Due to the development of the Aglipayan schism⁴ and later to the activities of Protestant missions, it became necessary to provide for the establishment of burial places under government administration, which

¹ Literally to be translated 'The Drop of Milk.'

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 2, p. 17.

³ Act No. 2633, Philippine Legislature, February 23, 1916.

⁴ Aglipay was a Filipino priest who broke away from the Roman Catholic Church and set up an independent church in the Islands. See Chapter XVI, 'The Church and the State.'

was done in the form of municipal cemeteries. Among Mohammedans and tribal peoples the policy has been to move slowly, avoiding interference with their burial customs so far as they are not clearly detrimental to the public health.

The parish cemeteries, many of which were established two or more centuries ago, include massive masonry construction providing niches for interment. As is done in Europe, persons of especial distinction were frequently buried within the church building. Occasional difficult questions arose as to temporary interments in the cemetery niches and as to burials within the church buildings. By tactful procedure, however, on the part of the Director of Health and through the influence of the American prelates, serious conflicts were avoided and satisfactory solutions of these questions were reached.

Following the incorporation of the city of Manila, a cemetery along modern American lines, the *Cementerio del Norte*, was laid out in a suburb of Manila immediately adjoining the old church Cemetery of La Loma. Through efficient administration by the first superintendent and the use of skilled landscape gardeners, a beautiful cemetery in accord with American ideas was developed. This burial place became very popular with Filipinos as well as Americans and Europeans, who have erected many beautiful monuments, including several by memorial and fraternal associations. To an increasing degree the smaller cities and municipalities are giving attention to the embellishment of their public cemeteries.

Due to the fact that army veterinary surgeons belonged in the medical department of the army, the eradication of dangerous communicable diseases of cattle and other domestic animals became one of the duties of the government health service at the time of its organization with an army medical officer as Commissioner of Health. The campaign against rinderpest was especially important because of the great losses of beef and work animals from that disease. In the reorganization of the government in 1905, the work of eradication of diseases of domestic animals was transferred, with its personnel, to the Bureau of Agriculture, and the most

highly trained scientists available were secured to carry it on.¹

BUREAU OF SCIENCE ²

The application of modern science, that has done so much in recent years to place America in the forefront of the world's commerce, was utilized from the very earliest days of the civil administration to solve many problems that were directly concerned with developing the natural resources of the Islands as well as to find means to control the diseases that were making such serious inroads upon the lives and happiness of the people. There were no precedents to interfere and many original ideas were tried years ago that are still finding application throughout the world.

Among these was assembling under one administration all activities of a laboratory nature required by the various divisions of government. This can be laid directly to the credit of the Honorable Dean C. Worcester. Here were assembled a group of scientists under the able direction of Dr. Paul C. Freer, secured from the faculty of the University of Michigan, prominent in chemistry in addition to medicine. This work began as the Bureau of Government Laboratories, and was later expanded into the Bureau of Science, for which a spacious new building was constructed. The number of uses to which these laboratories were put surprised even the most ardent supporters of the movement. Answers were available as to whether a curious mineral found was gold, whether a resin gathered in the jungle had commercial value, whether a food was adulterated or poisonous, or whether an illness was cholera or plague or leprosy or something harmless. The durability of road-making material could be tested, the possibilities of silk worm culture were worked out, the commercial value of many curious tropical products could be ascertained; in short, definite knowledge was to be had instead of surmises which so often are incorrect. If a photograph were

¹ This important matter is discussed at length in the section on the Bureau of Agriculture in Chapter XII, 'Various Governmental Activities.'

² This summary of the activities of the Bureau of Science was contributed by Victor G. Heiser, M.D., Director for the East, International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation; Chief Quarantine Officer and Director of Health, Philippine Islands, 1903 to 1915.

needed, this bureau not only took it, but filed it away so that it might be available in the years to come. A great scientific library was assembled, serving as a storehouse of knowledge not only for the Philippine Islands but for much of the East. Entirely new industries sometimes resulted from the researches. Great contributions to the world's knowledge were made. The scientific work was of the highest character. 'The Journal of Science,' published by the bureau, became a recognized source of authority in the principal countries. Unfortunately during the period from 1913 to 1921, the 'Journal' deteriorated greatly, and largely lost its position of eminence.

To take care of these various activities, the following branches were established in the bureau: Biological laboratory; chemical laboratory; laboratories for the production of vaccine virus, serums, and prophylactics; divisions of ethnology, of fisheries and of mines; library and museum.

It was early recognized that if effective disease control were to succeed within the very meagre revenues of the Islands, only measures of proved worth could be utilized. This led in the early days to the creation of the biological division in the Bureau of Science under the able direction of Dr. Richard P. Strong. Thus was created one of the first large public health laboratories under the American flag. Since then laboratories doing similar work have been created in nearly every state and city of the United States and extensively emulated abroad.

United States Army boards on medical research and tropical diseases have carried on exhaustive studies ¹ in the Islands into the causes and prevention of many of the diseases, especially those affecting the efficiency of both white and native troops. There has been coöperation between these boards and the Philippine Bureaus of Health and Science, and results are of much value directly to the civil population as well as to the military establishment.

Church missions, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, have contributed materially to the public health of the Islands by the establishment of hospitals and out-patient clinics not only in the city of Manila but at some of the more

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1924, 6, 7.*

remote places in the provinces.¹ Some of the more noteworthy of these activities have been the establishment of Roman Catholic, Anglican, and other missions among the tribal peoples and Mohammedans. Mission doctors including both men and women have contributed much to the material well-being of the communities in which they worked and some have won high reputations for themselves by successful medical and surgical work. Worthy of especial mention is the service of mission doctors in the care of maternity cases and combating infant mortality.²

Private practitioners of medicine and surgery maintain a number of sanatoria on a small scale, which add to the available hospital facilities.

The American Red Cross has taken an increasingly important part not only in the relief of suffering on the occasions of catastrophes, as that of the eruption of Taal Volcano in 1912, but by organization in coöperation with other agencies in campaigns against disease. Its organization includes various departments for public welfare. There is also a Junior Red Cross, composed of school children, which has been very successful. Its membership in 1922 is stated to have been approximately five hundred thousand. The stated purposes of this junior organization are the same as those in other civilized countries and may be summarized as the training of more effective citizens for the next generation. An admirable activity of the Junior Red Cross in the Islands is the provision of dental clinics for school children in Manila and in several of the more densely populated provinces.³

The Associated Charities, merged with the Red Cross in 1922, was an early organization of local private philanthropists for the systematic extension of charity to the needy of all nationalities and races in the city of Manila.⁴ Several other organizations, Filipino as well as American, particularly those carried on by women, have contributed greatly to the relief of suffering, especially in the cities and other prin-

¹ 'Much excellent work has been done by the missionary societies in the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries. These organizations have coöperated splendidly and deserve a great deal of credit.' (*Report of the Governor-General, 1922, 9.*)

² An interesting discussion of medical missions is to be found in *The People of the Philippines*, by Dr. Frank Charles Laubach, New York, 1925.

³ Laubach: *The People of the Philippines*, 393.

⁴ *Ibid.*

cial centres of population.¹ The Wood-Forbes Mission reported in 1921: 'The establishment of large numbers of women's clubs, that concern themselves with hygiene and other civic matters, is a most encouraging sign of the times.'²

¹ Worthy of especial mention in this connection are the Asociación de Damas Filipinas, and the Woman's Club of Manila, which was organized in 1912 by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and has taken a leading part in the organization of the Federation of Woman's Clubs of the Philippine Islands.

² Report of the Wood-Forbes Mission, 1921, House Document No. 325, 67th Congress, 2d Session, 19.

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC WORKS

EVIDENCES of Spanish attention to public works were to be found throughout the Islands in a number of dignified and some monumental edifices, usually built for church purposes or for use of the higher officials, a number of very fine bridges of stone, and the remnants of roads. Manila and Jolo are two of the finest examples of walled cities in existence, and a number of forts which the Spaniards built — notably Fort Santiago, the citadel on the Pasig River; Fort San Antonio Abad, also in Manila but outside of the wall; and the forts in Cebu, Iloilo, Zamboanga, and elsewhere — are instances of mediæval fortifications scientifically planned.¹ Other early constructions are the numerous towers which dot the coast and were used for watch purposes and defense against the marauding Moros. A short railroad, built by private capital under British control,² ran from Manila northward. No port improvement of importance had been completed by the Spaniards, and there were only fifty-five lighthouses³ to light the eleven thousand miles of coastline of the archipelago.⁴

In the days of the Spanish régime there was a great deal of road construction and a certain amount of road maintenance under the system known to the natives as *prestacion personal*, which came to be their term for 'forced labor.' This system gradually came into odium by reason of the fact that corrupt officers of the day made use of this excuse to enforce labor on their private estates. One of the early popular reforms of the Americans was the abolition of the provision for compulsory labor. At first they simply did not enforce this provision; it was omitted from the system of taxation authorized by the Commission and never revived. As no substitute provision

¹ Others were at Isabela de Basilan, Puerto Princesa, Balabac, Cuyo, Reina Regente, Cotabato, and Pikit in the Cotabato Valley.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 2, p. 362.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 129.

⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 200.

was made for road maintenance, the roads rapidly deteriorated until in the rainy season they became quagmires, and by the time civil government was established in the Islands, this process of disintegration had gone to the point of actually threatening the economic life of the people. Crops and supplies could not be moved during the rainy season, and at such times it was impossible to draw a loaded cart out of Manila in any direction. The handsome, arched Spanish bridges of stone were allowed to crumble and sometimes fall. What little money there was in the insular treasury available for road work had been used for new projects and not for road maintenance, which was deemed to be a duty of the provinces and municipalities, and the meagre funds available for these purposes were too often used for such temporary expedients as cutting the coarse grasses, known as 'cogon,' with stems that were sometimes an inch or two thick, and with them corduroying the muddy places of the road.

After the Treaty of Paris the entire public works situation as left by the Spaniards became the subject of study by American army engineers.¹ The project of most immediate necessity was the improvement of the port of Manila to provide safe anchorage and wharf facilities for freight and passenger shipping. A plan for this project had been made and construction begun by the Spaniards. This work was resumed in 1902, and the plans amplified and placed under the direct charge of Colonel Curtis McD. Townsend, as chief engineer on the staff of the commanding general.²

A solution of the road problem was one of the most important things that faced the insular government. Realizing the importance and necessity of road and bridge construction, the Commission had, as its very first legislative action, passed an act appropriating for these purposes insular funds equivalent to one million dollars.³ Unfortunately the engineering

¹ Under military government the army engineers were in charge of public works activities, which at the beginning consisted of the repair and rehabilitation of public buildings for barracks and military uses, and the construction and maintenance of water-front, streets, and roads necessary for the movement of military supplies.

² Colonel Townsend came in close contact with the Commission in an advisory capacity, not only as to port works at Manila, but on all matters concerning public works.

³ Act No. 1, Philippine Commission, September 12, 1900.

agency of the government was not well organized for road construction and those in charge of the expenditure of this fund did not have the vision to size up the situation and present it to the Commission with sufficient force to carry conviction. The construction of a number of new roads and bridges was undertaken with the idea of opening up new territory. This was partly as a result of the demand on the part of the military authorities for roads whose primary use was military rather than economic. Had economic considerations only prevailed, all this expenditure would have been devoted to keeping open cultivated territory. The same amount of money could do much more good when used in repairing old roads, where the right of way had already been acquired and the land on either side developed, than in constructing new roads.

There had been also a tendency on the part of the Commissioner who had constituted himself the 'watchdog of the treasury' to indulge in the penny-wise policy of granting habitually a little less money than the engineers in charge asked for each project, resulting in the use of inferior materials instead of the more durable materials required. Thus bridges were built which became early prey to white ants, and within two years fell of their own weight, the money spent on them being lost; so that these reductions in the estimates of the engineers always resulted in an ultimate loss instead of the intended saving.

The Commission soon came to a realizing sense of the requirements of this situation and went to work to remedy the evils as they developed. Among the first measures adopted was the passage of a law ¹ which required every able-bodied man in the Islands to give five days of labor each year on road construction or maintenance, or in lieu of that to pay a sum equivalent to the local cost of such labor. In order to make this measure less offensive to the Filipinos and to give them popular participation in the matter of voting increased taxation, it was provided that the measure should not become effective until accepted by the provincial boards, the majority of which, by the following year, were elective. In the beginning the plan failed; not a single provincial board accepted

¹ Act No. 1511, Philippine Commission, July 13, 1906.

this law. The reason given was that it was too similar to the odious Spanish law under which so many abuses had been committed. The Honorable Juan Cailles, governor of the province of Laguna, made an earnest effort to get his province to accept the measure and encountered such hostility that at the next election he nearly went down to defeat, although he had been a general of the insurrectionary army and many of his constituents were his own ex-soldiers.¹

It became evident that before any measure could be successful a general campaign of education among the people must be undertaken. To this end a general letter, signed by the Governor-General, was sent out explaining the road policy.

There was soon abundant evidence that the campaign bore fruit. Instead of officers of the Department of Commerce and Police and the Bureau of Public Works having to go out and argue to the people, now delegations and orators from the provinces began to besiege the Governor-General and Commissioners with petitions from the people for the construction of roads and bridges, with which they could not comply for lack of funds. And the local orators, unconscious of the fact that they were quoting the words sent out for the purpose from Manila, hurled back at the officials the very arguments set forth in this letter.

This state of affairs continued until, under the wise guidance of Governor-General Smith, whose knowledge of psychology was very subtle, a new law was enacted² authorizing the provincial boards to increase the cedula or poll tax to one dollar per annum, the proceeds of the increase being available exclusively for road construction and maintenance.³ In order to offer the provinces an inducement to accept this law, the Commission then appropriated something over six hundred thousand dollars for roads and bridges,⁴ and authorized ten

¹ The provinces having failed to act, the law was next amended to enable municipalities to vote to accept it. (Act No. 1653, Philippine Commission, May 18, 1907.) But no municipality adopted it.

² Act No. 1652, Philippine Commission, May 18, 1907.

³ This poll tax was the principal source of revenue for the maintenance of roads and when doubled by vote of the provincial board the road fund received the whole of the increase amounting to fifty cents.

⁴ Act No. 1688, Philippine Commission, August 17, 1907.

per cent additional participation in the proceeds of the internal revenue collections,¹ the money to be expended in those provinces which adopted the one-dollar poll tax.² If any man did not care to pay the double tax in money, he could work it out with labor on the roads. The fact that this was a tax and so expressed in the title and body of the law took away the sting which had attached to the former act, which expressly called upon each able-bodied man to do five days' work. The new measure differed from the former in wording and emphasis rather than in substance, as both of them gave each able-bodied man an option of working or paying. Also the new law placed the additional revenue at the disposition of the provincial and not municipal authorities.³ As the new law, like the former, was not effective until accepted by the provinces, and as each province accepting it got its proper share of the large sum of money appropriated from the insular treasury for roads, twenty-seven out of thirty-one regularly organized provinces accepted the increased poll tax in the first year. On the 1st of February, 1910, the Governor-General was able to say in addressing a convention of provincial governors: 'The four provinces which made the blunder of not doubling the cedula tax the first year were Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Cavite, and Tarlac, all on the island of Luzon. The only province which made that mistake last year was the province of Antique. I am glad to be able to say that no province has made the mistake this year.' The net result of these operations was to multiply the money available for roads in the Islands by about five, and change the grossly insufficient four hundred thousand dollars a year into something over two millions.⁴ This enabled the government to enter upon a large programme of progress, such as under wise direction could ultimately solve the road transportation problem of the Islands.

The only difficulty with this arrangement was found to be that, as the province had to vote for an increased tax each year, the matter became a football of politics, and candidates for governor and third member of the provincial board were very apt to wage their campaigns upon pledges of tax reduc-

¹ Act No. 1695, Philippine Commission, August 20, 1907.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 2, pp. 275-78.

³ *Ibid.*, 276.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 278.

tion. Once elected, they very seldom carried out these pledges, because they found upon examination that it would literally paralyze all progressive development of the roads and result in disbanding the construction organization maintained by the province. This would greatly lessen their patronage and seriously displease the citizens who, while they liked very much to complain of their taxes, also enjoyed the use of the roads. The demand for the continuance of the road programme was insistent and increasing.

In order to solve this problem the Filipino leaders, in a special session of the Assembly held at Baguio, introduced and secured the passage of a law ¹ the most important feature of which was a provision that once the poll tax had been doubled by a province, it was to remain doubled until this action had been repealed by the provincial board.² Such repeal, however, was subject to approval of the Governor-General before becoming effective. By disapproving such a repeal the Governor-General could assure the continuance of the road programme. This did away with the necessity for passage each year of a resolution by each provincial board accepting the double tax, and, as at the time all provinces had already accepted the law, it had the desired effect of taking the whole matter out of politics.

Once only did a province attempt such a repeal, and this was in the case of Ilocos Sur, whose newly elected governor had made pre-election pledges, in accordance with which the provincial board passed the repealing measure and sent it up to the Governor-General, supremely confident that its action would be disapproved. The Governor-General, instead of disapproving, advised the board that if its action stood, he would immediately discontinue in that province all public works dependent upon insular aid. This would have affected port works, the opening of artesian wells, and construction of

¹ Act No. 1979, Philippine Legislature, April 19, 1910.

² 'The most important of these [new laws submitted for consideration] is one making the double cedula permanent. This has been drawn by Osmeña, and is to me the most important of them all, in fact the crux of the whole business.' (Journal, iv, 35, 36, April 14, 1910.)

'We have made the double cedula active continuously from year to year, and it can only be repealed by resolution of the provincial board previously approved by the Governor-General. This is the culmination of my five years' work on roads.' (Journal, iv, 45, April 21, 1910.)

important public buildings, because without roads to reach these facilities they would be useless, and without funds properly to maintain the existing roads, those that were now passable would soon become impassable. The provincial board thereupon reconsidered its action and rescinded its repeal.

The road fund having reached suitable proportions, it was necessary to create an organization to expend it properly. The first organization of the provinces had provided an engineer, under the title of provincial supervisor, who was one of the three appointive members of the provincial boards. In practice this proved unsatisfactory; first, because the duties of a member of the provincial board took too much of his time from engineering work; and second, because many of the provinces did not have sufficient funds to warrant the exclusive employment of an engineer. Accordingly the Commission, in the fall of 1905, abolished the position of provincial supervisor and created that of district engineer, a subordinate of the Bureau of Public Works, to whom were transferred all the professional duties of the provincial supervisor.¹ Under this act the provinces were grouped into districts with one engineer for each district who reported to Manila. Thus, two or three unimportant provinces would have the service of one engineer, while a more important province might have an engineer of its own.

Little by little the following general plan of road maintenance and construction was adopted. All the important former roads in each province were laid out and the right of way enforced. This was a very important matter because, under the lax system which had prevailed, the abutting property owners had tended to crowd on to the land reserved for right of way. In some cases they extended their yards and fences up to the edge of the road and had even gone so far as to plant fruit trees and build their houses over the right of way; and they dumped refuse in the ditches, thus blocking them so that water could not drain properly from the road surface. At first there were a good many cases of local ill-feeling and heart-burning and some pretty sharp opposition when the Director of Public Works insisted on maintaining the full

¹ Act No. 1401, Philippine Commission, October 4, 1905.

width of the highway, forced houses, yards, and fences back, cleared the ditches, cut down inconvenient trees, and assured the integrity of the permanent right of way. The increasing recognition on the part of the people of the value of roads presently wore down all opposition, and this work of the Bureau of Public Works was supported by general popular approval.

The Secretary of Commerce and Police, in June, 1908, wrote a second letter, which was printed in English, Spanish, and numerous dialects, and sent to every municipal government, province, and engineer in every province, setting forth the policy as to roads.¹

The Commission recognized the fact that the matter of the construction and locality of the new roads was one very largely for local determination, and all the funds secured by doubling the poll tax were covered into the treasuries of the provinces to be withdrawn and expended by their own legislative and administrative actions. The Bureau of Public Works retained control of the allotted money appropriated from the insular treasury to assist the provinces and municipalities on their road work. It was in the use of this part of the money that the general policies of the bureau found expression, rather than in the expenditure of the purely provincial funds. As a matter of practice, however, the Bureau of Public Works and the provincial officers coöperated so fully that there was very little misunderstanding or antagonism created. A general agreement as to the wisest provincial programme was reached by consultation and that policy carried out by the bureau and by the province consistently.

In order to ascertain what roads were most urgently needed, computers were engaged to count the number of wheels which passed over each road in each province and report the result. The road carrying the greatest traffic received the first attention of the bureau, the policy being to facilitate the conduct of existing business first, leaving the creation of new business till later. The Bureau of Public Works went into the consideration of the proposed road im-

¹ Letter of the Secretary of Commerce and Police to all provincial, municipal, and other officials relative to the present road policy in the Philippine Islands, June 16, 1908. See Appendix XV.

provement with scientific thoroughness. The value of the services to be performed by the road was computed, the cost of the road estimated, and the two figures compared, and the bureau was soon able to estimate with reasonable accuracy what projects were most urgently needed.¹ Some amazing results were recorded, the traffic passing over one improved highway reaching a figure as high as one thousand per cent above that estimated. Each road was given a width of surface of broken rock, gravel, or coral, and a depth calculated to sustain the number of wheels known to pass over it. Cement or wooden boxes and other devices were adopted as places for deposits of approved road material, and great emphasis was laid upon the continuing maintenance of every bit of road improved and declared to be first-class. Roads were divided into sections and a laborer, known as a *caminero*, wearing a red uniform, a brass plate on his hat, and provided with the necessary tools for his work, was employed to care for each section. The length of the section to be maintained by one man varied according to the traffic which the road was called upon to carry. It was found that it cost about one-third as much to keep the road in good condition by having the *caminero* constantly at work on it as it had to let the road go wholly unattended — as was at that time the custom in these backward United States — and then, when it got to be intolerable, put on a gang of laborers and rebuild it.

The *caminero* knew that any place on the road in which the water stood was a source of weakness, that every passing wheel would add its little quota of softened material, which would soon break through the shell of the road and, after a few heavy rains, leave practically no road at all. Therefore, when it rained one would see the *caminero* out squinting along the road to find whether water lay along it, or to detect the

¹ First, the number of wheels passing over a road in its unimproved state was counted, and a value placed upon the road of two cents per kilometer traversed by each cart per day. It was thus easy to compute the value of the road, and from this figure the annual cost of maintenance was deducted and the resulting figure was assumed to be the annual income earned by the road to the community. This figure was taken to indicate four per cent of the capital value of the road. This was compared with the cost of building the road, and, if the estimated service which the road could perform justified the cost, it was undertaken.

A very understanding discussion of the road situation is to be found in the *Cable-news-American* for December 12, 1912.



NAIC-INDANG ROAD, CAVITE, BEFORE IMPROVEMENT



NAIC-INDANG ROAD, CAVITE, AFTER IMPROVEMENT

beginnings of any ruts on the slopes which would carry the water down the road instead of letting it drain off to the ditches, and, when such ruts were found, to fill them in before the water coursing downward had time to make trouble. Although not confronted with the difficulties due to the upheavals of ground when frost is coming out, yet the *caminero* had with him the daily fight against encroaching tropical vegetation and the deadly effects of torrential downfalls of rain, sometimes reaching as much as thirty inches in twenty-four hours. These rains, in the course of a few hours, could turn a perfectly harmless-looking rut down a gradient of the road into a ravine four or five feet deep, rendering the road utterly impassable. The *caminero* realized that he must keep the crown of the road intact so that the draining would be to the side and not down the centre. He exercised police powers to the extent of regulating traffic on the road, preventing the parking of bull carts or other vehicles in a way that would impede the progress of traffic, and he could also prevent abutters from misuse of ditches either for irrigating purposes or filling them up with refuse.

It is human nature to like to build new things, and enthusiasm for new construction is almost universal. The American and Filipino officials alike were prone to yield to the natural tendency to devote their energies and the government moneys to the construction of new roads and bridges for which there was a popular demand, and to neglect the less interesting, but even more necessary, restoration of slow grinding wear of roads already built. The government found itself obliged to combat this tendency and met this situation by arranging for continuous maintenance, and no new construction was allowed to be undertaken in any province in which an old road remained unmaintained.¹ As fast as roads were designated first-class by the Director of Public Works, the

¹ To assure the effectiveness of the maintenance programme a law (Act No. 1688, Philippine Commission, August 17, 1907) was enacted providing that, in case of failure on the part of the province properly to maintain any given road, the money automatically appropriated for such maintenance should be paid over to the Bureau of Public Works, which should do the work. This effectually prevented unscrupulous squandering of the road-repairing funds by paying them out in salaries to friends and relatives incapable of doing the work, as such a course was sure to result in the intervention of the Bureau of Public Works and the loss by the culpable official of such patronage as attached to the proper expenditure of the funds.

province in which these first-class roads lay agreed by resolution to maintain them in their existing excellence, and to appropriate from their own fund an amount equal to \$175 a kilometer,¹ which, it was estimated, would pay for the *camionero* and the necessary amount of new surfacing material.

The use of motor vehicles in the Philippine Islands followed very closely that in the United States, and made it necessary to pass laws providing regulation of traffic, licensing of drivers, and registration of cars.² A motor vehicle law, modeled on what had been found necessary in other civilized countries, was enacted in 1912.³

With unusual vision the engineers of the Bureau of Public Works laid their plans to construct roads much stronger than the traffic in sight justified, and the bureau was severely criticized for what many people regarded as an extravagance. Its wisdom, however, was abundantly proved when motor vehicle traffic placed a burden upon the roads even beyond what they had been designed to withstand. As time went on motor vehicles of a heavier type than the surface could support were put into operation, and have broken through the surface and destroyed some roads abundantly able to withstand any traffic in sight at the time they were built. Up to the time that these trucks began their work of destruction, the programme had been an unqualified success, and favorable comments were to be heard on all sides, particularly from visitors and tourists who came to the Islands and were amazed to find the highways maintained in better shape than at that time was customary in the United States.⁴

¹ Approximately \$280 a mile. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 2, pp. 344, 450, 451.)

² The following table, compiled from Reports of the Philippine Commission and the Governor-General, shows the number of motor vehicles licensed in 1913 compared with numbers in later years:

1913.....	2,646	1920.....	13,493
1914.....	3,472	1921.....	13,341
1915.....	3,940	1922.....	13,406
1916.....	4,835	1923.....	13,689
1917.....	6,024	1924.....	15,676
1918.....	7,379	1925.....	19,589
1919.....	9,413		

³ Act No. 2159, Philippine Legislature, February 6, 1912.

⁴ The *Manila Times* of January 6, 1913, covering an interview with Mr. J. B. Crockett, sales agent for the Studebaker Manufacturing Company, reported that

While the maintenance of provincial roads was a provincial matter, within what the Spaniards called the *poblacion*, or what Americans would call the city limits, the maintenance of the roads was a municipal matter, and the exact line where the provincial maintenance left off and the municipal maintenance began was apt to be marked by a very notable difference in the condition of the road, a difference which made it inadvisable to pass the line in an automobile at a high rate of speed.¹ The first automobiles to come to Manila arrived about 1903 and people skillful in their management were few. It was worthy of note that Mr. Warwick Greene, as Assistant Director and later Director of Public Works, happened to be one of those who were extraordinarily proficient. He put this accomplishment to good service by making flying trips over roads constructed, constructing, and to be constructed, taking with him groups of Filipino officials, often giving them their first experience in an automobile. Mr. Greene used to take the governors of two neighboring provinces along, speed his car over the improved road of one province and then let it run at speed into the badly maintained road of the next province with a jounce that would cause a cry of consternation from the rear seat. The result was that there was engendered a rivalry between the governors of neighboring provinces and a great impetus given to improvement and better care of the roads.

‘Mr. Crockett said that Philippine roads are the finest he has seen anywhere, except in India, where roads are centuries old and labor exceedingly plentiful and cheap. He has made a number of trips since his arrival, having been over the Manila north road to Baguio and the Benguet road, over the Laguna and Tayabas roads to Atimonan, and on many short trips near Manila.’

The *Times* quoted Mr. Crockett directly as follows:

‘And what pleases me more than anything is the fact that there seems to be no hint of let-up to the construction. Wherever I have found bad roads I’ve always found piles of stone or gravel and a gang of men somewhere near, showing that it has not been forgotten, and is not being neglected. The system of upkeep is fine. I have never seen its equal even in the United States.’

‘The Michigan roads cannot compare with them, and we consider Michigan the home of the auto, and therefore of good roads.’

¹ ‘In the centre of the towns where the municipal presidents are supposed to maintain the roads, and where they are most used, there were puddles and holes, no ditches, and generally a mess. We had to slow up, and still got jolted towards the sky. Upon reaching the outskirts of the towns, the fair, white-crowned and ditched road would begin, with its deposits of road material all in neatly made bamboo enclosures, and jolting and jarring ceased and the world flew or flowed by.’ (Journal, III, 159, May 31, 1909.)

It was a curious fact, but none the less true, that the Filipinos could be much more easily induced to turn out and fix up their roads to make a comfortable trip for a visiting high official than in order to render the transportation of their own produce more economical. Often, in anticipation of such visits, the president of the town would call upon the citizens for 'volunteer labor.' The municipal police were freely used to induce the able-bodied men of the town to volunteer for this sort of service.¹

It was planned to appraise the value of each road turned over to the provincial officials for maintenance, to make the appraisal again at the end of each year, enter on the books the new valuation, and call upon the officials to account for the cash value of any depreciation that might have occurred. This ideal, difficult of attainment, was never quite reached, but it was set forth as a desirable object to be achieved. It was the policy to carry on the maintenance of each road on a scale such that each year would show appreciation rather than depreciation of the road; that more than enough new material should be put on it each year to offset that which was worn off by use; and the road should end each year with a little deeper macadam surface than it began.

Another obstacle to successful maintenance of roads was to be found in the form of the wheels with which the bull carts, carrying most of the cargo of the Islands, were equipped. These wheels were made of solid wood, narrowing down to a little rim, sometimes shod with iron not more than an inch in width. A load of a ton or two on this narrow rim drawn over any road, no matter how strongly metalled, sooner or later cut its way through. The carts drawn by water buffalo were very apt to go in trains or groups, sometimes of a dozen or

¹ 'We always suspect their "voluntary" labor is brought about by a somewhat free use of the municipal police, but as the result is roads, it is not necessary to analyze too closely all the steps leading up to them.' (Journal, II, 331, October 25, 1907.)

A later note to this entry reads:

'It was a very curious thing that you could get the whole populace enthusiastic about building a road for some visit of an official, but if you asked them to build it for the public weal, the result being that they would get better prices for their crops, their supplies cheaper, and make their town more important, they would consider it an imposition. But to have the whole populace turn out to make the road smooth and beautiful for the Secretary of War to pass over once did not seem to them anything out of the way.'

two carts, following each other in a straight line, each carabao putting his foot down in the exact place from which the one in front took it up. Thus the wheels followed the same line. As these narrow-tired wheels of solid wood were fixed to the axle and did not revolve upon it, whenever the bull cart turned, it meant that instead of one wheel going forward as the other went backward, there would be a leverage exerted on the road capable of prying a full-sized cobblestone out of place and throwing it up on the road surface.

These engines of destruction were present in the Islands in countless thousands. When the Commission in an effort to substitute a better class of vehicle prohibited their use and allowed no cart on the road with rigid axles and wheels of less width of tire than two and one-half inches, there was a general protest from all the provinces. Although a date was set upon which this prohibition went into effect, in no province did the bulk of the cart owners take any adequate steps toward furnishing themselves with wheels of the required width. They were confident that the administration would be compelled to give an extension of time, as the bull carts then in use were the only ones available for transporting the produce of the farms in the interior to reach the markets of the world. As soon as one extension of time was given, the wise Filipino predicated a second one, and acted accordingly.

The solution was finally found in the installation of cart-building machinery in the insular prison at Manila. Quantity production of wide-tired carts and their distribution to the provinces were soon in process, and provision was made so that anybody lacking funds necessary to purchase a cart outright could obtain one by giving to the roads thirty days' work of self and beast. A man could go to the provincial building, receive a brand-new cart with the proper wheels and tires, go forth, put in thirty days' work on public works, usually road construction or maintenance, and at the end of the time find himself owner of the cart, and thus possessed of a vehicle whose tendency in passing over the road was to smooth it rather than to cut it up. Private cart making meeting legal requirements was stimulated and it was not long before enough carts were distributed so that the government was able to enforce its decree prohibiting the use of

narrow tires, and thus were the roads delivered from their worst enemy.¹

Other agencies of destruction of the roads employed in hauling goods were sledges, rudely made with wooden runners, and travois, made by cutting two saplings, using the small ends as shafts, letting the big ends drag on the ground. Crosspieces were placed to hold the poles apart behind the animal. A load was placed on the crosspieces thus improvised and dragged along the highway. In practice, the cut ends of the saplings tore up the road surface almost as would a plough. The use of these sledges and travois also was prohibited. During a later period, when the Legislature was in session, some members of that body questioned the destructive power of these sledges and of the narrow-tired carts. In order to demonstrate the effect, a section of two hundred feet of first-class road was built within the limits of the city of Manila, divided into four parallel sections, and carts with three widths of wheels and one sledge sent over them, each making several thousand trips on its allotted strip. The members of the Legislature were then brought out and allowed to see the condition of each of the four strips of road.² With this practical demonstration they professed themselves satisfied, and the prohibition of the use of narrow tires and sledges was no longer opposed.

The provincial board and the municipalities selected their projects and directed the expenditure of their funds without any further interference on the part of the insular government than giving advice, except as before mentioned in regard to allotments of insular funds.

The policy adopted in the main was the construction first of the lines radiating from the port or railroad station

¹ 'The worst of the trail we came over was in the Christian province of Cagayan, and the cart tax is placed only on the old type of carts that tend to destroy roads.' (Journal, IV, 90, May 15, 1910.)

² 'A short section of perhaps two hundred feet of road has been built and divided into four parallel lines. A carabao is kept working all day pulling some kind of cart over this road. On one section goes the model four and one-half inch tire cart, on another a two and one-half inch tire, on a third the standard narrow-tired cart on a fixed axle, and on the fourth a sledge. There is a blackboard on which each trip is registered as completed, and though only begun when we visited it, the narrow-tired cart had already wrecked its section and the broad cart was improving its with each trip.' (Journal, III, 101, February 6, 1909.)

through the most densely populated regions. The first step was usually the construction of concrete bridges and culverts, as these cost almost nothing to maintain and rendered the roads conveniently passable for heavy loads in the dry season. As funds became available and requirements for traffic grew, the required surfacing was put on, until little by little each province developed a more or less comprehensive system of scientifically constructed, strategically placed roads adequately maintained and capable of bearing the existing traffic.

The following table indicates the rate at which these roads were being built. It will be seen that second- and third-class roads sometimes showed a decrease from the preceding year. This merely meant that roads of this class were being converted into first-class roads by the work done on them in the course of the year.

TOTAL MILEAGE OF ROADS IN EXISTENCE

[Source: Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 42.]

Year	First-class roads		Second-class roads	Third-class roads
	Mileage	Per cent increase		
1907.....	*303	..	.....	.....
1908.....	423	40	.....	.....
1909.....	609	44	.....	.....
1910.....	764	25	*641	*2,074
1911.....	987	29	664	1,837
1912.....	1,143	16	†1,342	1,999
1913.....	1,303	14	1,264	1,938
1914.....	1,593	22	1,258	1,787
1915.....	1,906	20	1,294	1,896
1916.....	2,137	12	1,271	2,138
1917.....	2,323	9	1,278	2,109
1918.....	2,542	9	1,253	1,944
1919.....	2,796	10	1,234	1,932
1920.....	2,920	4	1,266	1,914
1921.....	2,998	3	1,268	1,883
1922.....	3,089	3	1,312	1,824
1923.....	3,187	3	1,361	1,753
1924.....	3,407	7	1,316	1,676
1925.....	3,520	3	1,466	1,640

* No accurate statistics before 1907 and 1910, respectively.

† Increase due to change in definition.

Filipino support of the road programme was soon secured. Governor Tinio, one of the ablest of Filipinos, told the Governor-General that from what he could see of the road

work, it was the life of the people. He said he had been watching how it worked in the provinces.¹

An occasional unfriendly note was struck by some of the carping papers. *El Ideal*, organ of the Nationalist Party, went so far as to publish a leading article, under the title 'Agriculture Before Roads,'² in which it indulged in the usual jeremiad expressive of the evil condition of the agriculture of the country. At the time the Islands happened to be in an extremely prosperous condition, but a reporter from his office window in a back street in Manila cannot see very much of that. He suggested that the money of the government be spent in encouraging agriculture rather than on the construction of roads, apparently ignorant of the fact that roads make it possible for the produce of the country to reach the markets of the world.³

Three interesting episodes occurred in connection with the road-building projects. In 1905, to relieve the overcrowding in the Bureau of Prisons, the government established road-building camps and moved well-behaved prisoners to them to work under guard provided by the army. Certain much-needed public roads were selected. General Henry C. Corbin, in command of the Philippines Division, detailed a battalion of Scouts⁴ to guard the five hundred prisoners sent to construct the road between the towns of Tabaco and Ligao in the province of Albay. In this way one of the most beautiful roads in the archipelago was constructed, and served a most useful purpose, as it tapped a region very productive of Manila hemp.

Under agreement with General Leonard Wood, then Governor of the Moro Province, a large number of prisoners was sent to assist him in the improvement of the military road from Overton to Marahui on the island of Mindanao. Un-

¹ Journal, III, 280, September 14, 1909.

² *El Ideal*, August 11, 1910.

³ A comment made by the Governor-General on this article was in part as follows: 'It is characteristic of this kind of editorial that the Filipinos had got so used to talking of the economic crisis that they were in, they did not find out they were in an era of unexampled prosperity, of which there was abundant evidence in practically all the figures indicating lines of progress.'

See 'Progress Barometer,' Appendix XVI.

⁴ Two hundred were used for guarding while two hundred were drilling.

fortunately in those days science had not discovered the cause of beriberi — afterward found to be the use of polished rice — and that disease broke out in the camp of the prisoners sent to Mindanao, and the percentage of mortality was high.

The third episode came when Governor Cailles of Laguna asked for a detail of five hundred prisoners to help build a road in his province. He had suffered a great deal of political abuse as a result of trying to secure the adoption in his province of the first and unpopular road law. Desirous of restoring his prestige, he felt he could do so by showing that he was in high favor with the authorities in Manila and at the same time doing something that would be popular with his people. Hence his request for prisoners to build the most important road in his province. The government raised the objection that he was in no position to guard such a force of men; that General Corbin had used two hundred Scouts; and it was pointed out that Governor Cailles could not begin to pay for what was regarded as a necessary guard; that it would be cheaper for him to use the guards to build the road. To this General Cailles replied that he did not need anything like two hundred men to do his guarding, that he could do it perfectly well with thirty-five men. He went on to say: 'Most of the men in my province were at one time or another my soldiers, and most of them retained their guns; and if you will give me men who cannot speak Tagalog, I will guarantee that nobody escapes.' As Laguna was a Tagalog-speaking province, the inability of the prisoners to speak the language in use in the province would in itself make them marked men and objects of suspicion. General Cailles was so positive and so earnest about it, and the cause was so desirable, that finally his request was granted and a gang of five hundred prisoners, including Moros, Ilocanos, Bicolans, and Visayans, but no Tagalogs, was sent to him.

The building of this road progressed admirably, no escapes were recorded, and finally, in the course of an official inspection of the road camp and the road work, Governor Cailles was asked how it came about that with so small a force as thirty-five men he could guard all the five hundred prisoners, and why they did not take to the woods and scatter. 'Well,'

he said, 'it is this way. Every man has a light chain welded round his ankle and fastened to his belt, so that he cannot move without making a slight clanking sound. But one man did try to get away,' he added. 'I had the prisoners all lined up in a single line and then brought the body — stripped so as to show the bullet holes — and had it borne along within three feet of every man in line. I then called them round me and asked if any one wished to escape, because if he did I wanted to have him absolved then and there, that I had brought a priest with me for the purpose, for I should hate to have any of them die without absolution. I called upon anybody desiring to escape to raise his hand so that he could get immediate absolution. But no hands were raised.' He had then taken a rifle and done a little target practice at some coconuts in a tree over his head to indicate the accuracy of a rifle in accomplishing certain results, and let the men go back to their quarters. There were no further attempts at escape on the part of the prisoners and with some assistance from the insular government the road was completed within the means of the province to pay.

The installation of good roads also required the construction of good bridges. The engineers were ordered to bring in plans for bridges which were either frankly temporary or truly durable. Temporary bridges were to be built of soft wood with a surfacing of bamboo or matting; the permanent bridges and all culverts were to be built of reinforced concrete. In the early period of American administration this was a serious problem, not only because of lack of funds, but also because of the rapid deterioration of steel as well as timber. For these reasons the use of concrete reinforced with steel was introduced by American engineers and developed rapidly in the Islands. This type of construction was remarkably successful, and the condition of both bridges and buildings after about twenty years indicates that the problem of materials for permanent construction in the tropics was solved. At the close of 1913 there were nearly 6000 permanent bridges and culverts in existence,¹ most of which had been constructed or reconstructed during the preceding ten years.

¹ See 'Progress Barometer,' Appendix XVI.

The policy was extended to the construction of all public buildings; nothing between temporary and permanent was permitted. As a result, all important structures built during this period by the insular government were of reinforced concrete, which, with a minimum of care, will last indefinitely and withstand the ravages of ants, earthquakes, rain, and vegetation.¹ The United States government, in the construction of its army posts, had made too frequent use of Oregon pine, resulting in a greatly increased annual expense of maintenance.

In the course of a speech during an inspection trip on the island of Negros, the Governor-General set forth the policy of the insular government in regard to durable construction of concrete. Upon his next visit to that province in 1910 he was asked by the wealthiest of the local planters to assist at the dedication of a new concrete bridge he had completed on his *hacienda*. In his dedicatory address this planter told of having heard from the lips of the chief executive on his former visit that the Philippine Islands were too poor to do things badly, of having thought things over carefully and reached the conclusion that he himself was too poor to do things badly. And, on this principle, from that time on he had done all his construction of reinforced concrete, even down to fence posts.²

Schoolhouses, provincial buildings, markets, port works, warehouses, libraries, and hospitals all sprang into being. Although the construction was slower than would have been the case had softer materials, easier to work upon, been used,

¹ The policy of having all structures of permanent materials was carefully expounded to the district engineers:

‘I do not want a single one of you to put up a single building which you expect to see fall during your lifetime, unless it is for temporary purposes and built of such temporary material as nipa, bamboo, or stuff you do not mind going to pieces, because it costs little or nothing in the first place and when it has served your purpose you can throw it away. I want a very great difference between the thing that is meant to last and that which is meant not to last. That which is meant to last should cost enough to be able to have it last.’ (From a speech by the Secretary of Commerce and Police to an assembly of district engineers, November 6, 1906.)

The *Manila American*, September 4, 1907, reported:

‘The insular government, after considerable experiment, has decided that reinforced concrete is the most satisfactory material that can be used in the construction of government buildings and henceforth permanency everywhere is the slogan.’

² *Journal*, iv, 212, September 29, 1910.

everything that went up in this period was planned to endure and has endured.

While the business of bringing goods from the point of production to the seaports of the Islands was in progress, attention was given to the ports. By the construction of two breakwaters, Manila, formerly the port in the Orient most expensive and least desirable from the point of view of freight handling, was transformed from an open roadstead into a closed harbor. Later, large and well-equipped wharves were built, with a depth of thirty feet at mean low water on each side, capable of loading and unloading with modern labor-saving devices the largest ships that then plied the Pacific.¹

An area within the breakwater was dredged, the refuse material being used to fill in ground for a new commercial district on what had been, before the arrival of the Americans, shoals in front of the shore-line of the former Manila. These new wharves jutted out from the tract of newly filled-in land on the south side of the Pasig River. Formerly commerce had been brought in lighters up the river and unloaded to wharves either on the river or reached by canals, or *esteros*, which branched off from it.

Although there was some grumbling by merchants at the use of the new piers because they abutted on the filled-in land upon which few if any new warehouses had yet been built — which meant that goods had to be hauled some distance to the old warehouses uneconomically situated far up in the city — by June 10, 1910, the Collector of Customs was able to report: 'All vessels coming to the Philippine Islands from the United States are now discharging their Manila cargo on the new piers, and shipside delivery is limited to such large shipments of bulk cargo as can be more readily delivered on the offside of the ship into cascoes.'

On November 28, 1910, a Pacific mail liner discharged the largest cargo ever brought to Manila, to that date; fourteen

¹ The first steamer from Hongkong to discharge at one of the new piers was the *Zafiro*, which brought a cargo from Hongkong and came in flying the house flag which the ancestors of the then Governor-General used nearly a century before in their commerce with China.

'The China-Manila liner *Zafiro*, Captain Rodger, arrived this morning and went to Pier 5. All the cargo will be discharged at the pier and the vessel will take on her cargo for the China coast.' (From the *Manila Times*, February 17, 1910.)

thousand tons were unloaded at the new docks, and an interesting feature of this was that in spite of bad weather the boat was discharged in five and a half days, when the minimum estimate for handling this amount of cargo had been seven days. It was this sort of thing that began to give Manila a reputation of being one of the best rather than one of the worst ports of the Orient at which to call.¹

Cebu, the second largest city in the archipelago, was given adequate wharves, and at Iloilo, the great sugar port, the river was dredged, straightened, and lined on both sides with piers at which shipping could load and discharge. Improvements were undertaken at several of the lesser ports, including Zamboanga, where ocean-going vessels may now come alongside an excellent concrete wharf.

Had Congress seen fit to permit even a limited use of the potentially great borrowing power of the Islands, many additional ports could have been developed to the advantage of the Filipinos. There are many deep rivers in the archipelago, scoured to considerable depths for miles inland, but closed to ocean-going vessels by shallow bars at the mouth. These could, without difficulty, be jettied, channels cut, and made into admirable ports and waterways.

The improvement of the port of Manila was under the direction of successive officers of the engineer corps of the army, who supervised this work, and after July 4, 1901, reported to the Civil Governor. In 1905, the Division of Port Works as a separate office was placed in the Department of Commerce and Police,² and at the same time the scope of its activities was extended to include the work then in process in Cebu and Iloilo, and the surveys and improvement of all other harbors and navigable rivers.

The Division of Port Works undertook a 'complete study of all harbors throughout the archipelago, to ascertain the

¹ 'It was storming when the vessel anchored and rain, wind and seas made the seven day calculation look dubious. But a combination of all the men interested brought about discharge in five and one half days. Acting Collector Stanley, Deputy Surveyor Crampton, representing the customs, Colonel Hodgson and Captain Bertsch, representing the Army, a large consignee, Messrs. Loewenstein and Beckjord, acting for the agents, Captain Morton, the commander, and Captain Sherman, the stevedore, got together and the combination did the business.' (*Manila Times*, November 28, 1910.)

² Act No. 1339, Philippine Commission, May 4, 1905.

cost of developing each one, the advantages which it presents, the movement of sand bars, tides, currents, etc., and to know where the greatest amount of benefit can be conferred upon commerce with the least expenditure of money.' ¹

The need for regulation of the use of banks of navigable rivers and foreshore of the harbors and other coasts was soon recognized. The old Spanish laws were of doubtful validity and long failure to enforce them had brought it to pass that not only along the banks of the river Pasig in the greater part of its course through the city of Manila, but also in many other places, unrestrained private interests had encroached until they claimed to have acquired vested rights to the prejudice of the public. In May, 1907, the Commission enacted what became known as the 'Foreshore Law,' ² setting forth the conditions and terms upon which the government would permit use of foreshore and under-water lands elsewhere for wharves, docks, marine railways, and for other beneficial public or private purposes. This law also provided for the lay-out for industrial and commercial uses of the area reclaimed in constructing the port of Manila.

One of the earliest matters to invite the attention of the Americans was the need of railways in the Islands. In Spanish days the only railroad in existence did not conform to modern practices either in design, equipment, or methods of operation. It extended from the north bank of the Pasig River in Manila to the town of Dagupan in the province of Pangasinan, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles to the north. The territory traversed was densely populated, well cultivated, and gave the old-fashioned, slow-going trains abundant patronage.

It was in accordance with the spirit of American enterprise to take early steps toward extension of the railroads and promotion of a more comprehensive system to develop the business which the population and fertility of certain districts justified. Ways and means of securing the needed capital occupied such master minds as the Honorable Elihu Root when he was Secretary of War and afterward, Secretary

¹ Quoted from a memorandum in the records of the Secretary of Commerce and Police.

² Act No. 1654, Philippine Commission, May 18, 1907.

Taft, and Governor-General Wright. Engineers were secured, plans made, contracts called for, and finally, under authority of an act of Congress,¹ the government guaranteed interest on bonds of railroads that agreed to build along certain routes believed to be those most likely to be profitable.

No less a person than Mr. J. P. Morgan, the first of that name, interested himself in the matter and was ready to raise private capital to build railroads in the Islands, provided certain conditions would be complied with. The terms he was willing to give were thoroughly discussed with him and the basis arranged between him and ex-Secretary of War Root. A law was prepared and submitted to Congress embodying these ideas. Congress, however, saw fit to impose new conditions in such a way as to eliminate Mr. Morgan from the bidding, although this result was far from being in the minds of the legislators, as it is reasonable to suppose the restrictive clauses put in were placed with an honest but mistaken idea of further protecting the public interest. As a result a contract was entered into with another banking concern which built these roads on terms much less favorable to the government than could have been secured if Congress had passed the authorization as drawn and requested by ex-Secretary Root.

After months of negotiation, cables back and forth, and conferences held both in the United States and the Philippine Islands, which involved visits of the Governor-General and the Secretary of Commerce and Police to Washington, concession-contracts were entered into between the Philippine government and the Manila Railroad Company² by which an additional four hundred and eighteen miles of railroad construction was undertaken on the island of Luzon, including a number of branches from the existing so-called Manila and Dagupan Railway,³ and an extension north from Dagupan

¹ Act of Congress approved February 6, 1905, known as the 'Cooper Law.'

² The concession was granted to Speyer & Co., by whom it was assigned to the Manila Railroad Company.

³ This railroad had been constructed and operated by a British corporation, the Manila Railway Company (Limited), under a concession granted by the Spanish authorities in 1887. This concession and the properties of this company were transferred in 1906 to the Manila Railroad Company, an American corporation, the stock of which was owned by the British company. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 2, p. 362.)

toward the rich Ilocano provinces on the northwestern coast of Luzon. The company further agreed to construct a bridge across the Pasig River and extend its lines through the populous and cultivated provinces of Laguna, Batangas, and Tayabas, to some port south of Manila, with branches to tap the most productive areas served. The contract also included the construction of a detached branch in the province of Albay to serve the rich hemp districts in that region. The company on its part agreed to release the government from claims arising out of the insurrection.¹

Although under the laws of Congress the government was authorized to guarantee four per cent interest on the bonds of the railroad issued for this construction, the terms imposed were such that the bankers preferred to build these lines without subjecting themselves to them. Later, it was found that the sale of these bonds was so slow that the company requested and secured a modification and extension of their contract ² providing for additional construction amounting to some six millions of dollars, including a connecting link between the southern terminus of the railroad and the detached branch in Albay, a line to Baguio, and a line up the west coast of Luzon as far north as San Fernando in La Union Province. These negotiations carried on in Washington required acceptance by the Philippine Legislature, and it was very difficult to persuade the Assembly to agree to the necessary enactment. They had an inherent fear of trusts,³ and they were not quite sure whether the railroad was a trust or not; they were not sure that the burden on their treasury from the guarantee of bonds might not be too heavy; and finally, they objected to the perpetual nature of the franchise. These objections were all natural and reasonable, but the desirability of the construction outweighed any possible ob-

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 2, pp. 362-64.

² *Ibid.*, 1909, 8-9, 62.

³ The Filipinos, without experience in the matter of adequate and modern transportation facilities, were always apprehensive lest some of their rights should be interfered with. This went so far in the island of Cebu as to bring about an occasion for a formal protest by the city council against the railroad being allowed to extend its tracks along the water-front lest the cars should be lined up between the ships and the pier and prevent access on the part of drays to the ships. This petition was signed October 9, 1908, and reported in the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, October 27, 1908.

jections, and they finally came to see it was to their interest, and took the wise course and passed the necessary legislation.¹ The company made progress in all this construction, but none of the branches projected in the later contract was completed by the company. Ultimately a contract was entered into by which the Philippine government purchased the railroad in December, 1915, and has since operated it as a government enterprise.²

Even with the government guarantee, the bonds of the Manila Railroad Company found such a poor sale that the bankers were unable to keep up with the terms of their concession. It was in the interest of the government to help in every possible way, as the regions to be reached were sorely in need of the facilities which the railroads would bring. Fortunately, authority was secured to use some government funds on deposit in the United States for investment in these bonds, and upon the passage of the laws³ authorizing this, the government took enough of the bonds materially to facilitate the construction of the railroads.⁴

Another company accepted a concession with government guarantee of interest on its bonds for the construction and operation of nearly three hundred miles of railways in the three islands of Cebu, Panay, and Negros.⁵ The Cebu line was built, but has never been so successful as was hoped, being subject to competition to paralleling waterways and well-surfaced highways. The railroad built on the island of Panay was more profitable. That authorized for the island of Negros was never built, and the government, in view of the heavy drain upon its resources to meet the interest on the bonds of the two lines first built, was very glad to release the company from the necessity of constructing the Negros line.

¹ Act No. 1905, Philippine Legislature, May 19, 1909.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1915, 32.

³ Acts No. 2083, Philippine Legislature, December 8, 1911, and No. 2088, Philippine Legislature, December 21, 1911.

⁴ 'Another thing that does me good here in Baguio is seeing the advance work on the railroad. Immediately after the passage of the Gold Standard Fund Law . . . I entered into active negotiations with Higgins for rapid additional construction both on the Baguio line and on the connecting link between Manila and Albay.' (*Journal*, v, 110, 111, February 14, 1912.)

⁵ Act No. 1497, Philippine Commission, May 28, 1906.

Under the stimulus given by these contracts and agreements on the part of the government, the mileage of operating railways in the Islands has increased from 121 ¹ miles in 1898 to 792 ² miles in 1925.³

The office of Supervising Railway Expert was created in 1906 to advise the government on matters pertaining to railroad concessions and to supervise the construction and operation of all railroads, especially those upon whose bonds the government had guaranteed payment of interest.⁴ The first appointee was Mr. Frederic A. Molitor, and upon his resignation in March, 1907, Mr. Loomis F. Goodale was appointed and continued in the office until it was abolished in 1914 and the duties transferred to the Board of Public Utility Commissioners.⁵

The street railway in the city of Manila at the time of American occupation was an antiquated horse-car service that was very casual in operation. This connected with a steam-tram line to the populous suburban towns of Caloocan and Malabon.

As early as 1902, the Philippine Commission authorized a franchise ⁶ granted on competitive bidding to construct and maintain in the streets of Manila and its suburbs an electric street railway and a service of electric light, heat, and power. This franchise was awarded to American capitalists, who acquired the existing antiquated and inadequate plants in operation and installed modern and highly satisfactory services which have contributed greatly to the industrial development as well as comfort and economies of living in that city and its suburbs. The electric railways by 1913 reached a total of fifty miles.⁷ Electric light and power are supplied at reasonable rates.

In some of the larger cities and towns electric light and

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1904, part 3, p. 223.

² *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 45.

³ This does not include several hundred miles of railroads built by sugar centrals to carry the cane from the fields to their mills. These could not be classed as common carriers.

⁴ Act No. 1507, Philippine Commission, June 29, 1906.

⁵ Act No. 2320, Philippine Legislature, January 31, 1914.

⁶ Act No. 484, Philippine Commission, October 20, 1902.

⁷ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 207.

power have been provided by private enterprise and in a few instances, notably Baguio and Zamboanga, electric light and power plants have been constructed and maintained by the local governments.

The city of Manila in 1898 had an inadequate water supply and no modern sewer system. These two facts greatly increased the danger from cholera and other water-borne diseases, and made the task of the health authorities doubly onerous. The construction of adequate modern services was early undertaken, and by 1909, the government had completed the installation of a successful potable water-supply service for the city of Manila, and sewer and storm-water drainage systems superior to those of any other city in the Orient.¹ The Bureau of Public Works had encouraged the construction of water works in other cities. In this work they coöperated with the municipal governments and the Bureau of Health.

In the city of Cebu, in Baguio, the summer capital, and in a number of other important towns where the expense of installation was not so great as to preclude construction, the government provided gravity or pumping water-supply services.

The Manila Railway Company, in seeking water supply for one of its stations, had found artesian water at a shallow depth, and thus demonstrated to the government that such wells could be successfully bored. It was found that almost the entire length of the central valley of Luzon, from Manila northward to Dagupan, as well as other districts on that island and many localities on the other islands of the archipelago, produced an abundance of water that flowed sometimes to a height of several feet above the surface of the ground. This has had a very important bearing on the health conditions in the regions in which these borings have found water. It had always been the custom among the Filipinos to use the surface waters, regardless of pollution. Sometimes they drank the very waters in which they washed, not from the same household vessel, but from the same well or pool. It was difficult to make them understand the necessity of boiling the surface waters before use. Most of these waters car-

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 2, p. 22.

ried infection of more than one intestinal disorder, usually of amoebic dysentery, and in times of pestilence water was apt to be infected with cholera.

When the first artesian wells were brought into existence, the days of the insurrection were still fresh in the minds of the Filipinos. In some instances local orators went so far as to caution the people that the plan of the Americans was to poison the children; and, although pure and delicious water was flowing before their very eyes, there were places where not a person could be induced to taste of it. To offset this prejudice in one place, a Filipino doctor was hired to stand all day and tell the people in the local dialect about the valuable properties of the water, and to prove it by drinking of it himself. The poor man had to rinse himself out with great quantities of water before he could convince the people of its harmlessness. It was not long before they became ardent advocates of the artesian wells. 'This water is as good as medicine,' they were heard to say. Once they found that it was pure and carried health-giving properties, they came sometimes as far as nine miles to get water for household use, and the difficulty first encountered in persuading people to partake of the water changed to a difficulty in explaining the impossibility of boring as many artesian wells as were insistently demanded.

Additional machines were ordered, and by the time the legislative Assembly composed of Filipinos came into existence, there was no difficulty in getting all the appropriations needed for boring further artesian wells.

In 1904 there was but one such well.¹ Early in 1927 the Bureau of Public Works reported 1820, supplying approximately 2,700,000 people with potable water.² In addition, there have been a large number of artesian wells opened by local enterprise.³

Another great work which engaged the attention of American engineers was the construction of irrigation projects. In this work there was little difficulty in interesting the Filipinos. They recognized the value of irrigation. Without it

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 43.*

² Data furnished by the Department of Commerce and Communications.

³ For results of artesian wells in reduced mortality, see *ante*, 357-58.

their crops were more or less subject to the uncertainties of the season, falling off sharply in times of drought, and allowing only one crop a year, whereas two could have been obtained from the same ground and with little more work, had water been available. Extensive irrigation projects, however, involve years of preliminary study. Before such work is undertaken, the minimum flow of the rivers that supply a given district should be measured for a protracted period. Without such knowledge and measurements it is unsafe to enter into expensive works of construction that may be useless an important part of the time. Thus, although money was early made available for irrigation and the department was prepared to go ahead with the projects, prudence dictated going slowly at first until the proper measurements of minimum flow could be completed.

The Spaniards appear to have made no systematic development of irrigation as an aid to agriculture except on the friar lands, the most important projects carried through having been those in Bulacan, Cavite, and Laguna. With the purchase of the friar lands, these irrigation works passed to the government, and, having fallen into bad repair since the insurrection of 1896, were the first projects to which the Americans devoted their attention. A few preliminary investigations and reports on other projects were made by army engineers.

Upon the organization of the Bureau of Public Works, the insular government made irrigation one of its major activities. In August, 1907, a continuing annual reimbursable appropriation of \$125,000 was made.¹ In May of the following year this was increased by \$250,000 more.² This meant that the sum of \$375,000 would be laid aside annually to be allotted by the Secretary of Commerce and Police for irrigation projects. The reimbursable feature meant that all revenues derived from the sale of water or of completed projects to individuals or companies were to be added to the principal and available for later expenditure upon new projects or the extension and care of the old ones.

With the growing importance of this service, a division of

¹ Act No. 1688, Philippine Commission, August 17, 1907.

² Act No. 1837, Philippine Legislature, May 29, 1908.

irrigation was created in the Bureau of Public Works under a general superintendent.¹ It was soon evident that if the plans of the government were to be made effective, a new irrigation law was necessary. The administration of completed systems had been placed under the control of the Director of Lands, as he had the duty of administering the completed systems that watered the friar lands.

In 1908 the Secretary of Commerce and Police appointed a committee of nine members, including three members of the Assembly and one Manila business man, to make recommendations as to selection of projects for allotment, terms upon which allotments should be made, matters of administration, and the relations between the Bureaus of Public Works and Lands.² In August of that year eighteen irrigation engineers were secured from the United States by the acting secretary of the department.³

The services of an expert also were secured from the United States Reclamation Service and the needed legislation drafted. This proposed law was presented to the Legislature but failed of passage, which delayed the beginning of construction of most of the projects.⁴ Meanwhile the Bureau of Public Works conducted investigations of proposed projects and by July, 1910, had reported on two hundred and sixteen, and begun work on three.⁵

In the same year, a large irrigation project was undertaken near San Miguel, Tarlac. In this project, the construction work and land to be improved were all within one large estate. This obviated the legal difficulties. An extraordinary flood which occurred in July, 1911, destroyed the dam, then about ninety per cent completed. This unfortunate occur-

¹ Act No. 1854, Philippine Legislature, June 13, 1908.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 2, p. 471.

'The irrigation committee, which is composed of Messrs. Beardsley, Goodale, Sleeper, Loewenstein, Greene, Bowditch, and Señores Matias Gonzalez of Pangasinan and Adriano Hernandez of Iloilo, has divided the work up into three branches: first, the investigation of projects; second, the organization of a force composed of the engineers and employees who are to plan out the work; and, third, the consideration of rates to be charged, method of collections, the possible need of legislative action, etc.' (*Manila Times*, August 20, 1908.)

³ Reported in the *Manila Times*, August 20, 1908.

⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1911, 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1910, 33.

rence seriously discredited the irrigation division of the Bureau of Public Works, especially as investigation disclosed the fact that the dam had been poorly located and inadequately designed.¹ A new and larger dam was successfully built, and has supplied irrigation for that district since 1913.² By 1926 the estate produced 250,000 bushels of rice and some 65,000 tons of sugar cane. To care for anticipated increased production the owners³ made plans to install in 1928 what is destined to be one of the largest and most modern sugar mills in the world.

In February, 1912, the Legislature finally enacted an irrigation law⁴ providing for the regulation of the beneficial use of public waters, and determination and registration of private rights, both for irrigation and water power.⁵

The reason for the delay in the passage of this act was the insistence of the Assembly or lower house on granting to a committee composed largely of their members executive supervision over the expenditure of moneys for irrigation, and this was opposed by the Governor-General and members of the Commission on the ground that it conferred executive powers on legislative officers. The compromise finally agreed upon provided for an irrigation council of which two out of five members were Assemblymen and chairmen of the committees on agriculture and public works. The other members of the council were the Secretary of Commerce and Police *ex officio*, chairman, the Director of Public Works, and an agriculturist to be appointed by the Governor-General. The power to grant appropriations of public waters was vested in

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 150, 151.

² *Ibid.*, 1914, 139.

³ *Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas*.

⁴ Act No. 2152, Philippine Legislature, February 6, 1912.

⁵ '... The Committee met, agreed, and reported, and early in the afternoon of the last day the [irrigation] bill became law. I've worked for this, lo! these three years, and it's the most important bit of constructive legislation accomplished.' (Journal, v, 102, February 14, 1912.)

Upon this entry the Governor-General, writing later, commented on the cost to the Islands of the failure on the part of the Commission to pass this law while it was the sole legislative body. He spoke bitterly of his having taken 'three years to get the thing done, hours and hours and hours of conference, with compromise, all kinds of annoyance, probably not benefiting the bill very much as the result of it all.' (Journal, v, 102.)

the Secretary of Commerce and Police upon the recommendation and approval of the irrigation council.¹

All these delays resulted in comparatively small progress being made in the matter of irrigation, and the work was further impeded when the sharp reduction of revenue in 1913, of which the causes will be set forth in a later chapter, made it incumbent upon the Governor-General to cover back into the treasury unallotted balances of this and other funds. Before the end of the year 1913 the Bureau of Public Works had, however, accumulated a valuable amount of irrigation data and work had been accomplished on a number of small projects, as well as reconstruction and extension of old systems and the settlement of many controversies in regard to water rights.

The failure by Congress to grant to the Commission power to borrow money to anything approaching the extent which the wealth of the Philippine Islands and the amount of their revenues would have justified held back the proper development of the Islands and seriously cramped the government's programme.² The Commission could undertake only such public works as it could pay for by reducing its activities in other important administrative services, such as health, education, extension of the work of the Bureau of Agriculture, etc. Thus many important and urgently needed projects had to be relegated to the fairly distant future.

It was natural that the members of the Commission, seeing very large sums of money lying idle in the trust funds of the government, should cast eager eyes toward these, and a suggestion, emanating from Washington, that a portion of these funds could be used with propriety as loans to provinces and municipalities for needed public works, was hailed with very genuine satisfaction and prompted the Commission to early action along the lines suggested. It was deemed wise to limit the use of moneys thus loaned to projects of a revenue-bearing nature.

A loaning system devised by the Executive Secretary³ brought about the construction of municipal markets to replace the unsanitary and antiquated structures, or lack of

¹ Act No. 2152, Philippine Legislature, February 6, 1912, Section 2.

² See *ante*, 268 ff., and Vol. II, 215-16.

³ The Honorable Frank W. Carpenter.

structures, formerly designated as markets.¹ Under the internal revenue law,² the municipalities were entitled to a certain proportion of the internal revenue collected by the insular government. Under the new system, loans made to municipalities were limited so that the service of interest and amortization did not exceed the amount of internal revenue collected for that municipality by the insular government, and its share of the service of these loans was deducted by the insular treasurer. In this way the repayment of these loans was made entirely independent of the action of the municipal treasurer and required no annual vote of the municipal council.³

The system worked well, and without exception the amounts loaned for the construction of these markets were reimbursed at the expiration of the period allotted for payment, ordinarily five and never exceeding ten years.

The Philippine Commission reported in 1912:

Particular attention is given to the selection of sites for modern markets, a representative of the bureau visiting a municipality before the project is determined and aiding the municipal officials in their selection of a site and of the best class of buildings . . . Among the requirements for a market site are that it contain at least 1 hectare (2.471 acres) of land and have certain distinct boundaries and good drainage, and be so situated as to be convenient for both buyers and sellers. The general plan followed for market building provides for one or more central buildings of from 12 to 30 meters in width, and length suitable for the site, the main building being encircled by small bazar stalls or stores facing the central building. The buildings are constructed with concrete floors and pillars, trusses of wood or steel, and roofs of galvanized

¹ This movement for the construction of public markets in the municipalities reached such a point that early in 1913 it was reported that there were forty-two municipal markets in the course of construction and fifty more planned for construction in the course of the year. These markets cost from \$3500 to \$30,000 each. (From a statement given out by the Executive Bureau and published in the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, February 26, 1913.)

² Act No. 1189, Philippine Commission, July 2, 1904.

³ By March 5, 1912, two and a quarter million dollars — money which had been held in banks in the United States at a low rate of interest — were loaned at four per cent to provinces and municipalities for various public works. Great care was exercised in making loans only in amounts that could be repaid from collections made on behalf of the lesser governments by the insular government, and thus absolute security was assured. (From a statement prepared by the Executive Bureau, published in the *Cablenews-American*, March 5, 1912.)

iron or tile. The stalls and stores are so arranged that they may be closed and securely locked. All entrances to modern markets are provided with iron gates, to be closed at night. In the markets of the old types persons renting space therein were permitted to use their stalls as dwellings. In the new markets no one but the caretaker may stay within the inclosure at night. It will be seen that this change in itself tends to better hygienic and sanitary conditions.¹

By the end of the fiscal year 1913, loans to provincial and municipal governments amounted to \$3,635,500. In the cases of markets constructed from insular loans, the rate of interest did not exceed four per cent per annum, and the increased municipal revenues in no case were less than six per cent on the investment and in most cases more than twenty per cent, in some as high as eighty per cent per annum.² The increased revenues accruing to the municipalities put them in a position to render other municipal services.³

The design and construction of public buildings for all branches of government were brought under the Consulting Architect and Bureau of Public Works, and have so continued. This arrangement has proved to be a great improvement over the former one, under which provincial and municipal governments were at liberty to expend their funds without competent supervision.

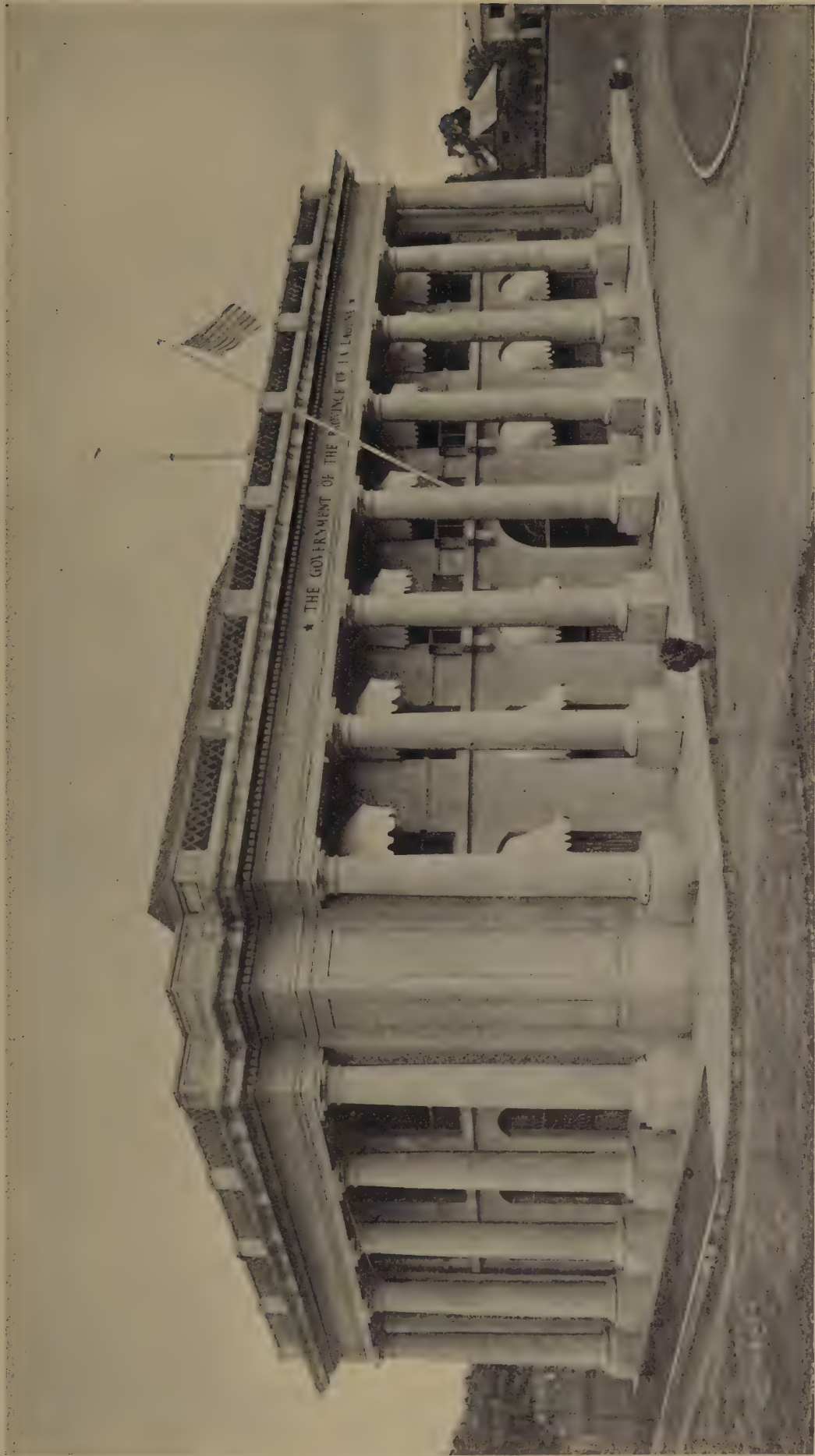
One of the earlier activities of the government was the careful planning of the cities of Manila and Baguio. Secretary Taft gave his personal attention to this, and it was through his good offices that the services of the eminent and patriotic architect, Mr. Daniel H. Burnham, of Chicago, were secured, of whom the *Cablenews* said editorially:

It must be remembered . . . that Mr. Burnham is recognized as possibly the world's foremost expert in such remodelling of cities,

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 63.

² *Ibid.*, 1913, 83.

³ Modern sanitary markets not only lessened sick and death rates, but also produced materially greater municipal revenues. These latter furnished means for extending and improving public schools and other local public services. The new market at San Pablo, Laguna, so greatly increased municipal revenues as to provide the necessary guarantee for financing the provision of municipal water supply, which not only contributed to the comfort of the inhabitants but further improved public health and gave material impulse to the beautification of public and private gardens and grounds. (Summary of a statement prepared by the Executive Bureau and published in the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, July 24, 1912.)



PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT BUILDING

and certainly the first in the United States. He is also said to be a thoroughly practical man and not given to dreams impossible of realization.

Furthermore, we are under a certain amount of obligation to him for his unusual generosity in giving us the benefit of his valuable services without any remuneration. Had he put the usual market value on them, they would probably have reached a price which we could not have afforded.¹

The newspaper's comment in regard to his contributing his services is strictly in accordance with facts, as Mr. Burnham felt he was performing a patriotic duty and accepted merely his travelling expenses and the salary of one assistant, an extremely competent architect named Peirce Anderson, also from Chicago. These two together laid out a comprehensive and excellent plan for the development and growth of the city of Manila and for the incipient city of Baguio, about which more will be told in another chapter.

Mr. Burnham's plan for the city of Manila provided a site for a future government centre with all the government buildings; it filled in the unsanitary moat which had surrounded the walled city, and made a park of the land which, for military purposes when the fort was maintained for defense, had had to be kept clear of trees and buildings. This

¹ The *Cablenews* continued:

'The chief point in considering the Burnham plans is that the great municipal designer, in outlining the Manila of the future, had in mind the ideal. To his trained sense of proportion and artistic effect it appeared that this ought to be so and that ought to be so, and he set his ideas down on paper.

.

'That Mr. Burnham is not unpractical is shown by the manner in which he has adapted his plans so largely to the present scheme of our city's construction. Wherever possible he has availed himself of what already exists and by a slight change here and another there, has evolved harmony and beauty.

'That he had an eye to the practical as well as the esthetic is shown by his generous provision for breathing-places in various parts of the city. Nine of these are planned, which, with the Luneta, would seem to be ample.'

The *New York Press* of December 31, 1910, said:

'In a series of letters from its special correspondent, the London Times speaks in the most eulogistic terms of the new American Manila — "that wonderful recreation by an Aladdin-like process of pure miracle of an Old World fortified town into a modern commercial city."

'If the correspondent confined himself to praise of our sanitary improvements his letters would not be particularly notable, but he proceeds in the same flattering vein to a consideration of the architectural plan of the city, its public institutions and municipal government.'

preserved the beauty and charm of the walled city, and at the same time, at various places, the walls were pierced with openings for streets in order to let in the air and provide for traffic requirements of the intramural district. The plan envisaged the future growth of the city, and made provision for wide, radiating avenues to reach all districts. A possible great future development of the city in size and importance was presupposed. The central streets in the heart of a city of 100,000 bear much less traffic than when the population has reached a million, and if the main arteries are not made big enough for the future city, there is a very serious economic loss when the time comes to open roads through built-up districts. Mr. Burnham had the vision to look forward and provide for all the contingencies and incidents of such growth.¹

It was inevitable that such a comprehensive plan as this should have been received with a good deal of scoffing by the uninformed local press that saw in the estimate of many millions of dollars for bringing these plans to fruition a dream impossible of fulfillment. Nevertheless, the plan was an eminently practical one. Mr. Burnham's idea was merely that such construction as was done must conform to this plan, and that no permits were to be granted for any future building that interfered in any way with the streets as laid out for the future Manila. This would minimize the ultimate cost when the time came to enforce the widenings and cut through new streets.

The plan has been in the main adhered to. The central park feature was immediately undertaken, and those improvements are already complete and a blessing to the inhabitants not only of the city, but of all the Islands.

With the improvement of the port with its filled-in area and the anticipated construction of the new commercial city outside of what had been the water-front, the old Luneta ² of Spanish days was relegated to a position of diminished importance and greatly impaired beauty. Mr. Burnham's great conception called for a park area of nearly thirty acres,

¹ See Charles Moore: *Daniel H. Burnham*, II, 178-95, Boston, 1921; and *Plan of Chicago*, 27, 29, prepared under the direction of the Commercial Club of Chicago, 1909.

² The principal park of Manila.

which was laid out upon a new area reclaimed from the harbor by the construction of breakwaters filled in by dredging an additional section of the harbor. To this new land was moved the new Luneta or park, where the evening band concerts were held and the population gathered for their evening stroll. A park was constructed in the centre of this so-called Luneta Extension to which the government gave the appropriate name of Burnham Park, and upon which a decorated flag pole has been erected in Mr. Burnham's memory. There was abundant room for beautiful playgrounds, and this new area was flanked on either side by impressive semi-public buildings; on one side was the site for the new Manila Hotel, with its own separate landing, on the other side spaces were reserved for the construction of clubs, and these were used by the Army and Navy Club and the Elks Club.

It was long before the funds were raised for the construction of the new Manila Hotel, but by 1909 this project was well under way, and by April 26, 1910, the Governor-General was able to write in his journal: 'I have signed the necessary documents and the new hotel is at last under way, the plans and specifications approved, the contract signed and approved, and the piles are being driven.'¹ The first participation of the government in this enterprise lay in purchasing the bonds of the hotel company at a reasonable rate of interest. But later the ownership of the hotel was transferred to the government.

Beginning at the Luneta Extension, the programme of municipal development called for a boulevard to be built along the water-front of Manila Bay, with driveways, pathways, and parkways, and perhaps a bridle path, which ultimately it was expected would reach all the way to Cavite, twelve miles distant. The first mile was the most difficult and expensive portion of this tract, as it passed along the water-front between some important residence mansions and the sea. The construction was authorized in 1909, and was gradually pursued in connection with the improvement of the port of Manila by extension southward of the retaining wall and the deposit behind this of material dredged in deep-

¹ Journal, IV, 47, April 26, 1910.

ening the port. It has been appropriately named Dewey Boulevard.

One interesting development among the numerous activities of the Bureau of Public Works was the construction of an aquarium in one of the bastions of the old wall in Manila, which was made over for the purpose and opened in 1913 with a particularly beautiful exhibit of the highly colored fishes which, unsurpassed for their beauty, abound in Philippine waters.

The adoption of the plans for Manila and Baguio resulted in the awakening of keen interest among provincial and municipal officers throughout the archipelago, who frequently came to Manila for information and advice. The more enterprising provincial and municipal treasurers subscribed for leading publications dealing with city planning methods, and they sought advice and assistance of the Bureau of Public Works and of the Consulting Architect in the planning and ornamentation of cities and towns. The insular government contributed the services of a competent landscape engineer in many instances, and a contributory result of Mr. Burnham's services in the winter and summer capitals has reflected itself in real advances being made in many other cities throughout the archipelago in an effort to attain the 'city beautiful.'

As is apt to be the case in American enterprises, the artistic side was one which did not engage the attention of American administrators in the Islands until many of the other activities of the government were organized. Although the first organization of the government provided for a Bureau of Architecture and Construction of Public Buildings¹ placed in the Department of Public Instruction, the government did not apply to the best architects in the United States for the selection of a man of national reputation to undertake the direction of this important work, feeling perhaps that the amount they cared to make available for the salary did not command a person of such standing. It was not until September, 1905, that the position of Consulting Architect to the Commission was created, and a nominee of Mr. Burnham, Mr. William E. Parsons, a grad-

¹ Act No. 268, Philippine Commission, October 18, 1901.

uate of Yale and of the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, was tendered the appointment. Mr. Parsons accepted and brought to the Islands a fine sense of proportion, thorough training, and unusual industry. He designed and secured the adoption of his plans for the construction of many beautiful buildings, all of which were in excellent taste. The architecture of his time will stand as a permanent monument to the American administration of the Islands. His lines were always simple, proportions harmonious, colors agreeable, and the useful purposes to which his plans were to be put were never lost sight of in mere architectural beauty.

It fell to the lot of Mr. Parsons to interpret the Burnham plans for the cities of Manila and Baguio. Such plans were necessarily tentative and subject to change and modification as the problems involved in city construction arose. No such plan can be hard and fast, and unless a competent and trained architect is there to see that the architectural fitness of the changes is preserved, the plan will be sure to suffer to a degree which may ultimately result in its total abandonment. The relationship between the Consulting Architect and the Bureau of Public Works was designed to give the former a position of independence. This was continued until 1914, when the relation was changed and the office of the architect made a division of the Bureau of Public Works¹ and the salary of the position was reduced.² Mr. Parsons was succeeded first by Mr. George C. Fenhagen and then by Mr. Ralph H. Doane, both admirable choices.

Before the organization of the Bureau of Public Works as such, the supervision of the engineering work was done by a highly competent man named J. W. Beardsley, who later became first Director of the Bureau. His talent, however, did not lie in the line of organization, and he was succeeded as Director of Public Works by another engineer of marked ability, James F. Case, who had come to the Islands as a major in the army, resigned to enter civil service, and had built the water and sewer works of the city of Manila. When Major Case returned to the States in 1910, the Islands were peculiarly fortunate in the selection of Mr. Warwick Greene,

¹ Act No. 2314, Philippine Legislature, January 16, 1914.

² Act No. 2319, Philippine Legislature, January 31, 1914.

himself not an engineer, but a master organizer,¹ whose work was so outstanding that it will be found commented on under various headings in different chapters in this book.

No competent Filipino engineers were available at the time of the organization of the bureau, and it was necessary for some years to bring such technical personnel from the United States. Special effort was made to attract qualified Filipinos to pursue advanced studies leading to careers as engineers. Such students, if without private means, were given financial assistance by the government to complete their professional studies in the United States and upon qualification were employed as junior engineers in the Bureau of Public Works. These young engineers generally acquitted themselves well and received rapid advancement. On June 30, 1913, of a total of one hundred and forty-five engineers in the bureau, eighteen were Filipinos and one hundred and twenty-seven Americans.² At the close of 1925, of the technical force of one hundred and ninety there were sixteen Americans and one hundred and seventy-four Filipinos.³

Under the régime of the Democratic Party, a Filipino, Mr. José Paez, was given the important position of Director of Public Works and brought to it real ability and technical training of a high order. At his own expense he had pursued advanced studies in engineering at the best universities in Europe and the United States. In 1924, he resigned to take the responsible position of president of the Manila Railroad Company, and his work was taken over in turn by Mr. A. D. Williams, an American.⁴

In the main it may be said that of the many creditable and useful services rendered by Americans in the Philippine Is-

¹ The reorganization of the bureau effected by Director Greene has remained practically without change since his resignation in 1916.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 178.

³ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 53.

⁴ The following is a list of successive Directors of Public Works:

J. W. Beardsley, November 1, 1905, to November 17, 1908;

James F. Case, November 18, 1908, to May 31, 1910;

Warwick Greene, July 1, 1910, to January 24, 1916;

Ernest J. Westerhouse, January 25, 1916, to April 27, 1918;

Claud Russell, May 14, 1918, to March 5, 1919;

José Paez, March 10, 1919, to March 13, 1924;

Alpheus D. Williams, March 18, 1924.

lands that given by the Bureau of Public Works has been among the foremost. The engineers, from those in the highest positions down through the service, brought to their work true American enterprise and the will that succeeds. It was in the nature of things that some of them should have lost their lives. Although engaged in work which commanded popular support, so that they were seldom in jeopardy as a result of the hostility of the Filipinos, yet they were exposed to tropical diseases, the danger of floods, and other perils of field work. Among the engineers who lost their lives in the performance of their duties were Denzil H. Taylor, who died of cholera in 1902, while on duty in Ilocos Norte, and J. G. Vogelgesang, who was fatally injured by a landslide while supervising road construction in Tayabas in 1904. Those charged with the supervision of the construction of the Benguet Road had constantly to be on the lookout to avoid the falling rocks from above. The engineers who went among the savages and laid out the winding trails through the mountains of northern Luzon literally took their lives in their hands. Too high praise cannot be given to the devotion revealed and service rendered by the band of pioneers who, as builders and planners, did their part in the fine work of civilization the United States undertook to carry out in the Philippine Islands.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION

IN accordance with the spirit of their institutions, almost the first thing to which the Americans turned their attention in the Philippine Islands was education.

The first public school opened by the American authorities was one on the island of Corregidor, at the mouth of Manila Bay, within less than a month after the destruction of the Spanish fleet by Admiral Dewey.¹ Less than three weeks after the occupation of the city of Manila the following August, seven schools were reopened and a teacher of English was installed in each under the supervision of the Reverend William McKinnon, Chaplain First California Volunteer Infantry.²

These steps were taken before it was known that the Philippine Islands would pass to the sovereignty of the United States.

The Spanish government had not encouraged the general learning of Spanish, perhaps from a fear that general education and a common language would give the Filipinos too much cohesion. Schools had been wholly directed by the Church; their curriculum was extremely limited, for they taught little beside the catechism, penmanship, and the rudiments of arithmetic. Teaching of science had been frowned upon. With rare exceptions, the few schools that had been established outside of Manila in Spanish times were conducted in the native dialects, nor was any effort made by Spain to adopt any one of these as a general language of the people. Spanish had been taught in a few schools attended mostly by the children of the wealthy and a few from the poorer classes selected for their exceptional ability, but the great bulk of the people scarcely knew it at all, with the exception of a few words, particularly those describing things brought in by the Spaniards, such as those for ice, horses, and railways, which found their way into the native dialects.

¹ *Report of the Director of Education*, 1914, 9.

² *Ibid.*

There were a few colleges and universities. That of Santo Tomas, established by the Dominican friars as a college in 1611 and erected into a university in 1645, is the oldest under the American flag.

To reach an understanding of the degree of education existing in the Philippine Islands at the time of the arrival of the Americans, it is desirable to quote the comprehensive presentation of the historical sequence of events contained in the first annual report as Secretary of Public Instruction of Commissioner James F. Smith:¹

... It has been contended that the Filipino people had some educational advancement long before the first Spaniard set his foot in the Archipelago, but the proofs adduced to justify this conclusion rather prove the existence of relics of a decadent or dead civilization than the survival of a living and progressive one. . . . From all the evidence at hand it seems no more than just to conclude that learning made no real progress among the peoples of the Archipelago until after Spanish occupation, and that the first Spanish explorers encountered on their arrival not the beginning of a new intellectual advancement, but at most the inert remnants of a remote civilization of which the Filipinos may once have formed a part.

¹ General James F. Smith arrived in the Islands June 30, 1898, as colonel commanding the First Regiment of California Volunteer Infantry; participated in the siege, assault, and as provost marshal in the occupation of the city of Manila; rendered distinguished service in command of troops immediately following the outbreak of the insurrection February 4, 1899; and very shortly was assigned as district commander and military governor to assist the people of the island of Negros to organize and administer civil government. In the course of this work he had abundant opportunities of informing himself thoroughly as to public instruction as well as other branches of public administration at the time of the passing of Spanish sovereignty. While in charge of affairs on the island of Negros, public schools were established in fifty-nine towns, especial attention being given by him to that branch of the public service.

Promoted to the grade of brigadier-general of volunteers, he was later assigned to duty as Collector of Customs for the archipelago. On June 30, 1901, he was mustered out of the military service and appointed Associate Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court, serving on this high tribunal during the period in which was presented the famous San José College case involving the history of important phases of public instruction during practically the entire period of the Spanish government of the Islands.

On the resignation of Dr. Bernard Moses on account of ill-health, December 31, 1902, Justice Smith was appointed Commissioner and Secretary of Public Instruction. He became Governor-General of the Philippine Islands September 20, 1906, continuing in that office until November 11, 1909, when he resigned, and shortly afterwards was appointed Judge of the United States Court of Customs Appeals, Washington, D.C.

After telling how the efforts to exploit the Philippine Islands had only incurred the ill will of the inhabitants, and how this was overcome through the efforts of the missionaries who converted them to Christianity,¹ he continued:

... Their [the Filipinos'] predispositions and emotions were favorable to the Christian cult, but, after all, nothing more than faith by impression had been created, and in order to produce faith by conviction a deeper knowledge of the new religion was required. It was necessary, therefore, to give some history of its foundation, of its beliefs and the reasons for them, of its mysteries, of its forms of worship, of the sacraments and their foundation, of the life and works of the holy men who died in the faith, and of the thousand and one things which go to make up the hold of religion on the souls of men, whether civilized or savage. To do this it was necessary to instruct native catechists, and to teach them to read and understand the catechism, that they in their turn might aid in spreading the light among their own people. This was the first real beginning of education in the Philippine Islands. At this period education had not reached among European peoples the importance it has now, and, while there were great universities in Spain, and the monastic orders were at once the source and refuge of instruction, it could not be said that even in Spain any considerable portion of the community, high or low, understood how to read or write. The missionaries, therefore, had no idea at first of creating in the Far East an educated and refined people. Their object was to make a good, not a learned, people, and consequently only so much instruction was imparted as was necessary to aid them in their work and to accomplish the purpose they had in view. Only such schools were established as the exigencies of religious instruction required, and no attempt was made to found schools of a more pretentious character until 1585, when Philip II ordered that a college should be established, under the direction of the Jesuits, for the instruction of the Spanish children of Manila in morals and Latin. The college so ordered to be founded was called St. Ignatius, but was not opened for the reception of students until 1595. The number of Spanish children who attended was small, and the purpose of the foundation was soon broadened so as to admit native children to the advantages extended to those of Spanish parentage.

Pursuing their policy of keeping pace with the advancement of the students, the Jesuits added to the curriculum in 1601 a course of philosophy, and four years later the study of scholastic theology. The progress of this institution was so great that in 1621 it was raised to the grade of a pontifical university, and in 1653 the full dignity of a royal university was conferred upon it. The University of St. Ignatius continued in existence until May 17, 1768, when, the

¹ See *ante*, 38, footnote 2.

Jesuits having been expelled by royal decree of Charles III, the institution ceased to exist and the building and furniture became the property of the state.

In the same year in which he directed the establishment of the College of St. Ignatius, Philip II ordered the founding of a college and seminary for the purpose of the study of Latin, the sciences, and *buenas costumbres*,¹ but this order was not carried into effect for want of necessary funds, and it is doubtful if the hopes of the King of Spain in that regard would have ever been realized if it had not been for the testamentary disposition of Don Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, who bequeathed to the institution in 1610 a very considerable property, which made it possible to accomplish the royal wishes manifested twenty-six years before and to found the college and seminary of San José. With the expulsion of the Jesuits this institution fell into the hands of the King of Spain, who thereafter exercised the patronate, direction, and administration of the college through a rector and administrator appointed by the governor-general of the islands. In 1875 the college was converted into a school of medicine and pharmacy and placed in charge of the father rector of the University of Santo Tomas, who was empowered to appoint an administrator to collect the rents and care for the assets of the trust properties of the college.

The College of Santo Tomas came into existence about the year 1611, and was established by the Order of St. Dominic for the purpose of giving gratuitous instruction to the sons of poor families. This college was the forerunner of the University of Santo Tomas. . . . The colleges and schools of secondary instruction were more or less preparatory schools for this university and by it all were virtually ruled and controlled. The present attendance [1903] on the university is about 350.

These foundations of learning were followed by the establishment of the Royal College of San Juan de Letran in 1640, and thereafter, for two hundred and nineteen years, nothing further seems to have been done to meet the demands for advanced instruction of boys and young men, if the creation of a nautical school in 1820 and an academy of drawing and painting in 1845, the results of private lay enterprise, are excepted.

In December, 1859, the Jesuits returned to the Philippines and gave a new impulse to education by establishing, with the aid of the city of Manila, a municipal school called the 'Ateneo de Manila.' The Ateneo not only furnished primary instruction, but also gave to its students a course in mathematics, chemistry, physics, natural history, French and English. It began with 33 pupils, became a college in 1865, and has instructed since 1859 over 26,000 pupils. It now [1903] has an attendance of nearly 1200 pupils. The Society of Jesus likewise founded in 1865 a normal school for

¹ Literally 'good customs'; that is, manners and morals.

the training of teachers in order to carry out the policy of the Spanish Government with reference to primary instruction. Although this school furnished a comparatively small number of teachers considering the attendance, as a school it was a success from the beginning. It is still in existence, has the best school building in the islands, and enjoys an attendance of some 600 pupils.

In addition to these places of learning established for boys, schools for girls were established as follows:

Name	Year of foundation
Santa Isabela.....	1632
Santa Catalina.....	1696
Beaterio de San Ignacio.....	1699
Santa Rosa.....	1750
Escuela de Maestras.....	1864
Colegio de la Inmaculada Concepcion.....	1868
Colegio de San José de Jaro.....	1872

Asuncionistas, about 1890.

Beginning with 1872 and continuing until about 1890 seminaries were established for the education and training of priests in the archdiocese of Manila and the dioceses of Nueva Segovia (Vigan), Cebu, Jaro, and Nueva Cáceres. Schools of secondary lay instruction were also established at Guinobatan in 1890, and at Bacolod, Negros, in 1892.¹

A study of the enrollment [for the year 1886–87] in the University of Santo Tomas, and in the colleges of Santo Tomas and San Juan de Letran, reveals the interesting fact that the total matriculation of 1,985 was made up of 123 peninsular Spaniards, 93 insular Spaniards, 180 Spanish mestizos, 1,381 Filipinos, and 208 Chinese mestizos.

Primary instruction was confined to the schools and colleges in the city of Manila, and until 1863 no attempt whatever was made to put rudimentary instruction within the reach of the great mass of the school population. In 1863 Spain recognized the urgent necessity of giving greater educational opportunities to the people

¹ The report continues:

‘The following figures show the enrollment in some of the educational centers for the year beginning 1886 and ending 1887:

Universidad y Colegios de Sto. Tomas y Letran.....	1,985
Academias de Náutica, Pintura y Contabilidad.....	644
Ateneo Municipal.....	273
Escuelas privadas de Latinidad.....	833
Escuela Normal de Maestros.....	443
Seminario Conciliar de Manila.....	52
Seminario Conciliar de Nueva Segovia.....	418
Seminario Conciliar de Cebú.....	304
Seminario Conciliar de Jaro.....	400
Seminario Conciliar de Nueva Cáceres.....	660
Total.....	6,012’

of the islands, and by royal decree made provision for the development and perfection of a proper system of primary instruction. The decree declared that the want of an organized system of primary instruction had not only prevented the acquisition of the Spanish tongue by the people, but had perpetuated among them an ignorance which was a stumbling block in the way of their advancement and a barrier to their proper appreciation of the beneficent intentions of the Government and its constituted authorities. It, therefore, directed the organization of a normal school in the city of Manila, and the creation of at least one primary school for boys and one for girls in every pueblo in the islands. Primary schools were placed under the inspection of a commission composed of the civil governor, the archbishop of Manila and 7 members, and the attendance of children between the ages of 7 and 13 was made compulsory.¹

The course of studies prescribed for primary schools was as follows: (1) Christian doctrine, notions of morality, and sacred history; (2) reading; (3) writing; (4) Spanish; (5) arithmetic, comprising whole numbers, common fractions, decimals, denominations, and notions of the metric system; (6) geography and Spanish history; (7) notions of agriculture; (8) urbanity; (9) vocal music. Geography, Spanish history, and agriculture were omitted from the course in girls' schools.

The scheme of primary instruction provided by Spain was adequate for the purpose of furnishing a fairly good measure of preliminary education, but the want of proper administration by the local authorities, the lack of interest in primary studies not directly related to the moral training and religious instruction of the pupil, the ridiculously small salaries paid to teachers, the selection of instructors incapable of teaching Spanish and more in need of instruction than capable of imparting it, and the distance of the barrios and villages from the larger centers of population where the primary schools were usually located, all united to bring at least partial failure when complete success should have been the result of the well-intended efforts of the Government. In 1886, twenty-three years after the issuance of the royal decree directing the organization of the system of primary instruction, 1,052 primary schools for boys and 1,091 for girls had been established, an average of a little more than one school for each sex per pueblo. The enrollment was somewhere in the neighborhood of 200,000, but the attendance did not average more than 40 or 50 pupils to the school. Christian doctrine, reading, writing, some historical geography, addition, subtraction, and multiplication usually marked the limits of primary instruction.²

There are no statistics as to the literacy of the Filipinos

¹ This decree never became effective.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, pp. 669-73.

at the termination of Spanish sovereignty. The Schurman Commission found that ability to read and write a little of the local native language was comparatively common;¹ and in 1903, of the native population ten years of age and over, 44.2 per cent were literate or instructed; that is, able to read some local dialect spoken in the Islands.²

A normal school for the training of teachers had been conducted by the Jesuits at Manila since 1865, but had graduated only 1900, of whom less than half had pursued a career of teaching in the public schools.³ As a consequence many teachers in the public schools were without adequate training and unable themselves to teach, in many cases to understand, the Spanish language. It had thus been impossible to carry out the curriculum prescribed by the Spaniards in the public primary schools.

These schools generally throughout the Islands were under the immediate charge of the monastic orders, which during the last half century of Spanish administration pursued a reactionary and repressive policy and failed to carry out even the modest curriculum prescribed by the decrees and regulations of the Madrid government. The policy of the Jesuits, on the contrary, was to encourage the education of

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 32.

² *Census*, 1918, II, 56.

For the purpose of comparison of the degree of literacy of the Filipinos with that of some other countries, the census of 1918 gives the following:

	Per cent
Philippine Islands, 1903.....	44.2
Spain, 1910.....	40.7
Porto Rico, 1910.....	35.5
Siam, 1915.....	11.7
British India, 1911.....	5.9
United States, 1910.....	92.3

By 1918 in the Philippine Islands 49.2 per cent were literate, 26.4 per cent being males and 22.8 per cent being females. (*Census*, 1918, II, 53, 54, 58.)

Of the literate native population ten years of age and over, the census of 1918 found that 33.9 per cent of the males and 22.4 per cent of the females spoke English, while only 30.4 per cent of the males and 16.9 per cent of the females spoke Spanish; and 32.1 per cent of the males and 21.5 per cent of the females were able to read and write English, while only 27.0 per cent of the males and 14.5 per cent of the females were able to read and write Spanish. The larger proportion of Filipinos with a knowledge of English shows the progress made since the implantation of the American educational system. (*Census*, 1918, II, 60, 62.)

³ Besides the normal school for boys under the management of the Jesuits, normal training courses for girls were offered in a special school in Manila under the charge of the Augustinian nuns, and two other girls' colleges were also authorized to conduct normal training courses for girls.

the Filipinos, and this caused more or less strained relations between these priests and the friars.¹

Beside the public schools there were about seventy private Latin schools under the immediate charge of secular persons, chiefly Filipinos, of which some twenty-five were located in Manila. All these schools, including those giving secondary instruction, were under the control of the Dominican friars of Santo Tomas University, and rated as branches of the College of San Juan de Letran.²

While attendance at public schools was by law obligatory, yet there were neither schools enough nor was the quality of instruction such as to render possible the enforcement of the law. In a few noteworthy instances primary instruction was given which fulfilled the requirements of the law.³

The Manila Ateneo, under the direction of the Jesuits, and a few schools in the provinces, together with the Dominican College of San Juan de Letran and the University of Santo Tomas, produced the comparatively small number of educated Filipinos found in the Islands at the time of American occupation. Some of these men had been so fortunate as to pursue studies in European universities, especially in Madrid; but these men were very few in number. The Schurman Commission reported:

The University of Santo Tomas has graduated a number of men who have become very able lawyers. Several Filipinos have shown good ability as chemists, and at least one was in a fair way to become a distinguished botanist when his career was cut short by death.

In the old days, it was not altogether safe for a native to avail himself fully of the educational facilities theoretically afforded him at the institutions within the archipelago, and if he went abroad to pursue his studies he was a marked man after he returned. This

¹ General Otis in one of his reports spoke of the policy of the Dominican order of 'seizing on by degrees to the educational institutions and scientific schools organized by the Jesuits' under government supervision, and commented: '... Great effort was made to sever them from Dominican authority by recent Spanish statesmen of advanced ideas, but without success, and now the leading Filipinos demand that severance and a return to state supervision.' (Report of Major-General Otis, in the *Report of the War Department*, 1900, I, part 4, p. 491.)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 35.

³ 'The primary instruction given at the Ateneo Municipal at Manila, under the direction of the Jesuits, fulfilled the requirements of the law, and in some particulars exceeded them.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission* [Schurman], 1900, I, 32.)

fact was strikingly illustrated in the case of Dr. Rizal, who was eventually executed without just cause. His fate has been shared by many other prominent Filipinos in the past.¹

A military academy existed at Manila for the education of the sons of army men residing in the colony as well as for enlisted men who desired to fit themselves for promotion. Its graduates were admitted to the military academy at Toledo, Spain. The instruction in the Manila Military Academy appears to have been superior to that afforded in many other schools and colleges in the Philippine Islands. The annual attendance was about one hundred.²

An institution of especial importance was the nautical school in Manila, which offered a course of three years' study and practical instruction in navigation, fitting its graduates for careers as officers of merchant marine. The character of work done in this institution is reported to have been very good.³

There were also in Manila special schools giving instruction in engraving, painting, and sculpture, in agriculture, and in arts and trades. Theological seminaries were maintained in Manila, Cebu, Jaro, Nueva Caceres, and Vigan by the Jesuits, Paulists, and Augustinians.⁴

The Schurman Commission⁵ went very thoroughly into all matters pertaining to public instruction and education in the Philippine Islands as it existed in the final period of Spanish sovereignty and took the testimony of the rector of the University of Santo Tomas and of other distinguished Spaniards, members of the Dominican order and of the Jesuits, and also of Filipinos.⁶

Spanish educators differed as to the capacity of the Filipino for education. The Dominicans informed the American investigators that the Filipino 'was dull in learning languages, while the Jesuits considered him quick, especially in early youth. All were agreed that mathematics were hard for him, but that he made a good mechanic.'⁷

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 40, 41.

² *Ibid.*, I, 40.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 470-74. •

⁵ Headed by the Honorable Jacob Gould Schurman, at the time President of Cornell University.

⁶ *Report of the Philippine Commission*. (Schurman), 1900, I, 42.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 40.

The Commission reported the following conclusions and recommendations:

In view of the facts above set forth, it must be admitted that the average native has never as yet had a fair opportunity to show what he can do. The attainments of some of his fellows who have had exceptional advantages have been such as to dispose the commission to credit him with ability of no mean order. He is at all events keenly alive to the drawbacks under which he has thus far labored and strongly desirous of securing better educational advantages.

In the opinion of the commission, the government established in the islands should promptly provide for the fulfillment of this reasonable and most praiseworthy desire by the establishment of an adequate system of secularized and free public schools.

To this end the present number of primary schools should be increased as rapidly as possible until it meets the needs of the population. The course of study given should be revised and suitable buildings and equipment provided.

The standard set for teachers should be gradually raised, and additional facilities should be provided for their education.

Their compensation should be sufficient to enable them to live comfortably.

Instruction in the English language should be introduced as speedily as practicable into the primary schools.

Secondary education should be taken in hand, the course of study thoroughly revised, and a moderate number of new schools established at suitable points throughout the archipelago.

The establishment of good agricultural and manual-training schools is especially recommended, as it is believed that such institutions are peculiarly suited to the present needs of the people.

Thorough supervision of the schools of the archipelago should be provided for under a secretary or commissioner of education.

It is evident that if these recommendations are carried out they will involve the annual expenditure of a sum greatly in excess of that which has thus far been devoted to meeting the educational needs of the Philippine Islands; and suitable measures should be taken for the raising of the necessary amount by taxation. The commission takes pleasure in recording the fact that it was everywhere and at all times assured, both by friendly Filipinos and by insurgent representatives, that the people of the islands would cheerfully bear almost any burden of taxation having for its object the provision of funds for a good public school system. It is our opinion that there is no other object on which liberal expenditure could be made with such certainty of good returns.¹

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 41-42.

It is gratifying to be able to note that every one of these recommendations was promptly carried out by the succeeding American administrators.

As has been seen, public schools in occupied territory were opened by Americans without delay during the period following the Battle of Manila Bay, May 1, 1898. These schools were continued following the transfer of sovereignty from Spain to the United States by the Treaty of Paris, December 10, 1898, and the outbreak of armed hostilities with Filipino insurgents in the environs of the city of Manila, February 4, 1899, and extended as the territory occupied by our troops was enlarged.

General Smith as Secretary of Public Instruction reported:

... This work was in thorough accord with the policy of attraction marked out by President McKinley, and was offered to the Filipino people as the first earnest of the good intentions of the United States and of the serious purpose of the administration to benefit and advance the inhabitants of the possessions acquired as the result of the conflict with their former sovereign. Even after the insurrection broke out against the United States the plan of giving to the Filipino children the advantage of free public instruction was never abandoned, but was adhered to wherever circumstances permitted and conditions were at all favorable to the building up of a school. Of course, instruction in time of such great public disturbance was necessarily imperfect and desultory, yet it served the purpose in many localities of bridging the way to the hearts of parents and operated as a restraining influence to prevent them from becoming active participants in a movement with which many of them undoubtedly sympathized. The American soldier, acting in the rôle of an instructor of a people in arms against his country, was an object lesson which, while it did not serve to convince the insurgents of the error of their ways, at least caused many of the better element among them to soberly inquire of themselves whether, after all, the United States might not have the welfare and well-being of the Filipino people very much at heart.¹

Father McKinnon was continued in charge of public schools until June 1, 1899, when he was relieved by reason of his regiment having been transferred to the island of Negros. He was replaced by Lieutenant George P. Anderson, an officer of the volunteer army with previous experience in school work in the United States, who was detailed as superintendent of schools in Manila.

The nautical school was reopened by order of the Military Governor December 15, 1899, with an officer of the United

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, pp. 673-74.

States Navy as superintendent. The methods observed in the school after it was reopened were required to 'conform as nearly as possible to those of the United States Naval Academy, and in addition to the theoretical instruction the pupils are frequently drilled in the handling of ropes and sails and in the sailing of a boat, which was placed at the disposal of the school by the commander in chief of the naval force.' ¹

On March 30, 1900, Captain Albert Todd of the Sixth United States Artillery was detailed by the Military Governor to take charge of the department of public instruction, which had been given provisional organization.²

General Otis, quoting his report as Military Governor for 1899, said:

In Manila and a few other cities where our troops are stationed to give inhabitants protection, schools have been established. Parents and children are eager for primary-school instruction and are very desirous to acquire a speaking knowledge of the English language.

And in his final report in 1900 he summarized the educational work of the military government as follows:

The Manila schools have constantly increased in number of attendants, which now approximates 6000, and in a corresponding additional expenditure of the public moneys for their maintenance. The system of teaching, the school supplies, and accommodations have gradually improved, and the coming school year bids fair to accomplish gratifying results. As soon as new territory was acquired its inhabitants expressed the same desire for primary-school teaching as had been manifested in Manila, and they were accommodated in so far as our meager resources would permit, soldiers in some instances being temporarily detailed as instructors. The inhabitants were informed that they would be expected to furnish the necessary school building, and that books, writing paper, and kindred material in moderate quantities would be supplied by the Government authorities.³

Expenditures for public schools from the beginning of American occupation were paid from Philippine revenues, except the salaries of officers and enlisted men who were for a brief period detailed for service with the schools, which continued to be paid by the United States. For books and

¹ Crowder, 1900, 27.

² *Report of the War Department*, 1900, I, part 4, p. 491.

³ *Ibid.*

other supplies for public schools the Military Governor expended more than \$100,000; in addition, the books and supplies which the Spanish authorities had on hand at the time of the capitulation of Manila were utilized when the Americans reopened the schools.¹

The progress of extension of public schools coincident with extension of military occupation by American troops is indicated by the following statement by Colonel Crowder, Secretary to the Military Governor, in his report dated September 26, 1900:

Great activity is observable in all garrisoned towns in the establishment of schools of primary instruction. The results attained are measurably due to the initiative of local commanding officers, but are to be mainly credited to the people themselves, among whom the desire for educational facilities is everywhere general and unmistakable, and who have expended considerable sums of money for such purposes, collected through the medium of municipal taxation and private subscription. Reports of district commanders indicate that more than 100,000 children have been in attendance upon schools so established and maintained during the past year [1899-1900]. . . .

The testimony of all officers who have been charged with making special inquiry into educational conditions and the attitude of the people toward the question of the schools is practically concurrent, that, with improved conditions the inhabitants will eagerly avail themselves of the advantages which the schools to be created under American auspices will afford, and it is believed that, with the acquisition of a knowledge of the English language and the resulting appreciation of our institutions and purposes, the development and assimilation of the Filipino people will be greatly advanced.²

Army chaplains and other officers especially selected for the duty were detailed as local superintendents of schools, and enlisted men, chiefly noncommissioned officers, were almost the only teachers of English outside of Manila until well into the year 1901.³ It not infrequently happened that American soldiers were teaching Filipino children many of whose brothers and other near relatives were in the insurgent forces engaged in active operations.

Like his fellow countrymen at home, the American soldier

¹ Crowder, 1900, 26, 220.

² *Ibid.*, 26, 27.

³ *Report of the Director of Education*, 1914, 10.

had a profound faith in the value of public school instruction and in the importance of popularizing the use of the English language as a medium of communication between Americans and Filipinos and for the Filipinos themselves, as their dialects were so different as to render free intercommunication difficult, if not impossible. These efforts to teach English were generally met with enthusiasm on the part of almost the whole population in every garrison town. Furthermore, the Filipino children proved apt pupils, some of them making remarkable progress in acquiring a working knowledge of English. From these pupils came most of the English-speaking employees of the government in its early years, and some of them by their continued studies and diligent devotion to their duties have attained positions of high honor and responsibility in the service of the government.¹

General MacArthur, as Military Governor, in commenting to the Commission on a proposed plan for public schools, expressed the following opinion:

... I know of nothing in the department of administration that can contribute more in behalf of pacification than the immediate institution of a comprehensive system of education, such as recommended by the general superintendent.

The matter is so closely allied to the exercise of military force in these islands that in my annual report I treated the matter as a military subject and suggested a rapid extension of educational facilities as an exclusively military measure. ...

.

... from my point of view, this appropriation [requested for schools] is recommended primarily and exclusively as an adjunct to military operations, calculated to pacify the people and procure and expedite the restoration of tranquillity throughout the archipelago.²

Public schools were opened by Americans among the Moros and the tribal peoples wherever garrisons were located, and as teachers became available additional schools were

¹ An extract from a speech by the Honorable Manuel Roxas, Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Philippine Legislature, delivered in Manila on August 3, 1926, was reported in the *Philippines Herald*, August 4, 1926, as follows:

'I was among those who learned their first A.B.C.'s on the knees of American soldiers who came to these shores for the sake of [our] redemption. I have faith in America. I have faith that America will do what is right in a righteous way.'

² *Report of the War Department*, 1901, I, part 4, pp. 257, 258.

opened where the people desired them. The relative lack of local revenues and little popular demand for modern education resulted in slower extension of schools in these regions than in the provinces and districts inhabited by the more civilized peoples.

It does not appear that schools as such had ever existed among Mohammedans or among the tribal peoples prior to American administration except the missions maintained among the tribal peoples by the friars and Jesuits. These mission schools in some regions, especially those of the Jesuits among the tribal peoples of Mindanao, were excellent civilizing influences. During the later period of Spanish government the missions among the tribal peoples were limited, and practically none were attempted among the Moros, by reason of the lack of available missionary personnel, only European clergy being utilized for this work.

Very few of the tribal peoples, and those only in perhaps three small groups, possessed the art of writing. The pagan priests, or those who served as such, offered the only instruction that was given in religious observances. Whatever history and legends they possessed were communicated verbally, generally in song.

The Moros, Mohammedans in religion, practiced generally the art of penmanship and possessed some rudimentary knowledge of arithmetic and other matters. While not maintaining organized schools in the modern sense, they had classes or 'pandita schools' in which a priest or other locally accredited learned man taught the boys to memorize passages of the Koran, religious history and observance, penmanship in Arabic characters adapted to Malay phonetics, rudimentary arithmetic, and a little general history and information. Girls rarely received such instruction except those of the families of the sultans, datus, and other men of rank or wealth.

The second Philippine Commission, of which Judge William H. Taft was chairman, on its arrival at Manila early in June, 1900, gave preferential consideration to the matter of public instruction. President McKinley had named as a member of the Commission Professor Bernard Moses, of the University of California, an authority of note on the history

of Spanish colonization.¹ In the division of duties by the Commission, Professor Moses was given charge of education and later was appointed by President McKinley Secretary of Public Instruction.² Even before the Commission left Washington, Dr. Fred W. Atkinson, of Massachusetts, an educator of recognized standing, had been selected as general superintendent of public instruction. He entered upon his duties September 1, 1900, relieving Captain Todd. These expert educators studied the situation, secured an experienced staff, and formulated plans for a comprehensive system of public schools.

Dr. David P. Barrows, a cultivated, conscientious, and charming gentleman, accepted appointment, September 1, 1900, as superintendent of schools in the city of Manila, relieving Lieutenant Anderson, who desired to return to the United States.³ Dr. Barrows afterward became Director of Education and marked progress was made under his direction. Upon his resignation⁴ he was in turn succeeded in November, 1909, by an extremely competent man, Frank R. White, who came to the Islands in the early days as a teacher and by his force of character and administrative ability worked up to be head of that branch of the service. Mr. White gave his life to the cause, for he died in the service in August, 1913, undoubtedly as the result of his labors.⁵

One inevitable result of American occupation was an increase in the scale of wages throughout the Islands for all

¹ See Bernard Moses: *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, New York, 1898; *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*, New York, 1908; *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*, New York, 1914.

² The following is a list of the successive Secretaries of Public Instruction:

Bernard Moses, September 1, 1901, to December 31, 1902;
James F. Smith, January 1, 1903, to September 19, 1906;
W. Morgan Shuster, September 28, 1906, to February 28, 1909;
Newton W. Gilbert, March 1, 1909, to November 30, 1913;
Henderson S. Martin, December 1, 1913, to June 28, 1917;
Charles E. Yeater, July 6, 1917, to January 25, 1922.
Eugene A. Gilmore, January 26, 1922;

³ *Report of the War Department*, 1901, 1, part 4, p. 462.

⁴ Dr. Barrows subsequently became President of the University of California.

⁵ Director White was succeeded by Assistant Director Frank L. Crone, a competent officer who had also worked up through the service. He in turn was followed by Assistant Director Walter W. Marquardt in 1915, who resigned July 1, 1919, when Luther B. Bewley was promoted to the office.

classes of service. The meagre compensation given to teachers at the close of the Spanish régime was less than that which Americans were paying unskilled Filipino labor following the occupation of Manila. This engaged the early attention of the Philippine Commission, which provided in one of its first acts ¹ for a one-third increase in the salary scale of Filipino teachers in Manila and suburbs.

On January 21, 1901, the Commission passed an act ² creating a Department of Public Instruction in the Philippine Islands, and providing that all 'primary instruction in the schools established or maintained under this Act shall be free.'

The act further provided for the taking over by the civil government of all schools previously established under the auspices of the military government; the establishment of schools in every municipality in the archipelago; the division of the archipelago into school divisions; the necessary regulations as to authority to be exercised by division superintendents and principal teachers; a curriculum for public schools; plans for construction of schoolhouses; the areas of school sites and rules of hygiene and sanitation; the purchase of school supplies; the assignment of teachers of English to be paid out of the insular treasury, preferences being given to towns which showed their loyalty to the United States by their peaceful conditions and which constructed and maintained suitable schoolhouses by local taxation or contributions.

There were to be local school boards of not to exceed six members in addition to the municipal president, one-half of the members to be elected by the municipal council and the remaining half to be appointed by the division superintendent of schools.³

The act also provided: 'The English language shall, as

¹ Act No. 15, Philippine Commission, October 10, 1900.

² Act No. 74, Philippine Commission, January 21, 1901.

³ The local school boards were to visit from time to time the public schools of their municipality, to recommend sites and plans for schoolhouses to be erected, and to report annually to the municipal council the amount of money to be raised by local taxation for school purposes.

These school boards proved entirely premature by reason of the lack of understanding of the needs and practices of modern school administration.

soon as practicable, be made the basis of all public school instruction, and soldiers may be detailed as instructors until such a time as they may be replaced by trained teachers.'

Authority was given to the general superintendent of public instruction to obtain from the United States one thousand trained teachers; also to make plans and estimates for buildings for normal and trade schools with proper equipment, the cost not to exceed \$400,000; and to purchase textbooks and other supplies not exceeding \$220,000 in cost.¹

The same act authorized a normal school in the city of Manila for education of Filipinos in the science of teaching and a trade school for instruction in the useful trades; also, in the island of Negros, a school of agriculture. Appropriations of public funds were made immediately available for the expenses of these institutions.

Under this authorization nine hundred and twenty-six American teachers were in service by May, 1902.² Of the selection of these teachers and their first year of service Secretary Moses reported as follows:

The American teachers have been appointed or selected in general in two ways — either directly by the general superintendent or by persons or institutions in the United States authorized to select a definite number. It is not to be expected that some mistakes would not be made in appointing so large a number of persons in a very limited period, but, considering the whole number of teachers, the quality has been eminently satisfactory. These teachers were not, however, all brought from America, but a number were appointed who were already in the Philippines. Among these latter were included discharged volunteer and regular soldiers, and wives and relatives of officers and civilians. At the outset those who were sent into the more remote towns suffered certain hardships, not the least of which was their isolation. Their food was often such as they were unaccustomed to, and the change from the conditions which they had left was often such as to cause homesickness and a certain measure of dissatisfaction with their lot. The long intervals which sometimes occurred between the coming of the mails, and the consequent difficulties of hearing from friends and receiving their pay promptly, tended to develop in many cases a considerable measure of discontent, and when the pay arrived it was, by reason of the depreciation of the local currency, found to be worth less than at the time when they should have received it. In addition to these

¹ Act No. 74, Philippine Commission, January 21, 1901.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, 870.

causes they were also sometimes affected by the difficulties which they encountered in sending money to the United States. But as the monetary difficulties disappeared, as they became adjusted to their new surroundings, as the civil supply stores made available a better quality of food, and as they became more intimately acquainted with the people, they turned to their work with new zeal, and appear, in many cases, to have found in it a high degree of satisfaction. It might be added that the increases in a large number of their salaries during the year tended to impress upon them the thought that their services were, after all, appreciated. The strong desire on the part of the more intelligent Filipinos to have their children educated, and the aptitude of the children to learn have generally made the way of the American teacher easy, and given him or her a high place in the regard of those among whom they worked. This friendly attitude of the people toward the teachers has been met by the heroic efforts of many of the teachers in behalf of the Filipinos afflicted with cholera. When the scourge appeared and the schools were closed, in almost every instance the teacher stood at his post and did whatever was possible for him to do to relieve the sufferings of the people and impede the progress of the disease, and four of them became its victims.¹

Commissioner James F. Smith, in an annual report as Secretary of Public Instruction, said that the policy of attraction adopted by the Civil Commission 'was brought home to the people in no inconsiderable degree by the disinterested devotion and unselfish work of the American teacher.' He continued:

From the beginning the relations of the American teacher to the people have, as a rule, been pleasant and agreeable. Even in provinces where there was more or less disturbance and ladronism,

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, 869, 870.

The report continued:

'The number of American teachers connected with the bureau of education between January, 1901, and September, 1902, was, 1,074, but the highest number on the rolls at any one time was 926. Between May, 1902, and September of the same year this number was diminished so that on the 1st of September, 1902, there were 845 American teachers in active service. This number included the division superintendents and deputy division superintendents. The total number separated from the service during the period in question, from the beginning of 1901 to the 1st of September, 1902, was 229; 15 of these by death, 2 on account of the death of other persons, 61 by reason of sickness either of the teacher himself or some member of his family, 69 wives of soldiers and other transient residents who had been appointed in the islands, 10 women married, 24 men appointed to civil positions, 3 commissioned as military officers, 8 dismissed or discharged, 7 deserted, and 30 resigned — some of these last for the good of the service, others on account of dissatisfaction with monetary and other conditions, and a few to engage in business or other affairs.'

the almost sacred regard in which the teacher was held exempted him from violence, and I know of none who came to grief except four teachers who were killed while traveling in the mountains where their status was unknown — [also] one who was mistaken for the provincial treasurer and stabbed to death to secure the money which it was thought he carried, one who lost his life while leading an armed party against the ladrones, and one who was robbed of his watch and money, but not otherwise molested.

So clearly have the people manifested their predilection for the American instructor that a failure on his part to maintain a warm local interest in the success of his school may be usually attributed rather to some cause personal to himself than to any popular sentiment against the school.¹

It was not only for his services in teaching the school curriculum that the American teacher was useful; in fact, seen with broader vision, that was perhaps a small part of his contribution to the Filipino. The American teacher brought with him the American spirit. He was the apostle of progress. He gave the children a healthy outlook toward life; he explained to them the principles of hygiene and sanitation. He brought with him the spirit of service. He inculcated into them a realization of the dignity of labor. And the children carried this spirit back into the homes, where it made its impress upon the parents.

In the Orient there is a practice among those who desire to be looked upon as aristocrats, especially the Chinese, of letting the nail of a finger or perhaps of the thumb grow to extreme length. Sometimes more than one nail is so preserved. These long nails are supposed to be an indication of superiority and a proof that the person so distinguished has never been compelled to resort to manual labor. Instances of these carefully preserved nails were not uncommon among the Filipinos. The American teacher made very short work of this spirit and the long nail disappeared quickly from the school as a result of the instruction of the children in manual training, agriculture, and sports.

The process of building up an adequate public school system in the Islands was necessarily a slow one. To help in this work the Commission created a Superior Advisory Board ²

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 3, pp. 679, 680.

² Composed of the general superintendent and four members appointed by the Commission.

to 'assist the General Superintendent by advice and information concerning the educational needs and conditions of the Islands.'¹

The Bureau of Education as ultimately organized under the general supervision of the Secretary of Public Instruction provided for a Director of Education, previously designated General Superintendent, with one or more assistant directors, a superintendent of schools for the city of Manila and a division superintendent in each province, a supervisor in each municipality, and a principal in each school.

The most difficult problem was securing a supply of competent teachers for the primary schools. There were no Filipinos properly trained according to American standards, nor could the finances of the Islands meet the expense of employing American teachers in sufficient numbers for much classroom instruction. At first the primary schools were manned by teachers ill-equipped for their work. While it was a matter only of months to give children a working knowledge of English so that they could get along in their daily contacts and have some facility in reading that language, it was a matter of many years so to train Filipinos in pronunciation, the intricacies of grammar, and idiomatic uses of English as to make them competent teachers. In addition to normal schools for Filipinos the government resorted to many devices to meet the immediate necessity for primary teachers. Night schools were established, teachers' institutes, vacation schools, and special correspondence courses. Attendance at these was compulsory upon those desiring to continue as teachers.

By July, 1902, at the end of the first year of civil administration of the public schools, there were enrolled more than two hundred thousand in the primary schools with an attendance of about sixty-five per cent. The night school enrollment was about twenty-five thousand, and nearly twenty thousand pupils were enrolled in schools of secondary instruction,² which had been organized especially for normal training and as assurance that opportunities existed for continued instruction following completion of the course in the government primary schools.

¹ Act No. 74, Philippine Commission, January 21, 1901, Section 4.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, 871.

At this time the total number of teachers in the public schools was about four thousand, of whom more than nine hundred were Americans. Of the Filipino teachers, about two thousand were receiving at least one hour of English instruction daily.¹

The following cogent clauses are culled from the second annual report of Secretary of Public Instruction Moses, in which he discussed the problem presented by the Filipino teachers. '... it is ... true,' he said, 'that the ultimate character of the public instruction in the Philippines must depend on the character of the Filipino teachers which it will be possible to develop.' He told of the insignificant salaries paid under the Spanish régime, about six dollars a month for women and eight dollars for men, the maximum being about twenty-five dollars a month and the minimum about one dollar, 'which in some instances is for long periods withheld. It has happened that a teacher receiving a salary of \$16.50 a month has hired a substitute for \$4.50, and has lived as an independent gentleman on the remaining \$12.'²

He pointed out the difficulties arising under a system in which the Director of Education appointed a teacher who was expected to be paid by a municipality. Some of the municipalities declined to pay or temporarily withheld the money; some wanted the right of appointment; and some made their payments otherwise than in money. He pointed out also the casual way the Filipino teachers accepted the responsibilities of their position and disregarded the need for punctuality.³

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, 871.

² *Ibid.*, 872.

³ '... A letter from an American teacher in Panay, referring to what happened to his school during the few days of enforced absence by illness, illustrates what is meant in this connection.

"When I returned on Wednesday morning," he writes, "only 2 of my 6 teachers were present and my attendance had dropped from 140, when I left, to 25 when I returned. During my six days' absence scarcely any work had been done. Thursday and Friday there was a big fiesta here, and consequently it was impossible to hold school. This morning I attempted to collect the pupils and get started once more. I find my teachers are fully as badly demoralized as I expected they would be. Maria Garingales was the only one that came on time: Maria Girago came half an hour late and then wanted to get excused for the day. Francisco Girado came in an hour and a half late, and then only because I sent for him. Norberto Girado was at his home asleep and would not come at all, although I sent for him twice. He did not come to the school, but went to the cock fight instead, and as there is an-

In the early organization of the public schools the term 'primary' was used to designate all the grades below the first year of high school. Later the word 'primary' was used to designate schools giving the first four grades, and the term 'intermediate' those giving the three grades remaining to prepare for high school. As more and more students completed their primary course there arose a great demand for these intermediate schools, since numbers of students desired further education.

The intermediate schools should properly have been maintained at municipal expense, but municipal school revenues were insufficient to meet the demands of their primary schools, and so the insular government necessarily bore the expense of the American teachers and superintendents while the provincial governments undertook to provide high schools from their general funds. Intermediate schools were organized only at the more important centres of population as feeders for high schools, of which for some years there averaged less than one per province.¹ The practice of supporting intermediate schools in part by private voluntary contributions is touched on elsewhere in this chapter.²

The report of the Secretary of Public Instruction for 1902 tells of the organization of the secondary, or high, schools as follows:

An important step in the development of the system of public instruction in the Philippines was the establishment and organiza-

other cock fight to-morrow I have no reason to expect him at that time. All of my teachers, with the exception of Maria Garingales, who is always on time, have of late grown very slack in regard to their attention. Norberto is an old offender and does not seem to improve. I have done everything in my power to impress upon him some sense of his obligation as a teacher, but during this month it is safe to say that he has been absent half the time."

'This is probably a somewhat extreme case, but it illustrates the fact that before anything in the way of social reform can be accomplished through the people themselves there must be breathed into them the spirit of a new life. They must be led to feel a sense of moral obligation in their public work.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, 872-73.)

¹ Regularly organized provinces in 1903 numbered thirty-four (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, part 1, p. 688); this number was reduced by consolidation of smaller provinces during the following ten years to thirty-one (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 48) in 1913. High schools were usually established in the provincial capitals and some of the larger towns.

² See *post*, 473-74.

tion of the provincial schools of secondary instruction. The law authorizing such schools was enacted March 7, 1902.¹ Prior to this date the Bureau of Education had been chiefly concerned with the organization of primary schools. As a consequence, many of the more advanced pupils in these schools, who had been taught English, began to entertain serious doubts respecting the possibility of continuing their studies in English in schools of a higher grade, and some of them thought it advisable to resume their studies of Spanish in order that they might be prepared to enter the Spanish schools of secondary instruction. This was particularly true in Manila, where there were several secondary schools which were maintained under the authority of the church. These were the only important schools of this grade that existed in the archipelago at the beginning of the American occupation, and only a comparatively small part of the inhabitants of the provinces found themselves in circumstances which permitted them to give their sons the advantages of these schools. It was advisable, therefore, to meet as early as possible the strong demand in the provinces for schools to which children could be admitted on completion of their primary instruction. With the enactment of the law of March 7 the general plan of the system of public instruction began to assume real form. This plan provided that in the course of time the primary schools should exist under municipal authority, the secondary schools under provincial authority, and higher instruction, together with whatever special schools might be established, should be supported directly by the insular government. Schools of secondary instruction were thus to become the peculiar charge of the provincial government. The provincial board was authorized to provide, by construction or purchase or renting, such school building or buildings in the province as in the opinion of the board might be necessary, to be used for the free secondary instruction of pupils resident in the province.

In view of the rude condition of the provincial population with respect to education and in order to provide an effective and simple organization it was determined that the secondary schools in the provinces should cover the widest range of subjects that it might be found necessary to teach. It was recognized that these provincial schools would furnish the highest grade of instruction that would be demanded by any considerable number of residents of the provinces; that they would become in the course of time the colleges for the people; and that the few who might demand such instruction as is given in a university would seek that instruction either in Manila or in the United States. It was, therefore, provided by law that the secondary instruction given in the provincial schools might include, in addition to academic and commercial subjects, manual training, instruction in agriculture, and normal-school

¹ Act No. 373, Philippine Commission.

instruction. . . . It was recognized in providing for these schools that certain provinces might not for a number of years be prepared to establish schools for secondary instruction, and it was provided that the provincial board of any such province might appropriate provincial funds for the payment of the tuition in a provincial school in any other province or in the city of Manila of such pupils as might wish to enter such provincial school.

Prior to September 1, 1902, 23 provincial schools had been established in the principal towns of the archipelago, and the work of organizing such schools in 11 other towns was in progress. . . . By authorizing the broadest possible curriculum and by bringing instruction in all of the subjects mentioned under a single organization it is expected that those who have these schools in charge will adapt the work in them to the peculiar conditions of the people in the several provinces where they are established. The wide diversity in the soil, the climate, and the character of the inhabitants make necessary different kinds of instruction for different parts of the islands, and the organization of provincial schools makes it possible for the main work of the school to be adapted to the various needs of the inhabitants. In some instances, moreover, in order to make it possible for students from all parts of the province to attend the provincial school, it has been found necessary to make provision for furnishing them at reasonable rates with board and lodging. This is rendered especially necessary in some places by the extensive destruction of houses during the rebellion. . . . This useless destruction of buildings has left many important towns without adequate accommodations either for the offices of the government or for the schools. This limitation of quarters imposes upon some of the schools the necessity of providing quarters for at least a certain part of the pupils, and this bringing together boys who are prepared to enter upon their secondary studies and subjecting them to a rational discipline is likely to have a beneficial effect both on their character and their attainments.¹

The lodging and boarding of non-resident pupils at secondary schools in Manila was a serious problem, toward the solution of which Protestant missions and the Roman Catholics have made important contributions by maintaining dormitories for boys and for girls. The government built a fine dormitory in Manila where young girls from the provinces lived under high-minded American matrons and there many of them gained more from character-building advice than from their actual schooling.

As time went on, the number of schools steadily increased and standards of courses of study were raised.

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1902, 875-77.*

At the close of the year 1925 there were one hundred and two high schools, of which sixty offered complete four-year courses and the remainder courses of from one to three years.¹

In 1925 a survey of the educational system of the Islands, authorized by the Philippine Legislature, was made by a board of distinguished educators, headed by Dr. Paul Monroe, of New York.² The report of this board stated that in the year 1924, the latest for which comparative statistics were available, there were 47,419 pupils enrolled in the government higher schools, and 19,406 in approved private secondary schools; a total of 66,825, or 7.9 per cent of all the children of high school age. Corresponding percentages in other countries are as follows: in the United States 27.2, in Japan 8.4, in England and Wales 3.9, in Sweden 1.4, and in Spain 1.1.³

These figures are of especial interest as indicating the progress being made in preparing the Philippine people for popular self-government. From among these young Filipinos will arise the political leaders of the not distant future. In a count

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 216.*

The total enrollment in secondary schools in each of the different courses for various school years is shown in the following table:

[Source: A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands, 339, Manila, 1925.]

'Year	General	Domestic Science	Normal	Commercial	Trade	Farming	Surveying	Nautical	Total
1903...	.....	.....	450	...	166	.....	..	..	450
1908...	611	.....	309	238	166	.....	..	..	1,324
1913...	3,055	120	809	302	201	226	..	40	4,753
1918...	12,194	328	1,684	264	287	535	16	60	15,368
1919...	11,937	442	2,048	421	309	214	43	62	15,476
1920...	14,244	423	1,843	344	266	137	40	58	17,355
1921...	19,566	649	1,619	408	383	705	41	61	23,432
1922...	26,101	804	2,653	403	588	844	59	59	31,511
1923...	31,760	1,249	3,825	280	772	1,185	60	53	39,184
1924...	35,083	2,411	6,301	597	1,122	1,805	57	43	47,419'

In 1925, there were 45,009 pupils enrolled in regular secondary schools. In addition to the foregoing there were 318 strictly vocational secondary schools of agriculture with an enrollment of 23,779, and 18 schools giving normal training to 6614 students; a grand total of 75,402 students receiving secondary instruction in public schools.

² Pursuant to Act No. 3162, Philippine Legislature, March 8, 1924, a comprehensive investigation was made in 1925 covering the work of all public and private institutions of learning in the Islands. The report setting forth the results of this investigation was issued the same year: *A Survey of the Educational System of the Philippine Islands*, by the Board of Educational Survey, Paul Monroe, Chairman, Manila, 1925. This report will be referred to in these pages as the Monroe Survey.

³ Monroe Survey, 318, 319.

made of some of the students in representative secondary schools outside the city of Manila, more than 72¹ per cent were found to be the children of farmers, fishermen, artisans, laborers, and other wage-earners.

The Monroe Survey stated:

... the regular high school ... is found in every province and claims the great majority of the pupils enrolled in the secondary schools. ...

... the rural high school, the institution that articulates with the needs of the agricultural community, should become the basic secondary institution in the Archipelago.

The number of normal schools should be greatly increased ... Certain of the regular high schools, whose graduates are now entering the profession of teaching in great numbers, should be converted into normal schools.²

The ten years following 1898 were a period of organization and development. Beginning in 1909, public instruction entered upon the well-defined programme planned by American administrators and Filipino leaders. At that time the elective Philippine Assembly had for two years shared the legislative power with the Commission and represented the popular will.

In 1914 the Director of Education summarized the accomplishments and purposes of the school system as follows:

... By the opening of the school year 1908-9 the schools throughout the islands were beginning to receive the sincere businesslike support of the whole people. Since that time the popularity of the public schools has constantly increased until to-day any suggestion that the work of the public schools should be seriously curtailed in any way would meet with a storm of universal disapproval. The people show their enthusiasm for education by freely voting taxes for educational purposes, by contributing from their personal funds for the support of schools, and by furnishing labor and materials whenever it is necessary to do so. The temporary buildings used in the barrios for primary schools are for the most part constructed free of charge by the people; and in many cases houses are loaned free of rent for school purposes. The people are disposed to make every sacrifice in the interest of the schools, and in all parts of the Archipelago there are schools which are maintained, either entirely or in part, by the voluntary contributions of citizens.

The public schools have contributed greatly to the intellectual awakening which has taken place and is taking place throughout

¹ Monroe Survey, 324.

² *Ibid.*, 54.

the Philippines. This intellectual awakening is of a magnitude which scarcely finds a parallel in history. A great public school system has been established with an enrollment of more than 600,000. A teaching force has been developed consisting of more than 9000 teachers, 5104 of whom have completed one of the intermediate courses and 341 of whom are graduates of a secondary course. Practically all of these teachers have received their education since the establishment of the Bureau of Education.

In determining aims to be achieved through the activities of the Bureau of Education, definite recognition has been given to the principle that public schools exist for the purpose of giving to each and every citizen an education which will fit him for the freest, happiest, and most efficient life possible in the sphere to which his activities will probably be confined.

Briefly stated, the problem which the Government must face is: First, to give the great mass of the population a primary education; second, to give an intermediate education to those who will constitute the substantial middle class of the country; and, third, to provide secondary and higher instruction for those who are to assume leadership in thought and action.

It is the aim to give the great mass of the population elementary instruction in reading and writing; in sufficient arithmetic for the simple business transactions which they will have to carry on; in home and world geography; in the simple rules of sanitation which, if practised, will keep the death rate to the lowest possible figures and improve the general efficiency of the people; in good manners and right conduct to insure rectitude and courtesy in the great mass of the population; in physical training to develop the people to a point where they can bear effectively the increasing burden which civilization lays upon mankind; in notions of the rights and duties of citizens; and in a certain amount of industrial work to promote industry and teach respect for labor.¹

The report goes on to outline the objects of the intermediate course, which includes, besides academic training, instruction in gardening, domestic science, and the minor industries, and special courses in farming, teaching, housekeeping and domestic arts, business, and trade.

At that time (1914) the Director of Education estimated the total number of children of school age to be 1,200,000.²

It was difficult to secure adequate textbooks for the Philippine primary schools, as those prepared for use in American schools often dealt with matters outside the experience of

¹ *Report of the Director of Education*, 1914, 13, 14.

² It is to be noted that the total enrollment at that time was but half of this number. (*Report of the Director of Education*, 1914, 15.)

children brought up in a tropical country. It was some years before appropriate textbooks, prepared by Americans and Filipinos in collaboration, were made available, but this was ultimately done.¹

Economic and other considerations appear to cause the majority of the children to average less than three years in school. After extensive tests of school children the Monroe Survey found:

Comparison of Filipino and American attainments show that the former lag two or three years behind the latter. When the great preponderance of Filipino children leave the school after three to four years attendance upon it they have about as much reading ability as a typical second-grade child in America. Furthermore, the oral tests prove that their command of spoken English is about as limited.

The hopeful phase of the results is found in the success of a few conspicuous school systems. In these the high attainments of the children in reading give real promise that the graduates of the primary schools throughout the Islands can develop practical control of the English language.²

Interesting further findings of the Survey as the results of tests were as follows:

... In the primary school pupils develop marked ability to comprehend spoken English. Apparently this ability is sufficient to carry them through the ordinary language necessities of this generation of adult life in the Philippines. They learn to speak English with sufficient clearness to make themselves understood either by other Filipinos or by Americans, but with an accent, tonal expression and rhythm that are thoroughly Malay.... In receiving dictation and in spelling in English they almost equal American children. All of these are definite achievements of the public school system.³

¹ The tendency of the Filipino legislative officers to interfere in executive matters found expression in a rider on the appropriation act for the year 1917 (Act No. 2672, Philippine Legislature, December 29, 1916), which created a Board on Text Books composed of the Secretary of Public Instruction and the chairmen of the Committees on Public Instruction in the two houses of the Legislature to 'determine what school books are to be acquired or printed for use in the public schools . . . and the prices and quantities in which they may be sold to pupils. . . .'

The absence of the Director of Education from this board is noteworthy. Subsequently the Director of Education and the President of the University were substituted for the Secretary of Public Instruction, who was also Vice-Governor and presumably an American.

² Monroe Survey, 41.

³ *Ibid.*, 44.

As to arithmetic the Survey found: 'Grade for grade, Filipino children master the art of arithmetical computation as well as do American children.'¹

Instruction in citizenship is given by a course in good manners and right conduct through the seven elementary grades, in civics, hygiene, and sanitation through the first six grades, and in Philippine history and government in the seventh grade.²

The American government had no fear of danger arising from welding the Filipinos into a united people by putting them in understanding contact with each other. It was desired to fit the people to manage their own affairs, and as a necessary prerequisite, give them a common language with which they could communicate readily with each other. This was regarded as an essential step in making them capable of nationality. In 1902 Secretary Moses reported:

Fuller knowledge of the condition of the Filipinos with respect to language seems to justify the decision formed in the beginning to make English the language of the schools. The great majority of the Filipinos are ignorant of Spanish. This is particularly true of the children. Those who profess to be able to use this language have but an imperfect command of it. The native languages are numerous and so unlike that no one of them can be employed as the common medium of communication. There are no books in any one of them that could be advantageously used in a system of public instruction. The few newspapers that are printed in the native languages do not furnish all the intellectual guidance or stimulus needed by the inhabitants of the islands in their aspirations to be counted among civilized peoples. Of such papers there are only two in Tagalog and two in Visayan, but none in any of the other six dialects of the civilized tribes. Elementary books might have been prepared and printed in the various dialects and made the basis of primary instruction. Pupils having passed over this stage of their cultivation by this means would have found only a barren waste before them. There is no great advantage in learning to read in a language which offers nothing worth reading to those who have acquired the art. Children educated in the common schools with only such means as may be provided in Tagalog or Bicol have still practically no access to sources of information regarding the world. The limits of the province remain their horizon. They are shut out from the advantages enjoyed by their more fortunate fellow-countrymen who have had the means to enable them to acquire a language through which may be derived a knowledge of

¹ Monroe Survey, 44.

² *Ibid.*, 235.

civilized society. The boy who grows to manhood knowing only a language without a literature finds that as the result of his training in school he has not the means for increasing his knowledge, and he very readily falls back into the mental darkness of the semi-savage state. The boy who in his school days has learned the language of a civilized nation, even if he has learned nothing else, has put himself en rapport with civilization. Aside from the practical circumstances of his life, it makes little difference whether he learns English, French, German, or Spanish, but it makes a great deal of difference whether he learns French or Tagalog, English or Bicol. The one makes him a citizen of the world, the other makes him a citizen of a province in the Philippine Islands. If the government were to make the local dialects the media of school instruction, a limited number of the more or less wealthy and influential persons would use the facilities which they can command to learn English for the sake of the additional power or other advantages it would give them in the communities to which they belong, and these advantages or this additional power would tend to perpetuate the prestige and domination of the present oligarchic element in Filipino society. The knowledge of English which the public schools offer to the youth of the islands will contribute materially to the emancipation of the dependent classes and to the development of that personal independence which is at present almost entirely wanting in the great mass of the people, but which is necessary to the maintenance of a liberal government. It may, perhaps, be difficult to change the fundamental ideas of a race, but it is not very difficult, under proper circumstances rendered permanent for a considerable period, for children of one nation in the process of growth to manhood to acquire a complete practical knowledge of the language of a foreign race. The use of a vernacular dialect in the intimate relations of life and of a literary language in the commercial and public affairs is not uncommon.¹

The Americans encountered no difficulty in initiating in-

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, 880, 881.

The report continued:

'Practically all Filipinos who use the Spanish language in their more important concerns make at the same time more or less use of one or another of the local dialects; yet under Spanish rule no persistent effort was made to give the great body of the people opportunities for learning Spanish, and in many instances not only was no encouragement offered to the acquisition of a knowledge of this language, but positive hindrances were put in the way of acquiring it. The effort of the Americans to give to the Filipinos a knowledge of English is in marked contrast to the policy carried out by some of the European nations in their oriental possessions. This effort has been met by considerable enthusiasm on the part of the people and, considering the brief period during which schools have been maintained, has produced noteworthy results. . . . The 150 Filipino teachers of Manila, as students in the recently established branch of the Manila normal school, and the students of the normal school itself use only English in their recitations and reports.'

struction in English. Their efforts were met with enthusiasm and cordiality on the part of almost the whole population of the Philippine Islands.¹ The young people generally were more than ready to learn it. Many evidences of this spirit were brought to the attention of government officials. In one of the provincial capitals the school children had an 'Improvement Society' all of the members of which entered into an agreement to speak nothing but English to each other at school or recess, and for each violation of this agreement a half centavo (equal to one-quarter cent United States currency) was paid as a fine.² It was significant that the daughter of General Aguinaldo was taught English and Tagalog (her native dialect) and was not taught Spanish, as her father did not desire her to learn it.³

It was obvious that success in the introduction of the English language in the Islands could only be achieved by bringing over a large force of American teachers, and as has been seen, the employment of one thousand trained teachers from the United States had been promptly authorized. The Filipinos showed no antagonism to the introduction of these; indeed, throughout the Islands there was an almost universal demand for them.⁴

It is unfortunate that, in reporting and publishing statistics of the proportionate number of Americans to Filipinos in the civil service throughout the archipelago, the number of Americans engaged in the work of education was not listed separately, as their work was on a wholly different footing from any other branch of the service. They pertained to a branch of the government in which Filipinization — that is, the substitution of Filipinos for Americans — should not have been on the programme, so that in computing the rate at which the government offices were being turned over to Filipinos the issues would not have been confused by large figures showing numbers of American teachers, and the sal-

¹ See Appendix XXIV, where this subject is touched upon by ex-President Taft.

² Journal, I, 187-88, April 9, 1905.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 348, November 20, 1919.

This was Miss Carmen Aguinaldo, afterward a student at the University of Illinois, and at Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts.

⁴ 'The provinces are crying for more American teachers.' (Journal, I, 41, August 13, 1904.)

aries paid them, which had little bearing upon the general administrative work of the government.

In spite of the real need of additional American teachers, there has been an almost continuous yearly decrease. This was not due to hostility on the part of the Filipinos, who usually desired American teachers in the schools, nor was it due to hostility toward the use of English on the part either of the pupils or the parents.¹ Ill-health and other natural causes constantly depleted the number of American teachers in the Islands, the operation of the retirement law accentuated the tendency to leave the service, and vacancies were filled with increasing difficulty because of the upward trend of salaries in the United States and lessened interest in the Philippine Islands.

Eventually, as Filipinos began to qualify according to American standards for teachers, a few of superior attainments having graduated from good normal schools and colleges in the United States giving courses in education, some of the Filipino leaders took the ground that more American teachers should not be brought into the service and vacancies occurring should be filled with Filipinos both in the teaching force and in the administrative positions. And, beginning with 1914, pursuant to this policy the number of Americans in the teaching service rapidly declined.²

This desire of the Filipinos to work rapidly up through the educational department outran their good judgment and there was a steady diminution of the number of American teachers when, in the best interests of the Filipinos and their early acquisition of the accurate use and pronunciation of the English language, the number of American teachers should have been increased rather than diminished. The Islands would be better off to-day and would be measurably advanced on the road to nationality had the number of American teachers, instead of being reduced from nine hundred and twenty-eight in the year 1902 to three hundred and six-

¹ One of the more prominent Filipinos, at a banquet given in his honor, 'proceeded to emphasize the need of a common language for the entire islands, preferably English, as that was spoken by a vast majority of the civilized world.' (Quoted from the *Cablenews-American*, October 28, 1911, referring to Resident Commissioner Quezon's address at a banquet given in his honor at the Hotel de France, Manila.)

² See table, *post*, 448.

teen in 1920, been increased to two thousand or even three thousand. Teachers of English should have been taught by English-speaking Americans, and not by Filipinos among whom were to be found many whose pronunciation was imperfect,¹ sometimes in the case of teachers in the primary schools differing so far from that to which Americans are accustomed as to make it difficult to understand.² It is not too late to remedy this evil, but it should command early

¹ As to the qualifications of Filipino teachers, the Monroe Survey (39) found: '... It is a fact of striking importance that the rank and file of Filipino teachers have less than a second year high-school education and that few have ever had intimate and prolonged contact with English as it is spoken in the United States. This lack of skill on the part of the teachers is crucial. Spoken English in the schools will never rise above the level of the English of those who set the models.'

The Survey (42) continued: 'At the present time both teachers and pupils use a type of spoken English that is thoroughly unlike the English spoken in the United States. . . . The investigation shows, furthermore, that an unmodified English cannot be expected to become the language of the schools unless thousands of American teachers can be imported from the United States.'

Inasmuch as this is impracticable financially, the Survey offered what it termed a 'makeshift solution' until Filipino teachers can be given more adequate training.

² Eleanor Franklin Egan, in the *Saturday Evening Post*, October 15, 1921, wrote: '... with the inauguration of the new era and the institution of a new government by the Filipinization process there came a sudden change. The Filipino politicians made the school system, like everything else, a part of their system of political control, and it was not long before the American teachers were driven out in favor of a host of half-educated Filipinos and Filipinas who are absolutely incapable of teaching in English. Many of them may speak it fairly well; but they did not get it in their infancy, and they speak it with an abominable accent. It would be impossible, of course, for a people to live for more than three centuries in direct contact with a language without acquiring some elements of it, and among Filipinos there is a universal and seemingly natural inclination to use the Latin pronunciation of the vowels. A, e, i, o, u are to them ah, a, ee, o, oo, and they find the English pronunciation very difficult. Incidentally these soft vowel sounds are common to nearly all primitive languages and correspond with the basic sounds in most of the Philippine dialects.

'As an illustration of some of the extraordinary effects that are achieved I must tell a story that was told to me by a young-woman friend who lives in Manila. She was in a small town up country somewhere . . . and accepted an invitation from the local school-teacher to visit the school. Just as it would happen in our own country, the teacher called a reading class, and by way of showing off her pupils had them give an exhibition of their progress in reading English.

'My friend says it all sounded like some strange and most outrageous language in which she could recognize only an occasional likeness to English; but the teacher seemed perfectly satisfied, so she said nothing until a little girl uttered the sentence "Late bee-gon-yays bay bee-gon-yays." Then her curiosity got the better of her smiling self-restraint as an approving visitor and she interrupted the child to ask if she might not see the sentence. The child obediently brought her reading book and pointed it out. It was "Let bygones be bygones."'

attention on the part of the Filipino leaders.¹ A more enlightened understanding of the essentials would have caused these Filipino leaders to urge an increase rather than a reduction in the number of Americans.²

The introduction of English brought about some temporary inconveniences and some of the incidental problems raised difficulties that at times tended to strain the relations between the government and the people. Practically all of the judges, court officers, and municipal and provincial officers spoke Spanish and held their debates, hearings, and interviews in that language, but Spanish was not taught in the schools and young people were being graduated who could not communicate in the language which was used as official by older Filipinos with whom they would have to associate if they took government positions. In spite of a law³ providing that after January 1, 1906, the English language should become the language of the courts, it was too much to expect that many of the older people would learn English, and few of them did.

When the time came for the law to take effect, it was found that it would literally paralyze the work of the courts and force from the bench some of the most distinguished and capable judges, including Justices of the Supreme Court. Repeated extensions were necessary and the Secretary of Public Instruction found himself in the embarrassing position of having educated young men in English which many of the judges could not understand; and yet these young men were ambitious to serve as clerks of court and work themselves up in time to become lawyers and judges.⁴

¹ The number of American teachers in September, 1925, was reported as three hundred and ten. (*Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 212.*)

² In a special report to the Secretary of War, dated December 1, 1915, after a visit to the Islands, General Frank McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, said:

‘There has been satisfactory progress in the schools, both in the number of buildings and teachers and in the number of pupils attending, but a material increase in the number of schools or the number of pupils would only be justified in case the number of teachers from the United States could be correspondingly increased.

‘I am convinced that any effort to economize in the number of competent American teachers is a mistake and that steady progress demands that the number of American teachers be not decreased from the maximum of the past five years.’

³ Act No. 190, Philippine Commission, August 7, 1901, Section 12.

⁴ ‘... Frequent complaints have been received from young men who have been



TYPICAL SCHOOL BUILDING

During the years 1911 and 1912 there was a great deal of agitation about whether or not a further extension should be granted, and the issue became what in local parlance was called a 'palpitating' one. Successive Secretaries of Public Instruction were insistent that at a certain stage in development the time for English to become the official language of the courts should not be further extended. The use of English had not been excluded from the courts, but it involved the necessity of an interpreter if he who was pleading was to be understood by the judge. Pleas always lose force through interpretation, and the necessity for it adds materially to the length and cost of the suit.

Secretary Gilbert, while Acting Governor-General in 1911, took definite action in the following executive order:

... it is hereby required of officers and employees under the administrative control of the Chief Executive or any of the executive departments:

(1) That whenever possible the minutes of the meetings of provincial boards and municipal councils be kept in English.

(2) That all official correspondence, whether to Government officials or to private individuals, be written in English.

(3) That in making appointments or promotions in the service preference be given to persons having a sufficient knowledge of the English language to enable them to carry on correspondence in English.

It is not desired to make these requirements absolute; therefore, in cases where it is not practicable to carry them out, officers will make representation of the facts to the Executive Secretary who is empowered in his discretion to modify the rule in such case. . . .¹

This precipitated a bitter controversy which was carried on with great vigor in numerous articles attacking this policy of the government through the columns of the Filipino press.² The Filipino legislators were up in arms. A great deal educated in the public schools of the Islands that the Government has taught them English and then in a measure disqualified them from serving it, because the language in which the official business of their municipality or province is conducted is Spanish. . . . It is not thought, however, that the time has yet arrived when it would be proper to make a definite rule, that all official business must be conducted in one language.' (Executive Order No. 44, August 8, 1912.)

¹ Executive Order No. 44, August 8, 1912.

² *La Vanguardia* of August 12, 1912, had the following to say:

'With the exception of the reservation made in the last paragraph, the executive

of feeling resulted and the Legislature undertook to settle the matter by statute, but the two houses were unable to agree upon the details. On the last night of the session, in February, 1912, a bill providing for a moderate extension of the time before English should become the official language of the courts, went into conference, and although the conferees reached an agreement, the Assembly refused to concur too late for further deliberations, and the compromise measure went down to defeat.

The matter was solved in the next session by the passage of a law ¹ which recognized English as '*the*' language of the courts and Spanish as '*a*' language of the courts. Apparently this satisfied both parties and enabled the Spanish-speaking judges and court officials to continue until they should be forced out by the pressure of the oncoming tide of English exerted by the younger element of the Filipinos.

The extent to which this had come to pass in 1920 was indicated by the report of the Secretary of the Interior, the Honorable Teodoro Kalaw, for that year. In that report he called attention to the executive order in regard to the use of English and the clause permitting modification of its rules by the Executive Bureau, and stated that during the year covered by his report representations from only two municipalities were made to the Executive Bureau, then under the direction of a Filipino. The report continued:

... Both requests were denied on the ground that the municipalities concerned should have had employees conversant with English in view of the fact that there is now available a large number of young men educated in public schools. It is gratifying to note that now almost all provincial boards and municipal councils have adopted and are using the English language with success, a proof of the ever-increasing use of English in the Philippines.²

order which dictates the obligatory use of the English language in our provincial and municipal governments could not be more tyrannical and hurtful to the fundamental principles of any popular government. But if it is not tyrannical, thanks to the reservation mentioned that its provisions are not absolute, it is, at least, obnoxious and untimely. It seems unbelievable that in a régime, democratic par excellence, great anomalies occur worthy of an absolute monarchy of the Middle Ages. It is a singular thing that in a representative government odious outrages are committed on the most inviolable rights of the citizen.' (Translation.)

¹ Act No. 2239, Philippine Legislature, February 11, 1913.

² *Report of the Governor-General*, 1920, 34.

As a practical matter the prevalence of English was fore-ordained. There was no need for the Americans to endeavor to force its recognition. All that was needed was to extend primary education in that language as rapidly as possible, turn out by hundreds of thousands young potential voters who understood English and not Spanish, and these young people could be relied upon to do the rest. No intervention on the part of American administrators would have been necessary. Just as soon as the elective offices, executive and legislative, were filled by English-speaking Filipinos, there would be little doubt that they would take upon themselves the initiative of forcing the use of the English language in the courts. There was bound to be a period of temporary inconvenience to certain young men who had to acquire both Spanish and English in order to make themselves perfectly equipped for work in the courts or in the Legislature, but this was a difficulty inherent in the situation and one impossible to avoid.

Since 1900, instruction in all government schools, from the primary through to the University, has been conducted in the English language, and latterly most private schools and colleges conduct their instruction in English, which has become the prevailing language in public administration and among the younger people in social and other relations between persons who use different local dialects.

Spanish is used in a diminishing degree in government, to a greater extent in trade relations, and by the more wealthy element of the population in its social relations in the larger cities, where it was well established before the advent of the Americans.¹

At times schools are closed in order to enable the children to assist their parents in harvesting the crops. Such seasonal arrangements of the school year are not uncommon and are quite necessary in a country where agriculture is the principal

¹ Of one hundred and fourteen periodicals published in the Philippine Islands, reported by the census of 1918, twenty-eight were in English, twenty-seven in Spanish, twenty-four in native dialects, two in Chinese and one in Japanese, and thirty-two in two or more of these languages and dialects. (*Census*, 1918, iv, part 1, p. 4.)

In the year 1926, one hundred and forty-eight newspapers and other Philippine periodicals merited registration as second-class mail matter. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1926, 239.) Besides, there are a large number, impracticable to estimate, of American and foreign periodicals which are received in the Islands.

source of livelihood of the people. Americans have not made attendance at school compulsory in any part of the archipelago. Compulsory education has been agitated from time to time, but it was impossible for the government, with the resources available, to create enough schools to provide teaching for all the children anxious to have it. Every influence has been brought to bear to induce children to attend schools within reach and there has never been any serious difficulty in inducing them to do so. They all wanted education. Most of the difficulties were encountered in the Moro Province, where the Mohammedan parents feared that sending their children to schools conducted by Christian teachers might in some way tend to weaken their Mohammedanism.

The following table gives by years the number of teachers, American and Filipino, the number of schools, annual enrollment, and percentage of school population enrolled, in the public school system, 1901-1925:

[Sources: Annual reports of the Philippine Commission, of the Governor-General, and of the Director of Education; data furnished by the Bureau of Education.]

School year ending in —	Number of teachers			Number of public schools			Annual enrollment	Percentage of school population enrolled
	Americans	Filipinos	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Total		
1901....	926	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1902....	928	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
1903....	691	2,496	3,187	*	*	*	*	*
1904....	787	3,854	4,641	2,250	35	2,285	227,600	14
1905....	855	4,036	4,891	2,829	35	2,864	311,843	15
1906....	831	4,719	5,550	3,227	36	3,263	375,554	18
1907....	746	6,141	6,887	3,651	36	3,687	335,106	22
1908....	800	6,804	7,604	3,894	38	3,932	359,738	22
1909....	825	7,949	8,774	4,387	37	4,424	† 437,735	25
1910....	732	8,275	9,007	4,493	38	4,531	† 451,938	25
1911....	683	8,403	9,086	4,366	38	4,404	† 484,689	26
1912....	664	7,696	8,360	3,647	38	3,685	† 429,380	22
1913....	658	7,013	7,671	2,891	43	2,934	† 349,454	18
1914....	612	8,856	9,468	4,191	44	4,235	† 525,959	25
1915....	538	9,307	9,845	4,146	41	4,187	† 536,939	24
1916....	493	10,198	10,691	4,369	43	4,412	† 548,321	24
1917....	477	11,826	12,303	4,696	48	4,744	663,277	24.71
1918....	368	14,155	14,523	4,882	50	4,932	671,729	24.46
1919....	353	17,428	17,781	5,867	50	5,917	776,639	27.64
1920....	316	20,664	20,980	6,820	65	6,885	935,678	32.56
1921....	352	23,829	24,181	7,587	72	7,659	1,070,255	36.40
1922....	336	24,512	24,848	7,551	83	7,634	1,097,144	36.48
1923....	329	25,451	25,780	7,583	85	7,668	1,111,742	38.54
1924....	322	26,014	26,336	7,652	94	7,746	1,111,566	37.91
1925....	310	25,391	25,701	7,336	102	7,438	1,096,758	.....

* Statistics not available.

† Highest monthly enrollment.

It is noteworthy that the development of public schools has been continuous and steady through the period of military operations, civil control, the régime of the Democratic Party, the activities under the Jones Law, and throughout the incumbency of Governor-General Wood.

The percentage of school attendance to enrollment has shown a gratifying increase from year to year, and in 1923 reached the very creditable figure of eighty-five per cent.

The Bureau of Education laid especial emphasis upon teaching practical subjects. Courses in agriculture, wood and iron working and other mechanical trades were given in both primary and secondary schools for the boys; care of the home, embroidery and lace-making for the girls; basketry, hat-making and other household industries, commerce and normal training for both boys and girls.

The Director of Education reported:

‘The aims of industrial instruction are found in the capacities and needs of the people, and in the natural resources of the Islands and their backward state of development.

‘The people possess a considerable degree of manual dexterity coupled with infinite patience, while their economic and social well-being is below that existing in many countries. To raise the standard of living, to improve the home and home life, to provide better methods of doing the routine work of the home — the needlework, cooking, sanitation, care of infants — and to supply the home with the necessary household conveniences are purposes the attainment of which must be provided for in any adequate educational system.’¹

Appropriate courses of practical study were gradually worked out for all grades beginning with the primary, and the transition accomplished from ‘bookish type of education prevalent in the public schools of the Spanish régime to a system of instruction including physical, industrial, and academic training . . . in a manner to win the moral and financial support of the people.’²

Industrial instruction comprises four principal lines:

(1) Household industries, utilizing the spare time of both men and women, which is especially valuable in the agri-

¹ *Report of the Director of Education, 1914, 79.*

² *Ibid.*

cultural districts where field work is seasonal with considerable intervals of little demand for labor. The industries preferred are those using materials produced locally, especially fibres, bamboos, rattans, and timber, for making basketry, hats, mats, furniture and fine cabinet work. Embroidery, lace-making, and weaving are peculiarly household industries fitted to the spare time of the millions of women of all classes, and previously produced to a limited extent to meet the local demand but never before developed as factors in the foreign trade of the Islands.

The value of basketry, embroidery, and lace produced in the public schools in 1924-25 was \$205,392.¹

In June, 1912, the Bureau of Education formally opened a School of Household Industries in Manila.² Young women whose personality marked them as potential leaders were selected to organize and train promising workers in embroidery and other needlework.³

(2) Mechanical trades — woodworking, etc. First introduced by the trade school in Manila and extended to provincial schools, commercial shop work has been extended to many municipal school shops. In the elementary grades es-

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 215.*

² Created under Act No. 2110, Philippine Legislature. Opened June 10, 1912. In December of that year it graduated its first class of one hundred girls. (Announced in the *Manila Times*, December 9, 1912.)

³ The Report of the Director of Education for 1914 (44, 45) stated:

‘The school was established for the purpose of training women in the art of making lace, embroidery, and other kinds of needlework, so that upon return to their homes they might organize and establish working centers with the idea of systematizing the work and placing it on a commercial basis.

.

‘In order to prepare students to meet the commercial requirements to which their work must conform, instructions are given concerning the essential features of its production: (1) Special training is given in selecting and applying designs, the students being taught to discriminate between undesirable patterns and those that are of a standard type; (2) they learn the amount of cloth needed for all the necessary garments of women, the arrangement of their patterns in accordance with the standard styles, the methods of laundering fine laces and embroideries, the amount of the time necessary to complete the different articles, and the preparation of the article for market; (3) instruction is given in the method of organizing needlework centers. They are also given help in understanding and utilizing the local conditions prevailing in their several provinces, as well as the demands of the foreign markets in which they hope to sell their products. They are taught a simple system of accounting, including forms of receipts and letter filing, so that they may conduct their business in an intelligent way. The young women are encouraged

pecial attention is given the making and repairing of equipment and tools for the homes and field work of the boys. The Insular Auditor devised a simple method of accounting for the cost of material and labor used in producing articles in the trade schools. Each student made out his work order, was allowed the necessary materials from the stock room, filled in time cards, and eventually turned in the product, the value of which was appraised.¹ Besides making furniture for the school, some instances have occurred of school buildings being erected by boys in the trade schools. Pupils having special aptitude develop proficiency in fine cabinet work.²

It was some time before teaching along these lines was really practical, but the government gradually developed a policy of teaching in the trade schools only things which were sure to be useful to the students. After they got to be skilled workmen the students were enabled to earn something by their labor.

By 1914 there were 19 authorized trade schools, 13 provincial school shops, and 267 municipal school shops with a total of 7774 pupils and a total output for the year 1914 valued at \$98,274.³

By 1925 industrial training had been extended to 356,043 pupils, of whom 3876 were in the provincial schools and shops; the value of the total products in that year was \$492,532.⁴

(3) Housekeeping. By 1914 plain sewing and garment-making was a prescribed course for all girls in the four primary grades. Instruction in cookery, intelligently using the foodstuffs and utensils customarily found in the average

to work overtime and on Saturdays and holidays in order to provide themselves with the working capital necessary for their start in business after graduation.

'Of special value is the communal life. The school brings together women from all parts of the Islands with their different customs, dialects, and ideas and welds them into an efficient working body.'

¹ '... The school [at Iloilo] has a capital of \$5000, receives orders, each working student takes out a job order as in private business, accounts for time and material, gets pay for his time (some of them work their way through), and the school is selling stuff all the time. It makes the desks for the schools, the boxes for Constabulary, standard measures under the recently installed metric system, chess tables, of which I have a couple, ... A fine sight.' (Journal, III, 221, July 16, 1909.)

² They have shown skill both in design and execution.

³ *Report of the Director of Education, 1914, 83.*

⁴ *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 215.*

home, was being rapidly extended to the older girls in the elementary grades. Also, embroidery, lace-making, weaving, hygiene, and sanitation were prescribed courses for the girls.

The courses in domestic science for girls proved to be one of the most popular and valuable services rendered by the schools. They were taught cooking, hygienic preparation of food, and the protection of food supplies from pollution, a very important thing in the tropics, as owing to the heat and humidity perishable articles deteriorate much more rapidly than they do in colder and dryer climates. The practical application of this work is very well illustrated in an article published in the 'Manila Times':

The Tondo intermediate school, which is typical of the public schools of Manila . . . has some six hundred pupils, more than 85 per cent of whom take advantage of the lunches served. The older girls take tours of duty of a week each in the preparation of the lunches, while other girls are detailed to wash the dishes and act as housekeepers generally.

.
The pupils are given a variety of articles [each costing the student one centavo, or one-half cent] to select from, the menu for each day being decided upon by a committee of the girl cooks. . . .

.
. . . Everything except the bread is cooked in the school kitchen, the bread being contracted for by the month, and baked under supervision of a representative of the cooking class . . . the results of their handiwork being sold at cost price to the pupils themselves, these things always meeting with a ready sale.¹

(4) Agriculture. As the Philippine Islands are essentially agricultural, proper training in agriculture was perhaps the most valuable economic service the educational department could render. The instruction, however, had to be practical and teach methods superior to those practiced by the parents of the children upon their farms. Competent teachers of

¹ The article continued:

'Some of the lunch dishes that were noticed by the reporter yesterday were salmon, boiled meat and sardine sandwiches; beef and vegetable stew; jam sandwiches, cookies, chocolate cake; boiled sweet corn; fried toast; and coffee. Of course, each child only took two or three of these articles, but the variety was there to choose from.' (*Manila Times*, July 27, 1912.)

tropical agriculture were difficult to obtain, and it was some years before courses of instruction of a helpful nature were worked out. This was ultimately achieved. Vegetable gardens on the school grounds and later at the homes of the pupils materially augmented the food supply produced in the Islands and often were sources of profit to the students or their families.¹ Frequently vacant lots in the cities were brought into use as school gardens. The money value of the products of the students' school and home gardens in 1925 was about \$450,000.² The care of lawns and ornamental plants on school grounds was required of all schools.

For the older boys in the higher elementary grades and secondary classes, farm schools were developed in which general farming operations, especially in the production of corn, rice, and other food staples, poultry breeding, and other appropriate forms of animal husbandry, have been taught with success, among tribal peoples and Moros as well as Christian Filipinos. In 1925, there were 318 such schools with 23,779 pupils, nearly 7000 acres of cultivated land, and more than 18,000 domestic animals. The value of the products of these schools in that year was \$194,174.³

Instruction in seed selection, and the introduction of improved varieties of seeds of economic and ornamental plants and of pure-bred domestic animals, have been of great benefit to agriculture.

Nurseries have been maintained at many of the schools for propagating valuable fruit-producing shrubs and trees for distribution to the families of the pupils and other residents of the localities.⁴ There were 3557 of these nurseries in 1925, in which there were 282,588 such propagated shrubs and trees.⁵

¹ The Monroe Survey (57, 58) found:

'One of the strong features of the public-school system is that from the earliest days it has emphasized agricultural activities. . . . All boys are given at least one year of gardening. . . . School-garden work has made large additions to the food supply of the communities, has improved the dietary of the people, and has added greatly to their comfort. . . .

.

' . . . The long record of achievement of the Central Luzon Agricultural School at Muñoz is a demonstration of what this type do for the educational system.'

² *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 215.*

³ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁴ Varieties of coffee resistant to local blights have also been introduced.

⁵ *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 215.*

Boys' and girls' agricultural clubs have been organized through the public schools and are proving both popular and profitable. In 1925, there were 1766 such clubs, engaged in various activities, as gardens, fruit production, poultry, hogs, corn, and cooking, with a total membership of 30,578 and a total value of products from projects of \$216,087.¹

The total value of the industrial products of elementary and secondary school activities, including agricultural, for the year 1925 was \$1,352,400.²

The Monroe Survey found the situation as to agricultural courses in high schools unsatisfactory:

With a very few exceptions, these schools have failed to achieve their purposes. Although some of them have elaborate plants, they are ill attended and lacking in vitality. . . .

The explanation of this situation is to be found in part in the prevailing social attitudes towards manual labor. . . . The crucial weakness is to be found in the educational organization itself.

. . . Until adequate leadership is provided for the program for rural education and until the rest of the educational system is brought into harmony with this program, large results cannot be expected.³

This merely means that these schools have not yet been developed to a point where they can give instruction in agriculture sure to be helpful to the farmer. It leaves a problem still to be resolutely met and solved.

The Spaniards had made few opportunities for healthy participation in games available to the Filipinos. Cock-fighting was a national institution and the usual popular form of entertainment. Most of the towns maintained their cockpit and it was not unusual to see a very large proportion of townspeople moving to the cockpit on Sundays and other holidays; and at these mains betting was a prominent feature.

One of the most notable achievements of the Americans in the Islands has been the diversion of the attention of the young people from the cockpits, with their attendant vice of gambling, to the more healthful and vigorous competitive outdoor sports. There is nothing more important to the young man and woman of healthy mind and body than a

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 215.*

² *Ibid.*, 215, 220.

³ *Monroe Survey, 349.*

healthful outlet for the excess of physical vigor that normally surges within them.

A regular programme of school athletics was finally worked out consisting of group games, including baseball, basketball, track and field sports, as well as calisthenics. By the school year 1913-14 ninety-five per cent of the pupils were recorded as taking part in games and athletics of one form or another.¹ And the Director of Education reported that year 'a noticeable improvement in the physical development of the younger generation' and stated that 'the moral influence of clean, healthy sports has been felt.'²

The enthusiasm with which the young people turned to baseball was most inspiring. Their elders neglected the cockpit to come and see the games of the young ones and cheered them on, and the terms incident to baseball were among the earlier English words which many of the older people acquired. Shouts of 'Slide!' 'Strike!' 'Foul ball!' and 'Rotten!' came readily from onlookers who knew few other words of English. Even in the hills the schoolboys took keenly to baseball and it was not uncommon to see an Igorot boy catching behind the bat, clad only in loincloth, baseball mask, and mit. The Filipinos, besides liking the game, became very expert. Baseball spread rapidly through the provinces and the schools to the hamlets. In 1913, a series of prizes was offered by some friend of sport to each of the provinces, to be given to the team which had the best record of victories in that province. No less than twelve hundred teams competed for these prizes, which means that something more than ten thousand players took part in the competitions.

Competitive games were soon arranged, first between individuals in the same school, later between the schools of different towns, and finally general competitions as between provinces. With the establishment of the Manila Carnival, elsewhere noted,³ inter-provincial games were arranged in which baseball teams and athletes from the different parts of the Islands came together and had interesting competitions.

¹ Special provision was made for the training of teachers, a complete course being given, including such subjects as organization of athletics, group games, the value of athletic courtesy, athletic competitions, playground English, etc. (*Report of the Director of Education, 1914, 73-78.*)

² *Report of the Director of Education, 1914, 74.*

³ See Chapter XX, II, 187.

There naturally followed the organization of a Philippine Amateur Athletic Association in which very careful rules to preserve the amateur status of the competitors in these games were adopted. This association looked largely at their problem, and before long initiated a movement that resulted in the formation of an Oriental Olympic Association with annual competitions between representatives of the Philippine Islands, Japan, and China.¹ In these Filipinos have acquitted themselves with credit, and several times have won the largest number of points as against representatives of their neighboring countries which drew from much larger populations.²

The American army and navy introduced and popularized boxing, which, to the surprise of most Americans and Europeans and of the Filipinos themselves, has aroused widespread interest and remarkable participation, not only in Manila but in the provinces. The schools have not included boxing in their athletic programmes, but in some instances, notably at the Kudarangan Boys' School,³ boxing was enthusiastically adopted by the pupils as a favorite sport and generally favored as the substitute for the customary Moro cutting weapons in the settlement of personal disputes, the rules of the game being strictly enforced by referee and popular school opinion.

The boxing contests of the soldiers and sailors were public and attracted increasingly large audiences of Filipinos, both the younger and older generations developing much enthusiasm as the rules became generally understood. Young Filipinos were keen to assist in training of popular contenders and soon began practice among themselves. Some Filipinos displayed such ability that they were matched in contests with Americans, and began to gain decisions in the feather, bantam, and light-weight classes. Dencio Cabanela, believed by many to be the greatest boxer of his weight who ever lived, carried his triumphs from the Islands to China coast points

¹ This was officially opened January 31, 1913, with visiting Chinese and Japanese athletes.

² The development of athletics in the Islands under the leadership of the Bureau of Education is reviewed in the *Report of the Director of Education*, 1914, 73-78.

³ This school in the heart of the Moro district of the Cotabato Valley on the island of Mindanao enjoyed the special favor of Datu Piang.



YOUNG LADY IN TYPICAL PHILIPPINE DRESS

and even Australia, but died before invading the United States. Other promising young Filipinos gained championship honors over all contenders in the Far East and Australia, and some acquitted themselves so well in contests in the Pacific coast States as to earn recognition as contenders for American championships against the best men of their weights, Pancho Villa becoming the world champion in the featherweight class.

Before the coming of the Americans, no girl in the Philippine Islands had ever indulged in athletics. The decorative but somewhat unsuitable dresses which were worn, not only by women but even by girls twelve years old, with a *pañuelo* or stiff neckerchief round their shoulders, and their long skirts, quite narrow to the knees and flaring out in a long train, precluded any freedom of movement. The girls readily adopted middy blouses and bloomers and took up with enthusiasm tennis, basketball, and indoor baseball. The result was a more normal and healthy growth of the young people, and with the better physique came better morals.

In August, 1903, the Commission enacted a law providing for the selection by examinations of students 'best qualified to receive and profit by a course of instruction and education in the United States . . .'¹ Candidates were required to be natives of the Philippine Islands, students in the public schools, of good moral character, sound physical condition, and not less than sixteen nor more than twenty-one years of age. A total of one hundred and twenty-five such students were authorized for appointment during the ensuing year.²

An agent was appointed to receive, care for, and advise these students while in the United States. Scholarship allowances adequate to cover all necessary cost of transportation, tuition, board, lodging, and other expenses were made from insular funds, and a superintendent of students, by frequent visits and correspondence with the students and the officials of the institutions where they were pursuing their studies, exercised supervision and direction.

¹ Act No. 854, Philippine Commission, August 26, 1903.

² The maximum number of students resident in the United States under these scholarships was one hundred and eighty-three in 1907. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1911, 167.)

This practice has continued with the difference that scholarships were later almost exclusively given for advanced university work preparatory to assignment to duty of a scientific or technical character in the public service. Holders of these scholarships are required to return to the Islands in public service on such assignment as the government deems best in the public interest. Men and women of recognized merit have developed from these Filipino students who have completed courses of study in the United States. Many of them have achieved distinction, some of the abler ones having been promoted to the posts of bureau chiefs and even of secretaries of departments.

American universities have admitted Filipinos, not only those holding government scholarships, but those who have come on their own private account seeking the advantages of residence and study in the United States. These young men and women have been treated with great consideration and have generally conducted themselves with decorum and acquitted themselves with credit. Some of these students have earned high scholastic honors.

The Philippine government has also provided scholarships for students to attend professional schools in the Islands.¹ These scholarships have served a very useful purpose, particularly in bringing to Manila for advanced education representative Mohammedan and tribal young people. In the case of Mohammedan students care has been taken to avoid influence being brought upon them to abandon their religion, as this would deprive them of the influence which it was hoped they would exercise in their home communities upon their return.

For the education of children of American parents and other pupils whose home language was English a so-called American day school was maintained in Manila in which there were enrolled in 1925-26 a total of over four hundred and seventy pupils. A night school in Manila for persons having superior facility in the use of the English language had an enrollment of four hundred and sixty pupils.²

¹ These include the Normal School in Manila, the agricultural schools, the School of Forestry, the School of Nursing, the Constabulary Academy, and the Colleges of Agriculture, Engineering, Medicine, and Veterinary Science.

² *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 221.*

Schools of Commerce and of Arts and Trades, and the Nautical School, have been included under the general head of secondary schools.¹ These have been of value in training young men and women for greater participation in the economic development of their country.²

No provision for the instruction of the deaf and blind appears to have been made by the Spanish government.

During the year 1907-08 the Bureau of Education opened in Manila a school for these defectives, providing at first for a number of deaf children, and later for the blind.³ As the parents of these children in the majority of cases were unable to pay the expense of maintenance away from home, the government made provision to subsist and clothe those attending this institution, whose inmates notwithstanding their handicap were given a chance to develop into self-reliant and self-supporting members of society. Basketry, hat-making, and other handicrafts were taught, as well as academic subjects, the blind using the Braille system of reading.

The success of the institution was remarkable under the management of Miss Delia Delight Rice, an accomplished and experienced teacher from the United States, who gave herself unreservedly to the development of the institution, and of a staff of highly trained Filipino assistants, some of whom were sent to the best institutions in the United States to complete their training in the most advanced methods of these special branches of teaching.

By 1914 graduates of the school were engaged in remunerative employment as tailors, shoemakers, and seamstresses, and others were learning the printing trades. All the girls are taught the care of a home, plain sewing, dressmaking, and lace-making. The enrollment increased from forty-six ⁴

¹ See table, *ante*, 435, footnote 1.

² Schools for trained nurses, midwives, and other activities pertaining to public health are mentioned in Chapter VIII, 'Health,' as they no longer fall within the administrative jurisdiction of the Bureau of Education.

³ *Census*, 1918, II, 81, gives the following statistics:

	<i>Total</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Blind.....	8,667	4,484	4,183
Deaf.....	3,736	2,231	1,505
Deaf-mute.....	5,473	3,127	2,346

⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 250.

pupils in 1913 to one hundred and three in 1925 — seventy-two of the pupils being boys and thirty-one girls.¹

In 1921 the government constructed for this admirable and popular institution a special building upon an adequate site in a suburb of Manila.²

While the Filipinos were enthusiastic in their support of education for the people in general and for their own children and dependents in particular, the system of privilege which prevailed throughout the days of Spanish rule manifested itself in constant agitation on the part of the more influential classes for provision of intermediate and secondary schools even at the expense of primary schools. The American administrators with the limited resources at their command were compelled to use their influence toward maintaining the primary schools, which the Filipino political leaders seemed willing to close in order to give the children of their adherents the advantage of the higher education they wanted regardless of the welfare of the mass of the people. In this they ignored the fact that, as the stability of their institutions depended upon a wide extension of the suffrage, this action tended to postpone the time when they would be ready to maintain with a reasonable chance of success the nationality to which they aspired. Thus the curious anomaly was observable of the Filipinos proclaiming their adherence to the policy of early independence and taking a course inimical to their aspirations, and of the Americans, some of whom were supposed to oppose independence, steadily supporting the most important measure to make such independence possible.

In 1912 the Commission and the Assembly had failed to agree on an appropriation bill, and under these circumstances the total appropriation was limited to the gross amount appropriated the year before. The total amount available for education could not be increased, except by a special legislative act, without taking the additional amount from the appropriation for some other purpose. The situation was further complicated by a necessary increase in the salaries of teachers at this time. The issue was squarely raised that if higher education were to be extended to care for the further education of the growing number of students graduating from

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 221.* ² *Ibid., 1921, 100.*

the primary schools, some of the latter must be closed to make the money available; or, if the primary schools were to be maintained, facilities could not be given for advanced education of the graduating classes.

During the temporary absence of the Governor-General in the United States, the Bureau of Education closed seven hundred and sixty-nine primary schools. The Governor-General upon his return early in 1913, recognizing the magnitude of this backward step, immediately ordered arrangements to be made for opening one thousand primary schools on the first of the succeeding July,¹ and that the Bureau of Education adopt a programme of five hundred additional schools to be opened in each of the succeeding two years.²

The Director of Education in his report for 1913 accurately set forth the situation leading up to the closing of the primary schools:

The only logical relief obtainable was either through limiting to a considerable extent the amount of primary instruction by closing barrio schools, or by reducing the number of intermediate and secondary school pupils to the number enrolled during the school year 1909-10. The first was chosen for a number of reasons . . . the people who have had a voice in affairs have always been much more interested in intermediate and secondary instruction than in the extension of primary schools to the barrios. The Director of Education and his official superiors are constantly in receipt of letters protesting against the closing or demanding the opening of intermediate schools. During the past three years this Bureau has received more than six times as many communications asking for an extension of intermediate instruction as for an extension of primary instruction. Representatives of the Insular Government traveling

¹ In a letter to the Director of the Bureau of Education, the Governor-General wrote:

‘I desire that particular emphasis be laid upon primary instruction, that other things be sacrificed in the future before primary schools are closed, that (in addition to the thousand ordered for 1913) plans be made to prepare for the opening of 500 additional schools for the school year beginning June, 1914, and another 500 for the school year beginning June, 1915, thus bringing up the additional number of schools to 2000 and providing for 200,000 additional children.

‘I pledge to the Bureau of Education my support for this policy, and, so long as I am in office, I will use every effort to persuade the Legislature to make available the necessary funds for this amount of additional primary instruction.’

² This programme was carried out. It is interesting to note that in its propaganda the Philippine Independence Mission of 1922 pointed with pride to the opening of the two thousand schools thus ordered as an achievement of a later administration.

through the provinces are met with requests from every section for the extension of intermediate instruction. *Their attention is very rarely, indeed, called to the desirability of extending primary instruction.*¹

The Filipino leaders later came to a realizing sense that the extension of primary education was of vital and fundamental importance, and in its session of 1918-19 the Legislature, elected under the Jones Law so that both houses were composed almost wholly of elected representatives, passed an appropriation of over fifteen million dollars² 'for the purpose of extending the facilities of free elemental instruction to all the children of school age of the archipelago.' This was in addition to sums appropriated in the annual appropriations for the Bureau of Education.

There was at that time no such sum as fifteen million dollars available in the treasury for these purposes, and the bill was in one sense in the nature of a gesture, as only \$367,500, or less than two and one-half per cent of the amount, was to be paid in the first year; \$1,959,500, or about fourteen per cent, the second year; the balance to be paid in increasing proportions in succeeding years, spread over five years in all. The effect of this was to place the bulk of the burden of securing the money to meet this appropriation on the shoulders of a later American administration to be appointed after the ensuing presidential election.

The action, however, indicated a gratifying realization on the part of the Filipinos of one of the cardinal policies consistently urged by their American administrators.

In order to correlate the work of the Bureau of Education

¹ *Report of the Director of Education, 1913, 12.* (The last sentence of the quotation is italicized here for emphasis.)

Speaking of the reduction of primary schools and the corrective action taken by the Governor-General, the report continued:

'The action taken reduced the number of schools to a dangerously low minimum. The situation created was a serious one. However, His Excellency the Governor-General, by an additional allotment to the Bureau of Education, made possible the opening of 1000 new primary schools, in which it was desired to enroll at least 100,000 additional pupils at the opening of the 1913-14 school year . . . the approximate minimum increase has been secured. . . . The increased enrollment secured will greatly exceed the minimum figure desired.' (*Report of the Director of Education, 1913, 12.*)

² The exact amount was \$15,352,912. Act No. 2782, Philippine Legislature, December 6, 1918.

with the industrial markets of the world, the government determined to establish an agency whose business was the development of a market for Philippine articles and specialties.

One of the fundamental objects of the agency was to ascertain the probable market for each commodity the school children were taught to manufacture, and to make sure that articles for export were not being produced in excess of the probable demand for that class of product in the markets of the world. The Bureau of Education had nearly five hundred thousand children in school, many of them receiving instruction in embroidery, hat- and lace-making, basketwork, and other handicrafts. It was obvious that within a few years the schools would graduate young men and women skilled in making these articles for sale. It was most important that so many should not be trained in any one handicraft as to produce more than their potential markets could absorb. In order to make the training of practical use to the student it was important that he should be able to sell that which he had learned to produce. As most of these commodities were articles of general use, it was believed that the government should take the same thoughtful care in providing a market for the potential product of the graduates of the schools as an industrial concern would normally take to provide for the sale of its own output. This meant a study of markets, careful advertising, and good salesmanship to bring it to pass that these articles were known and properly introduced to the consuming public.

The Sales Agency, as the new office was called, was directed to keep in touch with the big buyers of these products in the United States. Samples of all the products of the schools were displayed in its store, and it was also proposed that the office should keep a list of expert graduates in these industries and communicate with them through representatives in the different provinces, so that, upon receipt of an order for any one of these products, the agency could apportion it to graduates of the schools for production and thus enable them to make use of the training which they had received.

The Sales Agency was first undertaken at a time when there were differences of opinion between the Commission

and Assembly in regard to appropriations and was originally established by the Commission in its exclusive legislative capacity, its activities being applicable to the work of the tribal peoples and the Moros.¹ It was not confined wholly to the work of the schools, as it was believed that the distinctive ornaments, woven fabrics, implements, weapons, basket-work, weaving, and brass work of the tribal people and the Moros would develop a profitable market if brought to the attention of tourists in Manila. The sum of \$37,500 was appropriated for the construction of a store near the site of the new Manila Hotel and for working capital.² The Legislature soon saw the wisdom of making the work of this agency applicable to the whole archipelago.³

Almost coincidently with the establishment of the Sales Agency, the Bureau of Education had, as has been seen,⁴ opened a School of Household Industries in Manila, the bureau thus encouraging and systematizing production while the Sales Agency did a like service for selling the product.

In regard to the Sales Agency the Governor-General in his report for 1913 stated:

The term 'sales agency' scarcely describes the most important work of the institution, for it has been found that it is the standardization of the product far more than the distribution that requires assistance and control. When the agency was founded, none of the handicrafts of the islands had been developed to the point of commercial soundness. Even embroidery, which appeared to be more advanced than any other, represented such a miscellaneous assortment of costs, materials, designs, and standards of execution as to be incapable of commercial classification. Due to the lack of uniformity in the different districts, the placing of orders for any considerable quantities was impossible. The state of affairs as regards other products was even worse. In this field substantial results have been accomplished during the year. In the case of embroidery, in place of 20 districts with at least that number of standards which formerly existed, there is now a single district whose product is

¹ Act No. 2061, Philippine Commission, April 10, 1911.

² *Ibid.*

About three-quarters of this sum was needed for the building, which was completed in August, 1912; the balance was used as working capital with which to start the agency. No appropriation for its continuance was believed necessary, as it was expected that the cost would be defrayed out of the profits of operation.

³ Act No. 2173, Philippine Legislature, February 16, 1912.

⁴ *Ante*, 450.

fairly uniform, and large orders can now be placed with reasonable certainty as to prices, standards, and time.¹

It was not the intention of the government, however, to go permanently into business of this kind, or to compete with private enterprise in case this business proved to be profitable enough either for the big buying concerns in the United States to establish their own direct connections with producers, or for other private parties to take up this work with the producers and organize the production and sale of Philippine products.

Mr. G. A. O'Reilly, of the Bureau of Education, was selected to start the Sales Agency and he began his work by making an extensive tour of the United States and getting in touch there with promising wholesale purchasers of these products.² On his return he stated:

There is no question as to the disposal of the handicraft output of the Islands. A single firm in Chicago — that of Marshall Field

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1913, 35.*

The report further stated:

'The sales agency was organized in 1911, with a view to standardizing the products of the islands, especially those of handicrafts, distributing them advantageously in foreign markets, and circulating information to facilitate commercial transactions between the producers of the islands and those interested in their goods. . . .

'The . . . work was particularly interesting in connection with the School of Household Industries. After leaving the school the graduates work under the commercial direction of the sales agency. Representatives of the agency, of the executive bureau, and of the bureau of education have worked out a plan whereby their efforts toward the commercial development of worthy industries are facilitated and the maximum of harmony and smoothness of operation secured. Before returning to the provinces, the graduates spend several days at the agency, familiarizing themselves with the commercial details of their work. Arrangements have been made with the executive bureau whereby provincial boards are authorized to appropriate sufficient funds to finance the operations of these graduates in the provinces and are directed to furnish every possible assistance to the enterprise.

'The belief that was at first entertained that the sales agency could within a short time be put upon a self-supporting basis has not proved to be well founded. It is not probable that the government should undertake this class of enterprise at all if it were not for the desirability of developing and advertising the industries concerned and of standardizing their products. Until this has been done, therefore, the question of the commercial profitableness of an institution like the sales agency is not the primary consideration.'

² 'I presented to the Commission the law creating the "Sales Agency," as I am calling the new concern that I have been working up. . . . O'Reilly has gone home on leave and is going to work up the business while at home.' (Journal, iv, 321, April 12, 1911.)

and Company — stated to me that they would gladly take the entire lace and embroidery output of the Philippines if they could get it. In New York, Philadelphia and Boston I found the same spirit. Philippine handicrafts are known in a small but extremely favorable way in these cities and dealers are so anxious to do business with the Islands that in a number of places importers are booking orders, delivery to be made three and four years from now.¹

The popularity of the Sales Agency is proved by the following article from the 'Manila Times' printed within six months after it opened:

A 'woman's Paradise,' is the only possible way to describe the embroidery and lace department of the Sales Agency, the little concrete building on the port area, for (once inside) no woman ever leaves of her own accord. . . .

.

The Sales Agency is doing a wonderful work as regards opening up markets for the home products of the Philippines. Only with such a clearing-house as this could the home workers of the provinces, remote and near, be brought in touch with purchasers of their wares, at prices fair to both. By coöperation with the school of household industries, which is annually graduating women and girls as instructors and leaders in money making home pursuits, supply and demand are being brought together in a manner that was thought impossible several years ago.²

Owing to some trouble which arose in regard to certain details in 1914, the agency was discontinued. The work,

¹ Mr. O'Reilly further stated:

'While studying this question of markets in the United States I encountered a few facts that may be interesting to business men. I found, for instance, that the most popular hand-made hat now worn in the United States is not the Panama, but a hat that is known here as the Buntal hat. It is made of a fibre which is available in immense quantities practically all over the islands. The process of weaving is very simple and wherever it has been introduced it is driving the high-grade Panama hat out. This hat is not known in the United States as a Philippine product, but is supposed, by the purchaser at least, to come from Siam. It is called the Bangkok hat. I consider it extremely desirable that an effort be made both towards increasing the production of this hat and having it placed upon the markets of the United States as a Philippine Islands product, bearing some name that will characterize it as such.' (As reported in the *Cablenews-American*, February 18, 1912.)

² The article continued:

'No element of competition enters into the work being done by the agency, its principal work being to spread abroad through the provinces the knowledge of the market which awaits the home industries of the women, and to instruct them in the variety and class of the products for which there is the best market. Information as to fair prices for the work is a notable department of the work.' (*Manila Times*, April 30, 1913.)

however, was not in vain, for it was taken up by private parties who developed very profitable businesses, as is indicated by the growth of the sale of Philippine embroideries in the United States. Although these exports were not deemed of sufficient importance by the customs statistician to be separately mentioned before 1914, by 1920 they reached a value of more than seven and a half million dollars ¹ almost all of which was sold in the United States.²

As a result of the Legislature's enactments requiring its closing,³ the agency finally went out of existence February 28, 1915. The Bureau of Education, however, established ⁴ a general sales department operating 'as a part of the industrial division of the bureau.' Of this department the Governor-General in his report for 1916 said:

... in five months it had established 193 centers in 23 provinces, with 2,762 workers, and the school of household industries in Manila was closed. Instruction is now given in the provinces, with the graduates of the above school acting as teachers. The purpose of the bureau in this matter is not to make profit, but to establish industrial centers, and, when they are securely established in any community the bureau proposes to withdraw from that locality.⁵

Thus it is seen that this work was not discontinued. The agency had on its lists sixteen thousand embroidery workers in Manila and adjacent provinces, capable of turning out \$480,000 worth of embroidery each year, provided a steady market could be assured. Their agents, working on a commission basis, came in contact with approximately twenty-five thousand handicraft workers, and the Secretary of Public Instruction reported that 'sales of their products took place

¹ Embroideries, in 1920, occupied fifth place among exports from the Philippine Islands, the other commodities, in order of their importance, being sugar, hemp, coconut oil and tobacco products. (*Report of the Governor-General, 1920*, 88, 89.)

² *Report of the Governor-General, 1920*, 89.

³ 'Act No. 2324 authorized the sales agency board to close up the agency's affairs at any time, and provided that it should be abolished on and after January 1, 1915. Act No. 2438 extended the time of its existence to include February 28, 1915.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914*, 278.)

⁴ In August, 1916, pursuant to Act No. 2629, Philippine Legislature, February 4, 1916.

⁵ *Report of the Governor-General, 1916*, 19.

in more than one hundred of the smaller cities and towns of the United States.' ¹

Little by little the government came to a realizing sense that one of the best ways of reaching the parents was through the schools. For example, when the Postal Savings Bank was started, the importance of thrift, the value of saving, and the use of the savings bank as a means of properly preserving their money was brought home to the parents through the medium of the children. Through the liberality of a visiting American gentleman and his wife, a sum of money was made available for prizes to be given in schools to those children who made the best showing in the matter of earning money and depositing their savings in the bank.²

The importance of cleaning and beautifying grounds was impressed upon the children. Prizes were given for the best kept school grounds, and the orderliness taught at school was very apt to reflect itself in the appearance and sanitation of the home premises.

Perhaps the most important of the campaigns to reach the people through the children were those of hygiene and sanitation. The sanitary methods necessary to deal with tuberculosis and to check its spread were systematically taught the children and through them carried to the attention of their parents. In order to make the best use of this power, a Junior Red Cross was organized, and through its agency much information valuable in combating disease was disseminated.

Campaigns for extension of the Junior Red Cross and other popular welfare movements have been carried on through the public schools. The latter have received material benefits from these, as in the matter of preventive and remedial dental work for school children under the auspices of the Red Cross. Publicity of preventive measures to combat dangerous communicable diseases, not only of human beings but also of domestic animals, and anticipatory notice and explanation of eclipses and comets, have been given through the schools.

Popular movements to augment food production, including the planting of drought- and pest-resisting field and gar-

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, 318.

² This gift was made by the Honorable Larz Anderson and Mrs. Anderson.

den crops, have been in great part dependent for success upon school campaigns.

There was a curious anomaly in the use of corn as a staple article of diet in the Philippine Islands. In some provinces the people ate corn regularly, and in others they declined to touch it, even to the extent of suffering from famine in times of rice shortage. To remedy this, the Bureau of Education taught the children in their domestic science classes to make appetizing preparations of corn, and later conducted a campaign throughout the Islands, setting aside a corn-eating week. Corn cooked in many different ways, numbering as high as fifty in the corn-eating province of Bohol, was served free to the people by the children of the schools. As corn is successfully grown in most of the provinces, this campaign was productive of a distinct economic advantage to the people, especially in years of partial failure of the rice crop, as corn requires less rain and a shorter period from planting to harvest for food than do most varieties of rice.

Americans found the Islands poorly provided with schoolhouses. Many of the buildings of permanent materials suitable for schools were those belonging to the Church, and in some cases the schools had been conducted on the ground floors of the so-called *conventos*, or residences of the priests. These buildings were no longer available for use by the government for school purposes, and a very general programme of construction was necessary to provide the government with proper schoolhousing. Fortunately the climate of the Philippine Islands was such that it was not necessary to build a structure of permanent materials before a school could be started. Perfectly satisfactory results could be attained in a hastily and easily erected building of light materials, made of bamboo and roofed with grass, such as ninety per cent of the population lived in. The instruction conducted in such a building was just as good and accomplished the same results as instruction given within concrete walls and under a roof of corrugated iron. It was therefore unnecessary for the school programme to be delayed even a week for lack of housing facilities. The interest in schools was such that every community, practically without exception, could be relied upon to put up the necessary temporary structure.

The division of revenues between the insular and municipal governments and the inevitably slow development of the land tax, which was the principal source of revenue for municipal governments, resulted in constantly recurring demands upon the insular treasury for special appropriations for the construction of buildings for primary schools, especially in the villages or *barrios*, as the Filipinos call them. This found expression in the first law¹ enacted by the Legislature following the organization of the Philippine Assembly, appropriating five hundred thousand dollars for the construction of schoolhouses of durable materials in the villages, the appropriation being available in four equal annual installments. This bill, which originated in the elective branch of the Legislature, imposed as conditions of participation in its benefits that municipalities receiving allotments from the appropriation must guarantee a daily attendance of not less than sixty pupils; that the municipality from its funds or by means of voluntary contributions of funds, materials, or labor should contribute not less than fifty per cent of the amount to be allotted from the appropriation, that is one-third of the cost of the proposed new school building; and that the latter be erected only upon land title of ownership to which was vested in the municipality; and finally that the building plans and execution of the work should be in accordance with the general regulations in force.

The Consulting Architect of the Commission prepared plans for a series of schoolhouses of standard design to be built of reinforced concrete as the funds became available and the need arose. Several admirable buildings for normal and secondary schools and large numbers for elementary schools have been erected not only in the city of Manila but also in the provinces.

By 1914 there were 748 permanent type school buildings containing 3950 rooms. Of these buildings, 275 were of concrete construction erected since 1907. In addition, there were 783 school buildings of semi-permanent and 1910 of temporary construction.²

The Monroe Survey of 1925 reported:

¹ Act No. 1801, Philippine Legislature, December 20, 1907.

² *Report of the Director of Education*, 1914, 92, 93, 147.

... No other tropical country has attempted to build up a complete school system with a distinctive type of architecture. ...

A type of permanent, concrete school building has been evolved which is very satisfactory. These permanent buildings conform to the needs of the climate. Unless overcrowded with school children, they meet the standard set up by school hygiene in ventilation, lighting, and sanitation. They are simple and dignified in architecture. They are usually the most conspicuous, as well as the most artistically satisfactory, of the buildings in any community. Their general and special features, as measured by standards set up in school architecture, are also satisfactory.¹

To provide ample space for future extension of buildings as well as adequate playgrounds, school gardens, and proper distance of buildings from public roads with their noisy traffic, the practice was adopted administratively of requiring wherever practicable areas of from one and a quarter to two and one-half acres for elementary school sites, and larger areas for secondary and agricultural schools.

As stated further on, individual and collective voluntary contributions of land, labor, materials, and money have been made by all classes of Filipinos not only for the maintenance of schools but especially for school buildings and sites.

The Legislature has taken the admirable step in several instances of appropriating funds for the construction of elementary and other permanent school buildings as memorials to distinguished patriots, typical of which are the laboratory building of the University named 'Rizal Hall' in memory of Dr. José Rizal, and the intermediate school building at Morong in memory of Tomas Claudio, the first Filipino killed in the World War, a soldier in the American Expeditionary Forces.

Throughout the early years of American administration the educational programme had to be limited on account of the small amount of money available for appropriation.

The report of the Monroe Survey sets forth the following data as to amounts expended upon education in various years and the relative amounts of governmental expenditures de-

¹ Monroe Survey, 74, 75.

voted to education, road building, and health. It is to be noted that the yearly expense of public instruction has increased from somewhat less than \$2,000,000 in 1903 to more than \$10,000,000 in 1923.

CURRENT EXPENSES OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AND TOTAL CURRENT EXPENSES OF GOVERNMENT (INSULAR, PROVINCIAL, AND MUNICIPAL) IN VARIOUS YEARS, 1903-1923

[Source: Monroe Survey, 563, 564.]

Year	Amounts	
	Education	Total Governmental *
1903.....	\$1,897,923	†
1908.....	2,380,681	†
1913.....	3,136,786	\$21,919,483
1918.....	4,064,897	33,139,286
1919.....	5,313,738	42,140,317
1920.....	7,605,442	46,681,834
1921.....	9,399,840	44,968,168
1922.....	10,215,325	43,736,112
1923.....	10,408,113	44,216,971

* These are net expenditures and do not include debt payments, amounts paid to sinking funds, investments in private corporations, advances to railway and other companies, transfer of funds to the Gold Standard Fund, prior adjustments, and intergovernmental transactions or other credit adjustments.
† Amount not stated by the Monroe Survey.

PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL GOVERNMENTAL (INSULAR, PROVINCIAL, AND MUNICIPAL) EXPENDITURES FOR CURRENT EXPENSE AND CAPITAL OUTLAY, DEVOTED TO EDUCATION, HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION, AND HEALTH IN VARIOUS YEARS, 1913-1923 ¹

.

Year	Percentages of total governmental expenditures for —		
	Education	Highway construction	Health
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
1913.....	14.1	13.6	4.90
1918.....	11.9	13.1	5.66
1919.....	12.8	13.3	5.60
1920.....	15.9	10.0	4.62
1921.....	20.3	10.4	4.50
1922.....	21.7	11.7	5.52
1923.....	23.4	12.6	6.01'

With the exception of municipal school funds derived from the real estate tax and the internal revenue apportionment,

¹ Monroe Survey, 568, Table 73a.

public instruction is dependent upon appropriations from the general funds of the insular, provincial, and municipal governments and private contributions.¹

The Filipinos are in no sense apathetic toward education but on the other hand show genuine enthusiasm. Nor is the desire for learning confined to any class. It manifests itself alike among the sons of the wealthy and socially prominent, the children of the middle classes, and throughout the rural and laboring communities. It has found expression in the voluntary contributions for support of additional teachers, purchase of equipment, in the gift of land for school sites, and of money, material, and labor for the construction of school buildings.²

These private or 'voluntary' contributions for schools comprised both 'voluntary assessments' within a community for current expense of schools, for the purchase of school

¹ Sources of funds expended for public schools in 1924 and amount of private contributions during the school year 1924-25 were as follows:

Insular government.....	\$7,653,723
Provincial governments.....	1,454,508
Municipal governments.....	3,156,539
Private contributions.....	665,402

(*Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 219, 220.*)

The amount of the item 'private contributions' is understood to be included in the preceding three between which it is distributed in accordance with the purposes for which the contributions were made.

² The Wood-Forbes Mission reported:

'As before stated, the self-sacrifice of the parents has been great. They have willingly deprived themselves of many necessities in order that they might aid in the voluntary building of schools and properly equip their children for school attendance.' (Report of the Wood-Forbes Mission, 1921, House Document No. 325, 67th Congress, 2d Session, 28, 29.)

For further testimony as to this point see the Monroe Survey, 86, 595-96. This Survey says: '... One striking and commendable feature of the present situation is the great faith which the Filipino people have in education; the pride which they have in their own schools; and the willingness with which they sacrifice in order to provide instruction for their children. According to the last Annual Report of the Director of the Bureau of Education, the voluntary contributions to education amounted to ₱1,191,059 [\$595,529]. But this does not tell the whole story. The entire extent of these contributions is not revealed in his report. Lands and buildings are often given for educational purposes and, in order to keep schools open, voluntary tuition fees are frequently collected.'

'... I addressed the people [at the tribunal, Santa Cruz, Marinduque], congratulating them on their progress, their fine new school building going up wholly by voluntary labor, and promised to help them build the road to the port.' (Journal, II, 172, January 13, 1907.)

equipment and sites, or for construction, and also the contributions made wholly on individual initiative without community propaganda and the pressure of local public opinion. To avoid abuses in raising voluntary contributions for schools, the consent of the Governor-General is required in each instance.¹ Tuition charges must have such prior approval and are allowed only in the cases of schools above the primary grades where provided as a result of popular demand beyond the limit of available government revenues. These charges run from one to two dollars a year.²

With the graduation of the first classes from the high schools, the need for the creation of a university to be modeled upon the most approved American lines became manifest.

¹ Governor-General Wood, in December, 1926, cancelled all approvals previously given for the collection of voluntary contributions for the maintenance of elementary schools in view of the large increase in appropriations from the insular treasury for support of such schools. This did not apply, however, to voluntary contributions for the purchase of school sites and construction of school buildings. (Executive Order No. 43, December 22, 1926.)

² Monroe Survey, 595.

The following tables (from the Monroe Survey, 597, Tables 102, 103) give figures of interest in regard to voluntary contributions:

‘PERCENTAGE RELATIONS OF DIFFERENT KINDS OF VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION REPORTED TO THE BUREAU OF EDUCATION, TOTAL FOR THE ISLANDS, 1913, 1918, 1923
[Source: Annual Reports of the Bureau of Education.]

	1913	1918	1923
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Money.....	53	74	38
Materials.....	12	12	30
Labor.....	10	9	19
Land.....	10	3	9
Miscellaneous.....	15	2	4
Total.....	100	100	100'

‘PURPOSES FOR WHICH VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS ARE EXPENDED
[Percentages of total voluntary contributions in the islands reported to Bureau of Education, expended for different purposes, 1913, 1918, 1923]
[Source: Annual Report of Bureau of Education.]

	1913	1918	1923
	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Salaries.....	....	30	4
Buildings and grounds.....	46	36	74
Libraries.....	3	7	6
Athletics.....	23	13	8
Miscellaneous.....	28	14	8
Total.....	100	100	100'

Pursuant to Act No. 1870,¹ the government opened the University of the Philippines in Manila in the year 1909. The Board of Regents² included the Secretary of Public Instruction, the Director of Education, and the chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction of the Philippine Assembly, *ex officio*, and the following distinguished persons: the Honorable T. H. Pardo de Tavera, the Honorable Rafael Palma, José Rosales, Esq., Enrique Mendiola, Esq., and the Reverend Murray Bartlett, who became the first president of the University. Before the University was opened, Dr. J. J. Harty, Archbishop of Manila, was appointed to the board.³

It was not many years before President Bartlett had to leave the Islands on account of his health, and the Filipinos, then in a wave of Filipinization of the service, selected the Honorable Ignacio Villamor, a lawyer, to be the next president of the University.⁴ There was at the time no Filipino who had sufficient experience as an educator to take that position, and this was later realized by the Filipinos, for after Judge Villamor's appointment as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, they secured the services of the Reverend Guy Potter Benton, an active and aggressive officer, who directed the University from April, 1921, to October, 1923. Dr. Benton was succeeded in turn by the Honorable Rafael Palma. Mr. Palma had a record of distinguished public service as a member of both the lower and upper houses of the Legislature, and as Secretary of the Interior, and for several years he had served as a member of the Board of Regents of the University.

¹ Act No. 1870, Philippine Legislature, June 18, 1908. See also *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1909, 192.

² Section 4 of Act No. 1870 provided that the Board of Regents should consist of the President of the University as *ex-officio* chairman, Secretary of Public Instruction, Director of Education, chairman of the Committee of Public Instruction of the Philippine Assembly, and five added members to be appointed by the Governor-General with the advice and consent of the Philippine Commission.

³ *Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 1st Philippine Legislature, 2d Session, 29, 725.

⁴ Judge Villamor had previously held the offices of Judge of Court of First Instance, Attorney-General, and Executive Secretary. While president of the University he performed the duties of Director of the Census of 1918, and later became Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

The government had established the Philippine Medical School as early as 1905, and had started schools in various professional and technical subjects, such as forestry, in order to carry out the policy of training Filipinos to take on as many as possible of the government services. It was manifestly necessary to have all these schools belong to one university and their natural home was the University of the Philippines supported by the government. The University created or eventually took over the following schools:

College of Medicine established as the Philippine Medical School in 1905 became a college of the University in December, 1910; schools of dentistry, pharmacy and nursing were added later;

School of Fine Arts, created with the University;

College of Agriculture, established at Los Baños in 1909;

College of Veterinary Science, opened in Manila in 1910;

College of Engineering, opened in June, 1910;

College of Liberal Arts, opened in 1910;

College of Law, founded in 1911;

School of Forestry, established in 1916;

Conservatory of Music, established in 1916;

Junior College of Liberal Arts, opened at Cebu in 1918, became the Junior College of the University in 1922;

School of Education, organized as a department of the College of Liberal Arts in 1913, became the College of Education in 1918.¹

The Monroe Survey comments that the University was originally organized in one respect upon the European rather than the American model in that a two-year course in the College of Liberal Arts was to be followed by professional or technical work in one of the specialized schools of the University. This was changed later, the courses in the College of Liberal Arts extended to four years, and since then 'the University had conformed in its organization and administration to the American type.' The Survey further reports: 'The University is yet in its institutional youth, but its accomplishment justifies the belief that a happy future lies ahead.'²

There is grave intimation contained in the report of the Survey that political considerations have entered into certain aspects of University administration, and this word of caution is found:

¹ Monroe Survey, 609, 610.

² *Ibid.*, 610, 611.

... Higher education ... is an activity which can be carried on effectively only in an environment of detachment and independence reasonably far removed from considerations of expediency and policy. To discharge its functions of training youth and of investigating and extending the realms of knowledge, the members of its teaching staff and of its administrative and governing boards should not be in too close contact with those who are directly and immediately concerned with the administration of the affairs of State and who must almost inevitably yield to a considerable extent to temporary considerations of expediency and policy.¹

The following statistics as to the growth of the University are also taken from the Monroe Survey:²

'Years	Students	Teaching Staff	Graduates
1911-1912.....	1,400	79	48
1912-1913.....	1,398	105	80
1913-1914.....	1,502	115	149
1914-1915.....	2,075	143	222
1915-1916.....	2,401	156	306
1916-1917.....	2,975	167	337
1917-1918.....	3,289	204	380
1918-1919.....	3,312	245	532
1919-1920.....	3,409	274	572
1920-1921.....	3,838	301	517
1921-1922.....	4,693	300	617
1922-1923.....	4,839	409	679
1923-1924.....	5,993	422	717 ³

By December, 1926, the enrollment in all colleges and schools of the University had reached 6464. At that time there were in the instructing force 44 Americans and foreigners and 419 Filipinos.³

¹ Monroe Survey, 613.

See pages 609 ff. of the report for a disinterested criticism and recommendations as to the University of the Philippines.

² Monroe Survey, 616, Table 112.

³ Data furnished by the Department of Public Instruction.

The *Philippines Free Press* in its issue of September 4, 1926, published an outline of answers received from a questionnaire, dealing with necessary expenses, which had been sent to representative university students in Manila. The expenses of students from the provinces whose families did not live in the city averaged for board and lodging \$14.00 a month; laundry \$2.50; school supplies \$1.50; tuition and laboratory fees \$12.50 to \$35.00 per semester; amusements \$2.50 a month; cakes and candies \$0.10 to \$0.25 a day. The smallest monthly allowance of non-resident students was \$12.50 per month, the average \$20.00 per month, and in some instances the sons of wealthy planters received as much as \$50.00 or more per month. Students living with their families in Manila usually received \$2.50 a week, for carfare and incidentals.

At first a very large proportion of the University students elected to take courses in the School of Fine Arts and it was difficult to get students who were willing to become veterinarians or to enter other schools of applied science. Scholarships were offered to attract the required number of students to courses necessary for filling technical posts in the government service.

The standards of instruction in the Colleges of Agriculture and Veterinary Science and in the School of Forestry are good and their graduates in great demand by private enterprises as well as for government service. The other schools of the University have healthy competition with courses in private institutions.

In 1898 libraries and museums containing volumes, manuscripts, and other material of historic and scientific value were to be found in the University of Santo Tomas and in some of the colleges maintained by the religious orders, especially those of the Jesuits. Also, there are in the libraries of the monasteries valuable manuscripts relating to the history of the Spanish administration of the Islands. Circulating and reference libraries open to the general public, however, do not appear to have existed prior to the year 1900, when the American Circulating Library Association of Manila, a private organization formed by Americans of the army and navy, opened to the public its library of books chiefly contributed in the United States. This institution was originally designed as a memorial to Americans who had given their lives in the service of their country in the Islands. A year later the Commission accepted the tender of the library and it passed wholly to the government, under the management of a board of trustees composed of Americans and Filipinos.¹

Also in 1901 the Commission established a museum of ethnology, natural history, and commerce.²

To meet the need for an adequate scientific library provision was made in the Bureau of Science³ and an excellent

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1902, part 1, pp. 896, 897.

² Act No. 284, Philippine Commission, October 29, 1901.

³ Act No. 389, Philippine Commission, April 12, 1902.

The Bureau of Science was then known as the Bureau of Government Laboratories.

reference and working library became available not only to government officials but also to the public.¹

In 1909 all libraries of the government were consolidated in an institution termed 'The Philippines Library.'² In 1916 there was further consolidation by the addition of the archives of the former Spanish government of the Islands, the administration and records of copyrights, and all museum material owned by the government.³

The demand for public libraries in the provincial cities and towns has been met as the revenues of the government permitted; by the end of 1925 branch libraries had been established at ten of the more important points outside of Manila, and a total of about 140,000 bound volumes and 300,000 pamphlets, besides the best current American and Philippine periodicals, were available to the public.⁴

The public schools throughout the Islands have been encouraged to form libraries, and by 1925 these numbered more than 3800, with nearly 800,000 books.⁵

The entrance by the Philippine government into the field of education previously occupied exclusively by the Church, could not fail to awaken resentment on the part of many of the priests brought up under a system in which Church and State were one, the Church on the whole dominating the State. Instances were not few in which the local Spanish priest preached against the government schools and even threatened with excommunication parents of those children who attended the government in preference to church schools.

One cannot but sympathize with the feelings of a priest who believed that religious instruction was a necessary element of education and who looked askance at educational facilities in the hands of those of a different religious belief. Naturally he feared that such schools would be used to weaken the ties that bound the pupil to his Church. The fact

¹ By 1925 this library contained 88,605 volumes. (*Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 197.*)

² Act No. 1935, Philippine Legislature, May 20, 1909.

³ Act No. 2572, Philippine Legislature, February 4, 1916.

⁴ *Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 299, 300.*

⁵ *Report of the Director of Education, 1925, 132-35.*

that religion was not taught in the schools, that religious toleration was professed and practiced by the government, was not patent to him nor within the scope of his understanding.

The principal criticism with which the Church viewed the schools as established by Americans is well expressed in *La Libertas*, the organ of the monastic orders, in an editorial¹ which praised the extension of public schools in all the municipalities but criticized the lack of religious teaching in the schools, and objected to the fact that the schools were co-educational. This latter was because of the Spanish idea that girls and boys could not with propriety be educated together in school.

The Bureau of Education was very scrupulous in prohibiting the interference of its teachers with the religion of their pupils. An effort was made to secure American Roman Catholics for the teaching service in the public schools, but with little success. As most of the teachers were Protestants and almost all the children Roman Catholics, the antagonism of the Church and parents to the schools might have been roused to a point that would have greatly lessened their usefulness had not the government made the rule absolute that no interference with the religion of the pupils would be tolerated. In fact, the government went further and by law provided that a half hour of religious instruction, three days a week, could be given in the school building by the parish priest or local minister to any child whose parent or guardian desired it.²

¹ Under the title 'The Public Schools,' in the issue of October 5, 1909.

² The section of the law (Act No. 74, Philippine Commission, January 21, 1901) drawn to cover this point is so explicit that it is presented here in full:

'Sec. 16. No teacher or other person shall teach or criticize the doctrines of any church, religious sect, or denomination, or shall attempt to influence the pupils for or against any church or religious sect in any public school established under this Act. If any teacher shall intentionally violate this section he or she shall, after due hearing, be dismissed from the public service.

'*Provided, however,* That it shall be lawful for the priest or minister of any church established in the pueblo where a public school is situated, either in person or by a designated teacher of religion, to teach religion for one half an hour three times a week in the school building to those public school pupils whose parents or guardians desire it and express their desire therefor in writing filed with the principal teacher of the school, to be forwarded to the division superintendent, who shall fix the hours and rooms for such teaching. But no public school teacher shall either conduct

When instances of the interference of the priests or friars with the freedom of the children to attend public schools came to the attention of the government, the matter was taken up by the Governor-General with the Apostolic Delegate, or the Archbishop. The later Apostolic Delegates were Italian, but disposed to coöperate with the Americans. After Governor Taft reached his understanding with the authorities in Rome in 1902, an American archbishop¹ and American bishops were sent to the Islands. The relations between Church and State, although formal, were always very friendly and marked with no unpleasantness on either side. Thus it was only necessary for the Governor-General to call the attention of the church authorities in Manila to practices objectionable to the government, and the spirit in which the American prelates managed their affairs resulted in almost every instance in remedial steps being taken. In cases of a priest interfering with a school child the priest was spoken to or transferred, or otherwise dealt with by his ecclesiastical superior, but these situations were not allowed to become too acute.

The law establishing the public school system provided that nothing in the act should 'be construed in any way to forbid, impede, or obstruct the establishment and maintenance of private schools.'²

In addition to the schools conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church there were also schools carried on by Protestant missions of various denominations, and numerous private schools and colleges as lay enterprises.

The Church continued to maintain many of its former

religious exercises or teach religion or act as a designated religious teacher in the school building under the foregoing authority, and no pupil shall be required by any public school teacher to attend and receive the religious instruction herein permitted. Should the opportunity thus given to teach religion be used by the priest, minister, or religious teacher for the purpose of arousing disloyalty to the United States, or of discouraging the attendance of pupils at such public school, or creating a disturbance of public order, or of interfering with the discipline of the school, the division superintendent, subject to the approval of the General Superintendent of Public Instruction, may, after due investigation and hearing, forbid such offending priest, minister, or religious teacher from entering the public school building thereafter.'

¹ Right Reverend Jeremiah J. Harty.

² Act No. 74, Philippine Commission, January 21, 1901, Section 25.

schools and opened a number of new ones. These and some lay schools, in which instruction until recent years was usually conducted in Spanish, drew their patronage very largely from the wealthy families and were looked upon by the families of social position as more select than were the government schools patronized by the children of people in all walks of life. Also many children were sent to the church schools by parents from a sense of true devotion to the tenets of their Church.

It was not long, however, before the results of the inferior teaching which had been practiced in the private schools as conducted in Spanish days, and which still persisted in many of the schools carried on into the days of American rule, began to manifest itself in the inability of the children who obtained their education in these schools to compete successfully for entrance to the University or professional schools, or for civil service positions — something very much in the eyes of the young Filipinos, particularly those who had political ambitions.

There was increasing criticism of the courses of study and instruction given in some of the private schools until, in the first session of the Legislature following the establishment of the Philippine Assembly in 1907, several bills were introduced looking toward the compulsory supervision by the government of private educational institutions. Such legislation was not viewed with favor by the government, as it was believed that the provisions of the corporation law¹ accomplished substantially the results desired, in a more practical manner, and without arousing the opposition and friction which would undoubtedly follow the passage of a compulsory supervision law.

Some of the private colleges and schools had recognized the necessity of raising their standards of instruction, and when they applied for authority to grant diplomas and confer degrees it was found that their standards were sufficiently

¹ 'Whenever so empowered in writing by the Secretary of Public Instruction and under such terms and conditions as said Secretary may prescribe, universities and colleges duly incorporated in accordance with this Act may grant diplomas and confer degrees.' (Act No. 1459, Philippine Commission, March 1, 1906, Section 168.)

high to justify the government's giving them the necessary authorization. A large number of private educational institutions immediately applied for governmental supervision of their curricula, methods of teaching, textbooks, and equipment in order that they might receive similar governmental approval.¹

The applications for governmental supervision and approval soon were so numerous that it was impossible for the Secretary of Public Instruction personally to perform these duties, and for the purpose he detailed as his representative Mr. P. S. O'Reilly, one of the most efficient division superintendents of the Bureau of Education. Mr. O'Reilly, himself a Roman Catholic, proved no less efficient and satisfactory a liaison officer for Protestant and nonsectarian educational institutions than for the more difficult task of supervision of the educational institutions of his own Church. With a woman assistant for girls' schools, he developed a sympathetic and helpful relation between the government and private schools throughout the Islands. This work has been carried on by his successors, and pupils may now pass on certificate from many private schools to public schools and vice versa upon change of residence or other circumstances.²

Private educational institutions under the auspices of both the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant missions, as well as lay schools undertaken as business ventures, are constantly

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 2, p. 779.

² The Philippine papers, always on the alert for something to criticize, went so far as to attack this admirable arrangement. The following translation of such an attack is of interest:

'... The government, for the purpose of impelling all studious youths toward official schools, has surrounded the latter with certain guarantees and privileges in which private schools barely participate. The Department of Public Instruction has drawn up a course of study for all schools, as the condition *sine qua non* for their recognition, and the government is an Argus in spying out the slightest slip of private schools in order to withdraw the recognition given them. Is not this an offense against the freedom of education? Thus, the tendency is to make private schools disappear little by little in order to leave a wider field for official schools and in this way to be able to embed in the brains of our youth the ideas of the government.' (*La Vanguardia*, May 22, 1912.)

The progressive annual increase in the number of private schools does not bear out the forecast that the policy of the government would result in their disappearance.

increasing in numbers.¹ They offer elementary and higher education, even university work, and are an important factor in the educational facilities available in Manila and in many cities and towns in the provinces. Perhaps the most notable Protestant mission school is the Silliman Institute in Dumaguete.²

In 1917, with Filipinos in control of both branches of the Legislature, a law³ was passed making the inspection of private schools and colleges obligatory for the Secretary of Public Instruction. This does not prevent the existence of schools of low grade which have not government recognition, and the Monroe Survey criticizes somewhat caustically the quality of many of the 'private adventure' schools.⁴ It pays deserved tribute, however, to the church schools of various denominations which it finds to be of good quality.⁵

¹ The following table prepared by the Monroe Survey (p. 506, Table 59) in 1925 shows the number and enrollment of church and private secondary schools which have received government recognition:

'Year	Number of schools				Enrollment			
	Catho- lic	Protest- ant	Nonsec- tarian	Total	Catho- lic	Protest- ant	Nonsec- tarian	Total
1913.....	16	1	13	30	2,029	59	497	2,585
1918.....	28	4	18	50	3,015	353	1,491	4,879
1919.....	31	7	22	60	3,052	489	2,427	5,968
1920.....	33	8	25	66	3,146	620	5,360	9,126
1921.....	34	10	28	72	3,278	807	6,568	10,653
1922.....	35	12	37	84	3,425	1,027	9,038	13,490
1923.....	59	13	49	121	3,573	2,008	11,210	16,791
1924.....	61	15	66	142	3,646	2,530	13,230	19,406

² See footnote 5 on this page.

³ Act No. 2706, Philippine Legislature, March 10, 1917.

⁴ Monroe Survey, 507-13.

⁵ 'The institutions under the supervision of the Protestant missions are not numerous but are well organized and administered. . . . Mention must be made of the most distinguished of the institutions under Protestant mission influence, Silliman Institute at Dumaguete. Its buildings, equipment, teaching personnel, and methods of instruction are of the highest standards and it deserves the high esteem in which it seems to be held throughout the Islands.

'The educational institutions under the control of the Catholic church are numerous and widely spread. They naturally differ in efficiency. Without the taint of profit-making they disclose few of the unpleasant physical aspects of the private adventure schools. On the contrary, they are often found in parts of nunneries and monasteries amid the most pleasant surroundings. The Board advocates an extension of them in similar institutions. In most of the elementary schools the work seemed well conducted and the children happy. In some, however, especially in the provinces, the textbooks were very old and the teaching of an antiquated and formal character. Almost invariably the secondary schools of the Church are of a higher

The Secretary of Public Instruction in his annual report for 1925 stated that the Legislature had provided for a private school commissioner and staff of twelve qualified assistants. This should make for more adequate supervision.

The following interesting summary of accomplishments of the Philippine public school system and the requirements for the future are given by the Monroe Survey:

Twenty-five years have witnessed the creation of an educational system in the Philippines that reaches into the most remote barrios and the most distant islands. Through this system the opportunities of elementary and secondary education are now extended to over 1,100,000 boys and girls. These children are housed in school buildings which compare favorably with the school buildings of wealthier countries. . . . The mere physical achievement involved in this development of an educational system is of great magnitude.

This achievement is a product of the energies of the thousands of American and Filipino teachers, supervisors, and administrators who have given their services to the schools. But it would not have been possible without the funds supplied by the Filipino people. Through public taxation and voluntary contribution they have taken from their earnings to provide the material resources necessary to the development of the schools. . . . In 1903 the Islands devoted to education close to ₱4,000,000 [\$2,000,000] of public funds, whereas in 1923 this sum was not far from ₱23,000,000 [\$11,500,000]. Although the value of the peso was considerably less at the close than at the beginning of this period, the increase in public moneys devoted to education is impressive. The Filipino people merit high praise for this material evidence of interest in spreading enlightenment throughout the Islands.¹

The Survey goes on to set forth that, creditable as the showing is, less than one-third of the children of school age were getting an education and estimates a further twenty

quality than are the primary. Some of them such as De La Salle College for boys and Santa Escolastica College for girls situated in Manila maintain the highest standards with reference to physical plant, equipment, teaching personnel, and methods of instruction. Higher education under Church influence finds expression in the Ateneo de Manila and the University of Santo Tomas. The Commission on its visits received a very favorable impression of the work carried on in the Ateneo. It is one of the best staffed, equipped, and instructed institutions in the Islands. A spirit of alertness characterizes its activities. The venerable University of Santo Tomas is passing through a metamorphosis which will enable it to realize its possibilities. The Islands need a strong private institution to compete with the University of the Philippines in advancing intellectual and professional welfare.' (Monroe Survey, 93, 94. See also pp. 505-15.)

¹ Monroe Survey, 78-79.

million dollars a year as necessary to extend the benefits of education to all children of school age in the archipelago.¹ American achievement in the extension of primary education has been notably greater than that of the British, Dutch, and other colonial administrations.²

If the following words from the address of a schoolboy in Zamboanga could be taken as typical of the kind of spirit that American teachers have inculcated, one could look forward with confidence to a progressive regeneration of the Philippine people.

We have learned why the lands of the Filipino lie uncultivated, and why the people struggle against poverty, superstition and ignorance; that if our country would be free from this poverty we must cultivate our rich soil, for there lies our wealth. We must raise our own food and make our own clothes, must export more than we import.

If we would be free industrially we must raise up an army of workers who will be willing to work long at the same wages. The boys and girls of this country must learn to be proud of their ability to do things and not to be ashamed that they have to work. The long finger nails will have to go.

.

We hope to see every foot of tillable soil under perfect cultivation; to see these islands shipping rice to America or other nations of the world instead of importing it from China.

We hope to see Filipino merchants selling largely Filipino goods;

¹ The Survey continues:

'To provide this minimum of education to all children of appropriate age, even though the quality of instruction is not improved, will require great increases in educational expenditure. At the present time, the per-pupil cost of instruction in the primary school is ₱11 [\$5.50] and in the intermediate school ₱24 [\$12]. If the opportunities of the primary school are to be extended to all children of primary-school age an increased expenditure of more than ₱10,000,000 [\$5,000,000] will be necessary. To extend the privileges of the intermediate school in the same fashion will require an additional expenditure of at least an equal amount. This means that if an elementary education of seven years is to be provided for all children of elementary-school age, the Filipino people will have to spend annually approximately ₱20,000,000 [\$10,000,000] more than they are spending now. In other words, the present cost of such education would have to be doubled. Moreover, these estimates do not include the costs for school plant and equipment which any expansion of the system necessarily entails. If elementary education of even the present quality is to be made universal in the Islands, the revenues for education must be very greatly increased.'

² See Chapter XXVI, 'Conclusion.'

to see the Filipinos rich enough to afford foreign luxuries but industriously producing their own necessities.

We hope to see the Filipinos eating good, nourishing food not only on fiesta days but every day, to see every window in every sleeping room wide open to the fresh air at night.

All this we hope to see, and more, because these are the ends for which we are striving.¹

¹ As reported in the *Manila Times*, April 27, 1911.

CHAPTER XI

PRISONS

It was the practice of the Spanish government to deport persons convicted of ordinary crimes as well as political offenders to Mindanao and southern Palawan or other remote places in the Philippine Islands, and in the cases of political offenders also to Guam, to Spain, or to the Spanish possessions in Africa. Consequently the capacity of the existing Philippine prison institutions in 1898 represented but a minor fraction of the total number of convicts.¹

In the press of the many activities which absorbed the attention of the Commission in the early days of its labors, the especial attention of the officers of the government had not been directed to prisons beyond the adequacy and proper preparation of food, sanitation, and other more obvious reforms dictated by humane considerations.

Manila boasted a very extensive set of prison buildings, known as Bilibid, one of the sights of the city, which tourists were always invited to see. It served from the beginning of American administration as a central prison for the whole archipelago, to which all persons convicted of crime carrying a sentence longer than one year were committed, and also both long and short term prisoners sentenced by the courts of Manila.² A high wall, commanded at intervals by stone towers, enclosed a large tract of land in which was built a central tower, used by the guards for observation, and mounted with a Gatling gun. From this tower radiated the prison barracks as though they were the spokes of a wheel, each barrack having its own yard, the walls of which ran in a direct line toward the central tower, leaving no portion of the yards free from observation from either the central or one of the towers on the enclosing wall. While most of the

¹ An account of prisons in the Islands prior to American occupation, by Justice Florentino Torres, of the Philippine Supreme Court, is to be found under the title 'Criminals and Prisons' in the *Census*, 1903, iv, 416-26.

² Act No. 1703, Philippine Commission, August 31, 1907.

buildings were of durable materials of masonry and hard wood, yet even within the prison walls of Bilibid were to be found inflammable structures made of bamboo with palm leaf thatch which easily became infested with vermin. This prison could accommodate about thirty-four hundred inmates, but it was inadequate to care for the numbers committed to it, which in 1904 rose above forty-four hundred. Overcrowding resulted, tuberculosis was frequent, the hospital facilities were inadequate, mortality of prisoners high, and there was confinement of insane and juveniles with criminals.

Remedial steps became urgently necessary. Tuberculosis patients were removed to a large building outside the prison for special treatment, pending the time when an adequate modern prison hospital could be provided, which was later done by building a large concrete structure on an extension of the prison grounds, after which all sick prisoners were given proper care. This hospital building included all essentials to modern hospital practice and contained separate departments for tuberculosis cases in an open-air ward on the roof, and for other dangerous communicable diseases, and also for women patients, all under qualified medical officers, chief nurse, and assistants.

Negotiations with the Archbishop of Manila resulted in his providing a separate institution ¹ to take charge of juvenile delinquents, where they were given a course of training much better suited to their age than was possible in a prison for adult criminals.²

The insane were removed from Bilibid to the commodious buildings and grounds of the San Lazaro estate at Manila, upon the vacation of these by the transfer of lepers to the newly established leper colony on the island of Culion.³ When these arrangements had been completed, the warden of Bilibid was instructed to refuse to receive any person committed for confinement as insane.

¹ Act No. 1438, January 11, 1906, and Act No. 1703, August 31, 1907, Philippine Commission.

² Later the Jones Law prohibited any payment of public funds to church organizations, and the government established its own training schools for juvenile delinquents.

³ These were properly disinfected and no instance occurred of insane patients contracting leprosy.

These measures improved conditions in Bilibid, but there was still overcrowding. Temporary devices such as utilizing convicts at work on road building in the provinces, noted elsewhere,¹ and in the construction and maintenance of fortifications at Corregidor, gave further relief. But the final solution of the problem was reached by establishing a penal colony on the island of Palawan.

The Bureau of Health was given control of the sanitation of all prisons and operation of prison hospitals.² Every prisoner on admission to Bilibid was placed in 'quarantine,' given a thorough physical examination with a view to remedial medical and surgical treatment if needed, and cleansed of intestinal parasites, with which about ninety per cent of prisoners were found, on admission, to be suffering.

It was found in certain instances that transfers of prisoners long distances, or transfers involving great change in altitude, were injurious to the health of the prisoners. Igorots brought down from the mountains and imprisoned in Manila languished, and it was found necessary, in the interests of humanity and the proper administration of justice, to establish a prison in the mountains so that the Igorots could work out their terms of imprisonment in their own climate and within sight of their own hills. Similarly, a penal farm was established on the site of the former Spanish penitentiary of San Ramon, near Zamboanga, a healthful location extending from the sea beach inland to the foot of the mountains, where all male convicts from the Moro and tribal, as well as civilized, peoples of the Moro Province underwent their terms of imprisonment.

The conditions in which all prisons in the Philippine Islands were found at the time of American occupation indicated that the prison practices of the Spanish authorities had been primitive, as judged by American standards.

By the reorganization act of 1905,³ the Bureau of Prisons was given general supervision over the administration of all insular and provincial prisons. In these, inspections had revealed a great many defects, some easily remedied and some not. Many were structural and required the erection of ex-

¹ See *ante*, 384-86.

² Act No. 1407, Philippine Commission, October 26, 1905.

³ *Ibid.*

pensive new prisons. Proper care had not always been taken to see that there should be a free passage of air through the living and sleeping rooms, an important matter in all climates but essential in the tropics. Plans for a model prison were prepared by the insular government and distributed to provincial boards for their consideration and guidance in alterations of existing buildings and in new construction.

Municipal prisons were mere local jails for the confinement of misdemeanants, of persons sentenced to imprisonment for not more than one month, and for the temporary detention of persons charged with criminal offenses. These jails were generally located in a portion of the ground floor of the municipal office building or *presidencia*, and under the charge and immediate responsibility of the municipal president through the chief of police.

Provincial prisons were under the immediate supervision and responsibility of provincial governors and provided for confinement of persons awaiting trial for alleged criminal offenses, and also persons tried and sentenced to imprisonment for periods not exceeding one year nor less than one month. All expense of these prisons was paid from provincial revenues except in the cases of detention and sentenced prisoners charged with violations of the immigration or opium laws, whose maintenance was at insular expense.

In addition to regular inspection by the Director of Prisons, provincial prisons were subject to inspection by judges of the Court of First Instance and by the officers of the Constabulary, all of whom were required to report to the Governor-General faults in administration, alleged abuses, and any other matter appearing to require corrective action.

The Director of Prisons standardized prison records and statistics and other technical features of administration. All wardens were brought to Manila for instruction and proper training at Bilibid. They were supplied also with printed instructions, rules, and regulations for the government of prisoners, and a manual for the utilization of prison labor. In general, provincial officials responded well to these measures for increased efficiency.

The insular government was most fortunate in being able to secure the services of Mr. Mortimer L. Stewart as Director

of Prisons, under whose sympathetic direction most of these reforms were carried out. Later, upon the Filipinization of the service, the position was filled by the promotion of Mr. Ramon Victorio, an able and progressive Filipino who has satisfactorily carried on the work.

It became the practice in the early days of American administration for the Governor-General on his inspection trips always to walk unannounced into the prisons and jails, and in these were found extremes of ugly abuses on the one hand and on the other a latitude and freedom given to prisoners such that their confinement was no punishment at all. Maladministration on the part of those in office often manifested itself in the provincial prison or municipal jail, and some very curious and not very pleasant episodes indicative of the looseness of prison administration in the provinces were thus brought to light.

At first instruments of torture from Spanish days were not unusual, and sometimes an inspection revealed ugly-looking whips, or heavy stocks and pillories in which unfortunate prisoners could be fastened by the legs, or hands and neck. If one should undergo the discomfort of sitting by the hour with the ankles thrust through holes in a heavy piece of wood, holding them about six inches from the ground, he would soon realize the torture of confinement in such a posture when extended over a number of days or even hours. The Americans found one unfortunate insane boy who had been so confined for years. He had a mania for arson, had escaped a few times and set fire to the town, and the officials had no other way of securing him.

Orders were issued that every instrument of torture be taken from the jails and destroyed, including whips, stocks, and heavy chains.

Other abuses of a more subtle nature were discovered. In one province it was found that a little ring of rascals, including the provincial governor, the local justice of peace, and his brother, had grouped themselves into a closed corporation designed to utilize the machinery of the government for their private gain. People coming from the interior to the seaport and bringing their produce were compelled to sell their goods to the ring at prices fixed by it — a minor fraction of their fair

value. Failure to do this resulted in charges being filed against the owner of the goods, perhaps for sedition, his goods 'confiscated,' and he himself thrown into jail to languish for months. The brother of the justice of the peace who ordered these commitments had the contract for feeding the prisoners and they were none too well fed, though a large part of the revenues of the province was supposedly used for that purpose. On the occasion of a visit of Governor-General Wright to this province, it was found that no less than one hundred and ninety people were confined in the provincial jail, without adequate air, many of them contracting tuberculosis as a result of their experience; and in some instances women held as witnesses were detained in the same room with men convicted of crime. Governor-General Wright ordered a special session of the court to be held immediately in the province to give these people the privilege of an early trial under an American judge, and the delinquent justice of the peace found himself committed to the jail to which he had consigned many innocent persons.

On one occasion, when the Governor-General was walking along a street in one of the provincial capitals in northern Luzon, a paper was pushed into his hand by a woman as he passed. It proved to be a communication to the effect that the daughter of the woman had been seduced and later murdered by a young man of high family of the town, who had been convicted of the crime and sentenced to fourteen years of imprisonment at hard labor. The complaint went on to say that this man was not compelled to serve his sentence. Under pretence of being sick, he did none of the prison labor and, while nominally in prison, with the connivance of the warden and the provincial governor he had been living at home. Inspection of the jail proved this to be the case. The young man was then in the hospital of the prison feigning illness. The Director of Health of the Islands happened to be a member of the Governor-General's party and he examined the young man and found him to be in perfect health. When the warden was asked why the law had not been complied with and the man sent to prison in Manila, as was ordered in all cases where the sentence exceeded one year, he said that the young man had been too sick to move. It was pointed out

that his convalescence had now reached the point when it would be safe to move him. It chanced that the Governor-General's steamer was in the harbor, and so, duly manacled, the convict was transferred aboard the ship and his period of immunity from punishment ended.

On another occasion an inspection of the municipal jail in a southern province revealed the fact that nine women, three or four of them with children at the breast, were confined in a little room, without furniture, where there was not space enough for all of them to lie down at once. There was no chance for admission of outside air or light, the only apertures being between slats in the door opening upon a corridor. As the Governor-General passed, one of the women prisoners burst into a flow of impassioned oratory, setting forth the evil conditions under which they were confined, and made so good a case that within half an hour all but one of the women were released by pardon on the ground that they had undergone cruel and improper punishment. The officials responsible for these abuses were called to account and vigorously reprimanded, and provision made for future adequate care of municipal prisoners. The evil in this case was all the greater because a commodious, well-aired room, suitable for women and children to occupy, stood empty at the time, but those in charge said it was reserved for the use of any of the police who happened to feel indisposed.

At the other end of the scale, it was sometimes found that the municipal prisons were mere lounging places. Upon the arrival of the Governor-General and party, unannounced, at a little town on the island of Mindanao, a visit to the jail revealed the fact that not one of the three prisoners was to be found. They were all out about their own affairs, reporting from time to time at the jail for their nominal confinement. In another jail, the guns of the guard were kept in a rack within reach of the prisoners.

And so the administration of prisons ranged from the extremes of cruelty to those of utter carelessness, good-humor, and failure to inflict any of the rigors of punishment upon the culprits. This was remedied after the Director of Prisons in Manila undertook the supervision of all jails. Through frequent inspection and prompt action, abuses in administra-

tion have been kept at a minimum and by 1910 the administration of the prisons was on the whole good.

Hard labor is required of convicts in the Philippine Islands as in the United States. In the insular and in some of the provincial prisons there was a surplus of labor beyond the requirements of maintenance, sanitation, construction, repair of buildings and equipment, and other prison service. The proper employment of prison labor so that it does not compete with free labor is a delicate matter which confronts prison administrators in all communities. In the Philippine Islands the principle was decided upon that all government work involving labor for which the taxpayers were called upon to pay was perfectly proper employment for prisoners. In Manila the city repair shops were placed within the prison and all repair of municipal and insular transportation, automobiles, carts, and other vehicles, and of machinery used by the city and by the insular government was performed by prison labor. The government went further than this and selected certain specialties which were made in the prison and not elsewhere — certain types of furniture, silverware, and other objects which had not previously been introduced in the commercial shops of the city — and placed them on sale in the prison. The government practically served notice on the public that in these specialties the prison labor was employed and that the articles made would be sold to the public at reasonable prices profitable to the prison. While there was occasional complaint on the part of merchants, in the main the system worked well. In Bilibid and Bontoc Prisons about fifty per cent of the prisoners were constantly employed in the shops.¹

Thus, almost all insular prisoners serving sentences of more than one year had an opportunity to become proficient in woodworking, blacksmithing, or other mechanical trade as skilled laborers. Upon their release from prison they were able to devote their energies to their trades and served to fill in part the shortage of skilled mechanics throughout the

¹ The gross receipts from sales and repair work executed by the prison shops during the year 1925 amounted to \$123,602. After deducting the cost of materials, payments to prisoner workmen, depreciation of plant, and other charges, there was reported a net profit to the government of \$5,409.38. (*Report of the Auditor, 1925, 175.*)

country. Convicts upon release were found to average a much better physique than most Filipino laborers, who suffered from drinking the polluted waters and living the unhygienic lives common to the uneducated classes. Representatives of private enterprises were always on the lookout for released convicts, who were able to find immediate employment.

One practice that worked well was that of paying prisoners for their work. Only those rated as first-class were eligible and these were divided into first-, second-, and third-grade laborers who received six, four, and two cents a day respectively. It did not matter what the nature of the work was so long as it was done in a first-class manner, and the janitor got his rating just the same as the silversmith or cabinet-maker. The prisoner was allowed to spend half of the money received for purchases of articles in the little prison store. The other half was paid to his family, if he had one, or laid aside to be paid him upon his release.

Another innovation was that of having all minor infractions of prison rules tried before a jury of first-class prisoners who assembled witnesses to testify, found the accused guilty or not guilty, and then recommended the punishment. It is noteworthy that these juries were disposed to be too severe in their punishments, which were subject to administrative scrutiny and approval by prison officials.¹

A former Assistant Director of Prisons ² is authority for the statement that the long-term prisoners in the Mountain Province proved to be reliable and when trusted on parole outside of the province uniformly returned on the day set.

It was more difficult to enforce sentences of hard labor in the case of female convicts than of men. Confined in Bilibid,

¹ ' . . . I soon found that the prisoners deeply resented the imposition of punishment by prison officials; it made them feel our authority too directly, and to a considerable degree lessened the peculiar influence prison officials should exert, so I hit upon the device of having all minor prison infractions tried by a jury of first-class prisoners, who assembled witnesses to testify and after due deliberation they found the accused guilty or not guilty and recommended punishment. These findings were given careful administrative scrutiny and the punishments were subject to approval by the Assistant Director. This method was found so superior that it became an established practice and was greatly beneficial. It is interesting to note, however, that we found the juries disposed to be altogether too severe in imposing punishments.' (Extract from a letter written to Colonel John R. White by Colonel C. G. Thomson, March 1, 1927.)

² Colonel Charles G. Thomson.

the women were completely segregated from the rest of the prison by high solid masonry walls entirely enclosing ample areas for their barracks and exercise grounds and adequately preserved from intrusion from the remainder of the prison. A solid wall divided the women's enclosure in two departments, one being for women in detention awaiting trial and those serving sentences for misdemeanors, and the other for women serving sentences for crimes.

At first it was difficult to induce the women prisoners to perform the labor even of maintaining their part of the prison in a clean and sanitary condition, and many refused to do any other labor, even light sewing, mending prison uniforms, or other appropriate work. Some solution was necessary, as under these existing conditions most women prisoners would have experienced no reformatory benefit from their imprisonment and would prove to be more vicious upon release from prison than before.

It was obvious that some means should be found to compel these women to labor a reasonable number of hours each day, except Sundays and other holidays, on some work appropriate to Filipino women in their homes. The Bureau of Education was called upon to furnish a person qualified to introduce instruction methods and organize handicraft work in the women's department of the prison, and Miss Fanny McGee, who was in charge of instruction in household industries in the public schools of the city of Manila, volunteered to undertake this work, in which she accomplished a most noteworthy success. The female convicts were women of a low degree of intelligence and untrained in the use of a needle, except in plain sewing, and few of them had had other helpful mental or manual training. With their natural talent for embroidery and lace-making, and with well-considered methods of instruction, a large number of the women qualified as efficient workers within four months and none failed to develop the efficiency and sustained interest necessary to produce a marketable product representing at least a living wage.¹

By 1912 the Director of Prisons in his annual report was able to say: 'The women have readily taken to the work, which not only adds to their cheerfulness and contentment

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 43.

but teaches them a useful occupation which they can follow after their release.' ¹

The success achieved in training women prisoners encouraged the government to establish under the able direction of Miss McGee the School of Household Industries in the Bureau of Education for training adult women workers along somewhat similar lines.²

At the instance of Justice Carson,³ for many years one of the American majority of justices on the painstaking and laborious Supreme Court of the Islands, a proposed law which he had prepared was enacted by the Commission providing under certain rules for an automatic reduction of the terms of sentences of convicts by reason of good behavior.⁴ The time deductions each prisoner might earn were five days for each month of good behavior during the first two years of imprisonment; eight days per month from the third to include the fifth year of imprisonment; ten days per month during the second five years of imprisonment; and fifteen days for each month of good behavior in execution of sentence after completing the first ten years. This law was applicable to all convicts sentenced to more than thirty days and less than life imprisonment. Detention prisoners who voluntarily offered in writing to perform such labor as might be assigned to them were entitled to similar credits to be deducted from the sentence which might be imposed upon them after conviction.

The Governor-General exercised the power of pardon of persons guilty of violation of laws of the Philippine Islands. His power did not extend to cases of civilians sentenced by military tribunals during the period of military government, involving violations of military orders, of army regulations, or of the laws of war, for which action by the President of the United States was necessary.

In July, 1902, President Roosevelt issued his proclamation of amnesty to all political offenders. This released from custody a very large number of prisoners who had been held

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 251.

² See *ante*, 450.

³ The Honorable Adam C. Carson, Associate Justice of the Philippine Supreme Court from December 17, 1904, to November 30, 1920.

⁴ Act No. 1533, Philippine Commission, August 30, 1906.

for having participated in or aided the insurrections against Spain and the United States, and gave immunity to many more persons against whom charges were pending. Persons charged with the commission of ordinary crimes such as arson, murder, robbery and other offenses under the laws of war during the insurrections mentioned were specifically excluded from the amnesty, but were authorized by the proclamation to make special application for pardon with assurances that such clemency as was consistent with humanity and justice would be liberally extended.¹

Pardons in the early days of American administration were granted with great caution. Applications were referred to the judge who had tried the case, to the Constabulary authorities, to the governors of the provinces in interest for comment as to the previous records of the applicants, and also to the warden of the prison in which the delinquent was confined, and recommendations sought as to what, if any, degree of clemency might be considered merited and opportune.

When good order had been established in Luzon, the Visayas, and northern Mindanao, the time had come to consider granting executive clemency to prisoners under sentence for brigandage, sedition, or insurrection committed subsequent to the President's amnesty proclamation. A board was appointed by the Governor-General composed of two justices of the Supreme Court, two judges of the Court of First Instance, and the Director of Constabulary, to investigate such cases and recommend which might be set at liberty without endangering the public order. This board considered about sixteen hundred cases. Recommendations were requested as in the cases of other prisoners and the opinion was asked not only of the governor of the province where the offense had been committed but also in the home province of the prisoner. Executive clemency was granted in all those cases in which it did not appear that the prisoner had been a principal in the commission of any serious ordinary crime or a chronic leader in insurrection, and if the then existing conditions in his province indicated that his return probably would not disturb the recently established public order.

Prisoners were granted 'conditional pardon,' the conditions

¹ See full text of amnesty proclamation in Appendix X.

being good behavior following release, and a five years' requirement to report periodically, giving their places of residence and occupations. In case of violations of the conditions, they were liable to serve the unexpired portion of the sentence.¹ Unscrupulous employers sometimes played upon the ignorance and misfortune of these released prisoners who had failed to report.

Continued good behavior was rewarded by complete pardon with restoration of civil rights on request.

The Commission found it necessary to enact a vagrancy law² to provide a convenient method for handling cases of dissolute Americans and foreigners who were to be found not only in Manila but throughout the provinces, especially in the seaport towns. The statute, however, was general and applied equally to Filipinos and to all who habitually consorted with criminals or with persons engaged in vicious or disreputable pursuits.

The Constabulary were especially charged with the enforcement of this law. To avoid expense to the government and unnecessary imprisonments, in the cases of vagabond American citizens trial judges were authorized³ to suspend sentences conditioned upon the convict leaving the Philippine Islands and not returning for a period of not less than ten years. As the compliance with such suspended sentences or conditional pardons was voluntary, persons leaving the Islands under these circumstances could not be held to have been deported, and thus the question did not arise of the deportation of American citizens.

The vagrancy law not only proved an effective instrument for eliminating many vicious Americans and foreigners, but enabled local authorities to exercise a beneficial restraining influence on Filipinos of vicious tendencies.

Conditional pardons were also granted to Americans and foreigners convicted of crime as soon as a sufficient period of imprisonment had been completed. The condition imposed in these cases was that of immediately leaving the Philippine Islands, never to return.

¹ Act No. 1524, Philippine Commission, August 9, 1906, provided for the reincarceration of any individual who might violate the conditions of his pardon.

² Act No. 519, Philippine Commission, November 12, 1902.

³ Act No. 899, Philippine Commission, September 24, 1903.

Under the terms of the 'opium law,' foreigners convicted of a second infraction were sentenced to deportation by order of the court.¹ This relieved the Islands of the presence of these undesirable aliens.

The Governor-General did not need legislative enactment to give him the power of deporting aliens. The right of excluding undesirable aliens either from entering or from residing within a country is inherent in sovereignty. This was demonstrated conclusively in the Philippine Islands by the decisions of the Philippine and United States Supreme Courts in the case of deportation of some Chinese citizens, of which notice has been taken in an earlier chapter.²

In 1906 the Commission enacted a law³ which provided that the Governor-General in his discretion could suspend the sentence of any person convicted of crime without granting a pardon, and prescribed the terms upon which it should be done. Failure on the part of the convict to comply with the conditions in the parole would result in his return to prison and the execution of his sentence without credit for the period during which he had been at liberty under parole. By this means it was possible to withdraw from the regular penal establishments and transfer to the San Lazaro Hospital for the insane, or to the Culion Colony for lepers, all convicts found to be suffering from insanity or leprosy.

Originally pardons conditioned on good behavior were limited to prisoners guilty of political offenses, but gradually they were extended to apply to all classes of prisoners. Full pardon with restoration of civil rights was granted only in exceptional cases recommended by the trial judge or the Supreme Court, or in the still more exceptional cases of prisoners who rendered some distinguished service, such as the saving of human life or the prevention of grave crimes, prior to, or during, the period of imprisonment.

Shortly after Governor-General Wood had entered upon the duties of his office in the latter part of 1921, he caused an investigation to be made and statistics compiled to ascertain the results of the pardon practice pursued during the preced-

¹ Act No. 1761, Philippine Commission, October 10, 1907.

² See Chapter VII, 'Justice,' *ante*, 309-11.

³ Act No. 1561, Philippine Commission, November 10, 1906.

ing twenty years of American administration of the Islands.¹ A new pardon policy was premised upon the results of this investigation. The Governor-General appointed a Board of Pardons consisting of the Under Secretary of Justice, an Assistant Chief of Constabulary, and the Commissioner of Public Welfare, the latter a physican and specialist in tropical medicine and public charities.² This board, of which two were Filipinos and one American, took under consideration, without application from any prisoner, the case of each convict who because of period of confinement, good conduct, age, sickness, or other circumstance might deserve consideration for executive clemency.

Upon the recommendation of this board, during the year 1922, 1237 prisoners were pardoned conditioned on subsequent good behavior; nineteen were granted unconditional pardons; one hundred and forty-six were deported to China and eight to the United States; and three were paroled. In all 1413 prisoners were released by executive clemency. Besides the benefit to the prisoners and to the general public interest, there was a saving of more than \$120,000 in the annual expense of maintaining prisoners.³

The Governor-General, in his report for the year 1923, stated that during that period, on recommendation of the Board of Pardons, six hundred and ninety-two conditional pardons and three unconditional pardons were granted; also one hundred and thirty persons were deported to China, twenty-one to the United States, and nine to Japan.⁴ In this report General Wood said of conditional pardons: 'The system has been in operation for a number of years and has been very successful, and thousands of convicts have been returned to civil life as useful citizens.'⁵ And in his report for 1924 he said: 'There have been very few cases where prisoners granted conditional pardons have again been convicted. The practical efficiency of the method employed in granting pardons is demonstrated by the fact that during the past three years

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1922, 147.*

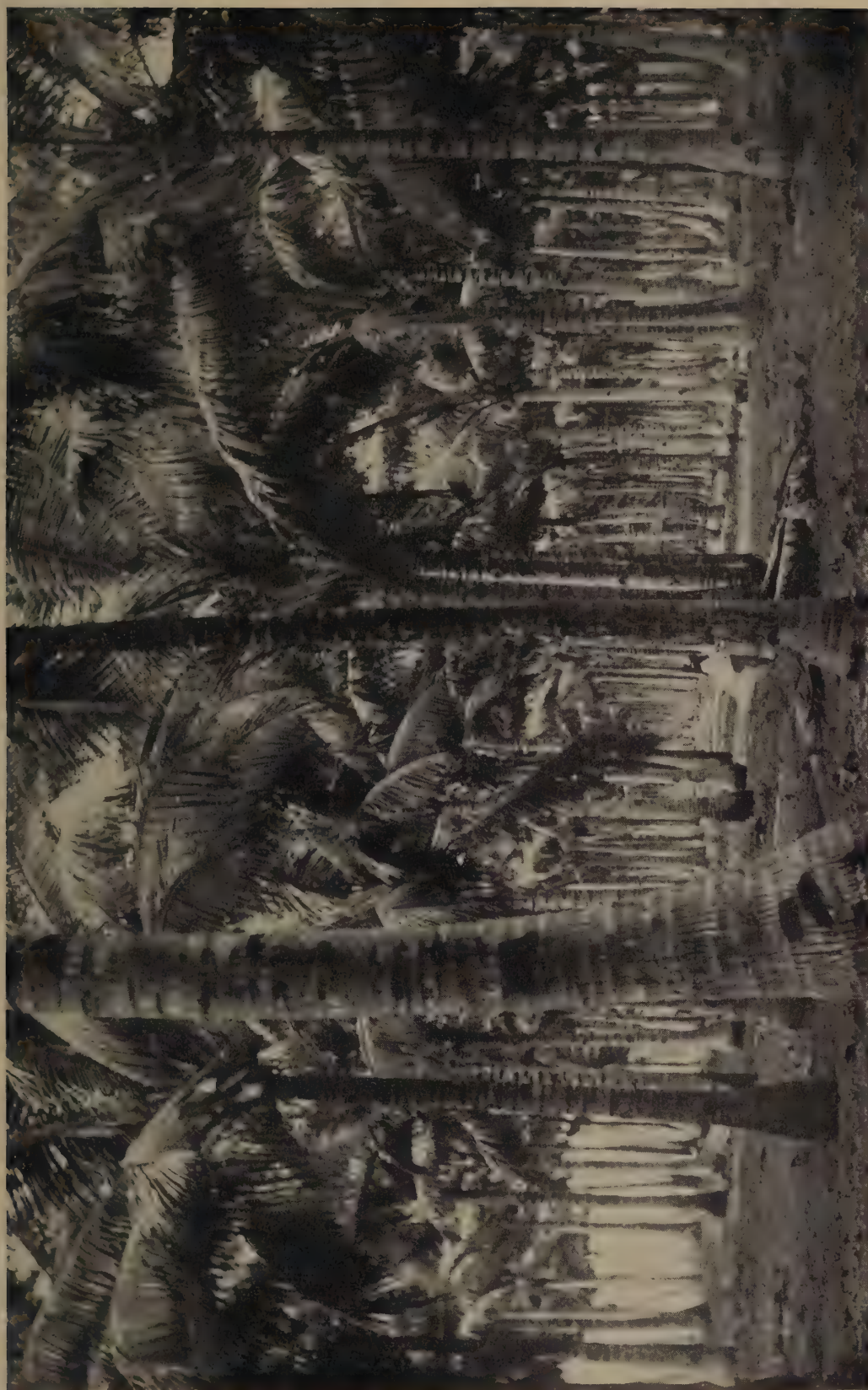
During the period from 1901 to 1921, Governors-General pardoned a total of 7190.

² Executive Order No. 47, series of 1922.

³ *Report of the Governor-General, 1922, 147.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1923, 176.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1923, 22.



COCOANUT GROVE

[1922-24] out of a total of 2384 granted pardons, conditional and unconditional, only 19 have again been committed as a result of offenses'¹ — only eight-tenths of one per cent. During the year 1924, conditional pardons granted upon the recommendation of the Board of Pardons represented an annual saving to the government of somewhat more than \$150,000 in expense for prisoners' maintenance.²

The Iwahig Penal Colony, which brought a substantial measure of relief to the overcrowded condition of Bilibid Prison, was first conceived in the fall of 1904. The plan was to form an agricultural colony to which would be sent convicts selected from among those who in prison parlance are called 'trusties,' or those who, in the course of serving a portion of their sentences at Bilibid Prison, had become well accustomed to an orderly, industrious life, and had demonstrated capacity for good behavior. It was proposed to place these men practically on parole, without guards, on a location capable of extensive and profitable agricultural development.

Various sites were investigated and it was finally decided to place the colony in the neighborhood of Puerto Princesa on the island of Palawan. This island, known also by the Spaniards as Paragua (umbrella), a name perhaps derived from its shape, as it is very long and narrow, is one of the least populated and most interesting in the whole group. The north end lies about one hundred and fifty miles from Manila and from there it slopes away to the southwest a distance of over two hundred miles, reaching nearly to Borneo. On the north side of the bay of Puerto Princesa a little promontory affords shelter to the ships that lie behind it, and on this is situated a fort which dominates that region. Back of the fort is an old Spanish town. The United States had maintained an army garrison in Puerto Princesa ever since the American occupation of the Islands. The vicinity of Puerto Princesa was almost uninhabited. A few very primitive tribal people known as Tagbanuas were almost the only inhabitants of the region about the proposed colony. A tract of 22,000 acres,³ later increased to 116,000,⁴ was set aside on the south side of the

¹ *Report of the Governor-General, 1924, 14.*

² *Ibid.*, 165.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1907, part 3, p. 174.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1911, 178.

bay of Puerto Princesa. The Iwahig River flows from the mountains on the west through the reservation and empties into the bay of Puerto Princesa. This river is navigable for small launches for a distance of seven miles and served as an avenue of approach for the colony. Both banks of the river and most of the region selected for the colony were covered with rank tropical vegetation..

The idea of the colony was derived from a study of the George Junior Republic, an institution that had its origin in the vision of William R. George, of New York, who conceived the idea of forming a young people's self-governing republic where boys and girls who had been forced to live in crowded districts of large cities, under conditions which gave no opportunity for favorable environment, could be brought and given an opportunity to work at congenial occupations profitable to themselves and in which they could make their way by putting forth their own best efforts along the lines appealing to them as most suited to their capacities. This underlying principle has resulted in developing some very capable and useful citizens of the United States who got their start at the George Junior Republic and found themselves equipped to render important service to their country.

It was believed that convicts not naturally depraved or criminal in their instincts, given a similar opportunity under favorable circumstances, would react in a similar way. The first group of sixty 'trusties' was selected and sent down to Iwahig to start the colony on November 16, 1904.

As part of the plan to relieve the overcrowding in Bilibid, a number of crippled, elderly, or otherwise physically unfit prisoners were at first added to the colonists. This tended to swell the mortality in the colony to a figure larger than would have been the case had the colonists been selected only from the physically fit.

As is usual in tropical countries, the first clearing of the land was accompanied by severe malarial infection of many of the colonists, against which the superintendent in charge at that time had not taken adequate precautions. To meet this situation the Director of Health was given control of health conditions in the colony. 'A mosquito brigade' was formed, and by the use of petroleum on breeding places that

could not be drained mosquitoes and malaria were brought under control in the colony and its vicinity. An adequate hospital was provided and the health of the colonists brought to an eminently satisfactory standard.

Additional colonists were selected and moved down at varying intervals as the Director of Prisons and the superintendent of the colony felt that the conditions were right for increasing their numbers, and to replace those lost to the colony by pardon, expiration of sentence, or death. It was thought possible that two thousand colonists might be the ultimate goal, but twelve hundred proved to be all the available prisoners that could be readily selected for the purpose and this figure was finally reached as the regular number.

It was some years before the colony could be styled successful, owing to the incapacity of the first two superintendents, who were selected under the false economy practiced by the Commission in providing a salary too small to secure a man having the ability necessary to make such an institution a success. During this period there were one or two outbreaks and several attempts to escape into the hills, but these soon terminated, as invariably either the savages from the hills or the colony police brought in the fugitives. The colonists soon learned that it was unwise to overstep the boundaries of their reservation.

By the provisions of the reorganization act of 1905, the Bureau of Prisons was transferred from the Department of Commerce and Police and added to the Department of Public Instruction.¹ It was not until 1906 that a suitable salary was authorized and an able superintendent was secured in the person of Colonel John R. White, of the Philippines Constabulary. He was a man of sterling character, great vision, splendid enthusiasm, and boundless energy, and infused a life and spirit into the colony which up to that time had been lacking.²

¹ Act No. 1407, Philippine Commission, October 26, 1905, Section 32.

² In 1908 the Secretary of Public Instruction, in reporting on the operation of the penal colony, stated:

'It is not too much to say that the success of the Iwahig penal colony, and even the possibility of its existence, have been in a large measure due to the exceptional personal qualities and unwavering devotion to duty of Colonel White. He turned a disease-laden swamp into a healthful and beautiful reservation, a body of unreformed criminals into a corps of self-respecting laborers, and what might have been an ex-

From the day of his taking hold, the colony was an assured success and astonished even its most ardent advocates. Colonel White vigorously opposed any plan of having a paid guard or of expressing distrust of the colonists in any other way. All needed protection was assured by the simple device of a telephone connection between the colony and the army post at Puerto Princesa. It was the duty of a man at the post to call up the colony at stated intervals during the day. The understanding was that if no reply was received it meant the wires were cut and troops were to start at once for the colony, a distance of seven miles. The trip could be made by launch in less than an hour. On no occasion was the use of troops necessary to assist in the maintenance of order in the colony, although in the early days there were a few stirring times.¹

The plan conceived for the colony based, as has been seen, upon the idea of a self-governing republic was outlined for the superintendent in a series of letters prepared for his guidance by the Secretary of Commerce and Police, who was at the time Acting Secretary of Public Instruction.

The colonists were started in the lowest grade without any special privilege but, as inducement to good conduct, an opportunity was offered of distinct improvement in their condition along various lines calculated to be attractive to men of different characters, so that within a period of months by industry and good conduct they could find themselves moving up the scale. For example, when they first came they were dressed in prison garb. Upon showing enough devotion to their work to be rated as diligent workmen they were allowed to substitute ordinary headgear for the distinctive

pensive prison station into an economical and largely self-supporting penal colony. His loss will be severely felt for a long time to come, though the energy and enthusiasm displayed by Superintendent Lamb give every reason to look for a continuance of the splendid progress made by the colony under the direction of Colonel White.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1908, part 2, p. 796.)

It is to be noted that the Secretary of Public Instruction in using the words 'disease-laden swamp' was speaking of only a small portion of the reservation. Most of it was well-drained and rolling country. The swamp areas were of small extent, but tended to infection.

¹ One Secretary of Public Instruction was not sympathetic with the basic principle planned for the penal colony, questioned its wisdom, and suggested sending down a guard. This would have nullified one of the essential features of the institution — that of trusting the men themselves.

prison hat, and after a rather brief further residence in the colony with good behavior they could wear the blue garb of the colony and dispense with the prison stripes. Different colored bands around their arms were worn as badges for various degrees of excellence in their work, and other insignia denoted the nature of the work to which they were assigned.

They were allowed a certain amount of freedom in choosing the kind of work to which they were to devote themselves, whether agriculture, fishing, forestry, carpentry, hospital attendance, clerical or other work. On advancement to the higher grades a minimum amount of work was required and work in excess of this amount was paid for in the currency of the colony, made of aluminum and redeemable only at the colony coöperative store and bank. There was a better menu provided for those who wanted to pay for it from their savings. Also, the colony store had a suitable assortment of desirable articles which the colonists could purchase with their earnings. As a man advanced in grade and finally came to have his own house, the proportion of his time required by the government was lessened and the proportion he was entitled to use for his own benefit increased.

While the original plan was to give the colonists an opportunity to govern themselves, it was not until after Colonel White had been relieved by his successor, Mr. C. H. Lamb,¹ that this feature was attempted. In Mr. Lamb's administration the colonists were allowed to govern themselves — elect their own president and council, or legislature, from among the men who by good conduct and industry had earned promotion to the highest grades. The colony president and council enacted colony regulations and enforced them through their appointees — judges, justices of the peace, prosecuting attorney, chief of police, and other officers. All these, however, were under the absolute control of the superintendent of the colony, who could veto any act of the council or of its officers or appointees, could issue any order, and intervene in

¹ With enduring success, Mr. Lamb established self-government in accord with the original plan already indicated. After about two years' service he became seriously ill and, broken in health, was relieved early in 1911. Again there was much difficulty in securing a competent superintendent until in December, 1912, Captain Charles L. Pitney, of the Philippine Scouts, was made available by the Commanding General of the army forces in the Islands.

his discretion in the operation of the colonists' government. There was no guard other than that selected from among the colonists, who, armed with bolos, maintained discipline in the colony.

It is noteworthy that the convict judges were much more severe in meting out sentences for infraction of the colony laws than the superintendent would have thought it wise to be. The colony jail was an open building with no walls but with a roof and a number of concentric fences of barbed wire, placed near the entrance to the colony plaza and where persons in confinement were exposed to the public gaze and ridicule. This proved a most effective deterrent to a tendency to disobey the colony rules. The severest penalty meted to colonists was to return them to Bilibid in Manila, and the prison judges did not hesitate to inflict this penalty where it was felt that the presence of the culprit was injurious to the spirit of the colony.

The records of one year show that with twelve hundred colonists at Iwahig, penalties were meted out in only five hundred instances, that is, less than one-half of one penalty per man in a year. As penalties were given for such lesser offenses as being out of bounds, loafing, being late at muster, dirty at inspection, pilfering fruit, etc., it can be seen that the conduct of the colony was in the main exemplary.

An inducement held out to the colonists was the privilege, after several years of continued good conduct, of having their own little farms on the reservation and of having their families come to Iwahig. When the time came for a colonist to be rewarded with this privilege, it was customary for all the colonists to turn to after hours and help him build his house, plough his field, and prepare for the maintenance of his household. The next step upward was a pardon conditional upon remaining at the colony.

In September, 1906, General Aguinaldo made a visit to Iwahig and was greatly impressed with what he saw. He asked if he might address the colonists and his request was cordially assented to. His speech was a marvel of coöperative conciseness. He recommended the colonists to adhere to the rules and made the impressive statement that, if he had by force of circumstances been himself a colonist, he would have



ON THE WAY TO IWAHIG



THE PABELLONES

endeavored by good behavior to work himself up to freedom, and then ask nothing better than to have a plot of land given to him there and be allowed to remain on it.

Many of the colonists who had been soldiers in Aguinaldo's forces found themselves in prison through having happened to be under the immediate leadership of former insurgent officers who had chosen to take to brigandage instead of surrendering and coming in, as advised by General Aguinaldo in his proclamation following his capture. Most of the men confined for this cause had been released as a result of the amnesty proclamation, and recommendation by the pardon board, but there were still a number who were in confinement. Some of these men had entered upon a life of brigandage as a result of an amiable weakness, frequently found among Filipinos, of pursuing a course of conduct because asked to ¹ rather than through any criminal instinct of their own.

The report of the Wood-Forbes Mission of 1921 contains the following finding in regard to the Iwahig Penal Colony:

... It ... has proved to be a most successful institution, far advanced in reformatory methods and results, the number of convicts returned to prison after release from the colony being extremely small.²

In fact, up to 1913 no colonist who had won his freedom upon recommendation by the superintendent had ever been returned to prison, a record indicating that the colony had been one hundred per cent effective in curing a tendency to lawlessness.

One of the most interesting individual cases was that of a citizen of the town of Balayan, in the province of Batangas, who had been sentenced to death for the murder of a neighbor with whom he had become embroiled over some land dispute.

¹ An interesting characteristic of the illiterate and laboring classes of the Filipinos, especially of the older generation, is their extreme amiability in their relations with their friends and neighbors. This was carried to the extent that acceptance of an invitation or request to participate in a deer hunt or house-raising is considered obligatory, and it was not unusual for some years after American occupation for a participant in a highway robbery to offer with all sincerity the excuse that he had been 'invited' to join the party.

² House Document No. 325, 67th Congress, 2d Session, 27.

His sentence had been later reduced by the Supreme Court of the Islands to life imprisonment. This convict was sent to Iwahig in the ordinary course and there he made so good an impression that he was appointed chief of police. This murderer, with a group of other men of various criminal records, constituted a guard of honor for Secretary of War Dickinson when he visited the colony during the course of an inspection of the Islands in 1910. After earning a pardon, which was at first conditional upon his staying at the colony, but later was made absolute, the man returned to his native town of Balayan. Here he volunteered to reorganize the municipal police, explaining to the town president that his men were not under proper discipline. His offer was accepted and this former convict made effective use of training received at the colony to assist in bettering the public order of his native town.¹

It is believed that the success of the Iwahig Penal Colony is unique and points the way to a possible important advance in some of the fundamental principles of penology.²

In an interesting magazine article entitled 'A Prison That Makes Men Free,' Mr. Lyman Beecher Stowe³ summed up the work of the colony in the following words:

. . . The experiment of giving adult Filipinos, guilty of the worst crimes, a chance to develop the best that is in them under conditions approximating those under which they must live when released has proved a complete success. The ordinary prison cuts a man off from all opportunity for self-development just at the time when his only hope lies in such development. The ordinary prison is notoriously a failure. This colony gives full opportunity for self-development and has notably succeeded. The ordinary prison is constantly sending forth men who are dangerous enemies of Society. The men of this colony return to Society useful and friendly citizens. . . . Altogether, therefore, the colony at Iwahig

¹ Journal, iv, 223, 224, October 14, 1910.

² Vice-Governor Newton W. Gilbert, after an inspection of the colony, stated: 'This is the first time in the history of nations that such a thing has ever been attempted. The humanitarian spirit which engendered the idea of a penal colony on the lines of the Iwahig colony may now be said to have been fully justified. Why, at Iwahig I saw seven hundred men who had been convicts, practically free men, working and living together in perfect harmony with an utter absence of violence anywhere in their midst, and not a single gun on the island! The success of the experiment is wonderful.' (As quoted in the *Manila Times*, June 12, 1909.)

³ In the *World's Work*, April, 1914.

is an important example of the possibilities that lie in giving convicts a chance to be men.

The colony has produced rice and beef for its own requirements, and in later years a surplus for shipment to Bilibid Prison. At the same time extensive plantations of fruit trees have been developed, including more than 145,000 coconut trees, which afford an income reducing the net cost of the insular prisons.

Another interesting prison institution, which from a financial point of view was even more successful than the Iwahig Penal Colony, was the prison farm at San Ramon in the province of Zamboanga. This had been an old Spanish prison and when taken over by the American administration was run at first under the direct supervision of the Governor of the Moro Province and later under the Bureau of Prisons. General Pershing, while governor of the province, had caused to be erected excellent, well equipped prison structures of reinforced concrete, providing practically every modern feature for the health and reformation of six hundred prisoners. In this institution a self-government plan somewhat similar to that established at Iwahig was put into effect ¹ in 1914-15. Practically the entire 12,500 acres of prison reservation were cleared and nearly 75,000 coconut trees planted. By the time the trees had become productive in 1922 the prison was self-supporting ² and maintained about seven hundred, mostly Mohammedan, convicts without cost to the government.

There were certain general principles in regard to treatment of prisoners which impressed themselves very strongly on those who were responsible for the direction of prisons in the Philippine Islands. At the beginning men and women committed to prison should be subjected to strict discipline and studied as invalids, and careful diagnoses made to determine whether or not they are defectives.³ All prisoners should

¹ General Pershing called upon Colonel John R. White in 1910 to prepare for him a memorandum in regard to the methods practiced at Iwahig. These were put into effect by Superintendent Joseph B. Cooley, with modifications necessary by reason of the fact that convicts were committed directly to San Ramon without a previous period of discipline at Bilibid, as in the cases of those transferred to Iwahig.

² *Report of the Governor-General, 1922, 147.*

³ Colonel John R. White wrote: '... The criminal is usually a man mentally sick

have an abundance of air and sunshine and a hope of winning better conditions of confinement, if not of pardon, providing their conduct is good and they put forth their best efforts. In other words, the opportunity of bettering their own conditions should always be present for them. This was abundantly proved in the experience of the penal colony at Iwahig.

The insular prison system in the Philippine Islands was conducted in the belief that an opportunity to work in the open air, to care for animals or plants, or to give expression to inherent creative talent has a most important curative and helping influence. It gives to each prisoner an opportunity to develop his better self. The artisan learns to love the article he makes; the musician craves his music; the artist his art; the gardener his flowers; and the husbandman his crops. Without plenty of sun and air, and without proper psychological treatment, criminals become hardened, and when released are a greater menace than before commitment. Properly treated, a large proportion of them can become good citizens.

or unable to adjust himself in a complicated social structure. He is a psychological case and therefore more difficult to diagnose than a physical case. There are thousands of high-priced specialists of medicine and surgery for the sick people who do not violate the laws. There are practically no high-class men to treat the sick people who violate the laws and enter our jails.' And he recommended that prison guards should be chosen from the higher type of men of college training.

CHAPTER XII

VARIOUS GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES

CIVIL SERVICE

THE American Philippine Commissioners, acting in their executive capacity as secretaries of departments, had to meet the problems confronting them upon their assumption of executive duties,¹ and solve them as best they could, learning how to do much of the work by doing it. It is a matter of course that many mistakes were made, and there were many heartburnings and some duplication of labor, but little by little a strong, cohesive, effective government grew out of the somewhat chaotic beginnings.

The fifth act² passed by the Commission was a civil service law, and in its first report³ the Commission said that it was its purpose 'in passing the civil service bill to provide a system which, after it should begin to work, would secure the selection and promotion of civil servants solely on the ground of merit, and would permit any one by a successful competitive examination to enter the service at the lowest rank and, by the efficient discharge of his duties and further examinations for promotion, to reach the head of any important department of the government.'

The report of the Commission continued:

The difficulties in securing a good civil service in the islands are formidable. There are two classes of applicants, one the Americans and the other the Filipinos. The Filipinos have had no training except from being in the Spanish service or observing its workings. That service was notoriously corrupt.⁴

¹ July 4, 1901.

² Act No. 5, Philippine Commission, September 19, 1900.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, 20, 21.

⁴ The report went on to say: 'The salaries paid were palpably inadequate for the support of life and were a plain intimation to the civil servant, in their inadequacy, that, if he could, he was expected to add to his official income in illegal ways and by speculation. This is not only characteristic of Spanish civil service, but also of that of all oriental governments, and in the outset it is not too severe to say that the percentage of Filipinos who can be trusted to handle money in public office or to exercise

' . . . it is necessary, first, to banish all favoritism and political considerations from the selection of civil servants and rigidly to enforce the requirements of a competitive examination and a satisfactory showing by the applicant of his good moral character; second, to pay adequate salaries and to allow liberal leaves of absence, adapted to preservation of health in the tropics, thus securing that contentment with the service without which good work is not possible; and, third, to awaken an enthusiasm in the service by offering as a reward for faithful and highly efficient work a reasonable prospect of promotion to the highest positions in the Government. It is essential that the system be administered with the utmost rigidity and impartiality, because in no part of the world does rumor of injustice, of fraud, and of underhand methods in the administration of public office receive so much credit as in the Orient; and if dissatisfaction, produced by a sense of injustice, finds place in the civil service of the islands, it will greatly diminish its efficiency. The commission has passed a law which it believes goes further than any civil-service law of any State or of the United States in carrying out the theory of the merit system . . .

We are directed in our instructions to prefer the Filipino for office when other qualifications are equal, and we have by the act imposed this as a mandate upon the appointing power. We have also preferred in the same manner discharged soldiers and sailors of the United States.

The first organization of the Bureau of Civil Service was under the direction of a board.¹ Chief Justice Arellano, without relinquishing his judicial position, accepted the temporary chairmanship of this civil service board, to which he brought a profound knowledge of Spanish civil service and a thorough understanding of Filipino psychology. The others on the

any direct official control over their fellow-residents without peculation or the imposition of illegal charges is comparatively small. They must be taught by better salaries and by the example of the Americans a different standard of integrity. On the other hand, the Americans who come to these islands come eight or ten thousand miles, come with a venturesome spirit, come with the idea of amassing a competence by their stay in the islands. They are exposed in any important official position where there is opportunity for defeating the rights of the Government to constant temptations offered them by interested persons seeking to escape lawful burdens or to obtain fraudulent advantage, and who have no other conception of a public officer than of one who is to be reached by bribery if the sum offered be large enough.'

¹The board was discontinued by the reorganization act of 1905 (Act No. 1407), which provided a director and two assistant directors. One assistant directorship was shortly discontinued; the other under the régime of the Democratic Party in the appropriation act of 1914 (Act No. 2431), and re-created by the appropriation act for 1915 (Act No. 2540). A Filipino was appointed director in 1920 by promotion after more than ten years' service in various branches of the government.

board, a member and secretary, were chosen from the examining corps of the United States Civil Service Commission. After the organization was complete, the Chief Justice withdrew from the board, his place as chairman being taken by an American from the United States Civil Service Commission, the member of the board being Don Felipe Buen-camino, who had been Secretary of State in the government of General Aguinaldo.

The first problem was to secure a civilian personnel for the insular government to replace army officers and soldiers who elected to stay in the army rather than continue on civil duties. Many army men secured their discharge to continue in the Philippine service. There were very few Filipinos at that time who had sufficient knowledge of English to do even the simplest clerical work and none who could serve as stenographers or typists. Practically all technical and professional personnel had to be secured from the United States by the Bureau of Insular Affairs. The United States Civil Service Commission conducted examinations and helped otherwise.

Every encouragement was offered Filipinos to enter government service. Provincial and municipal governments as well as the courts were permitted to conduct their business and keep their records in the Spanish language. A consistent effort was made to give Filipinos preferential consideration in employment in the departments and bureaus. Examinations in the Islands for appointment to the classified service were conducted in both the English and Spanish languages. Large numbers of Filipinos took advantage of night schools and other opportunities provided for training in English, book-keeping, stenography, telegraphy, and other subjects qualifying them for appointment or promotion in the service. There was no general tendency to aloofness or failure to co-operate on the part of the Filipino.

In October, 1907, Secretary of War Taft, in his address opening the first Philippine Assembly, said of the development of the civil service:

... On the whole it has worked well. It has grown with our experience and has improved with the disclosure of its defects.

.

There are many American civil servants in this Government who have rendered most loyal, difficult, and efficient service, in season and out of season, through plague and epidemic, in sickness and in health, in full sympathy with the purposes and policy of the government. Without them our government would have been a complete failure. They will never receive adequate reward. Their interest in their work has prevented their return to their native land where the same energy and efficiency would have earned them large return. They are most valuable public servants who have done a work that, had they done it in the English colonial service or at home, would have been certain to secure to them a permanent salary and entire freedom from anxiety as to the future.¹

Secretary Taft, in the same address, expressed the hope that a system of pensions would be established.²

Considerations of economy as well as political reasons caused the government to proceed as rapidly as possible with the Filipinization of its personnel. From a total of 3307 in 1905 the number of Americans in the classified service was reduced to 2623 in 1913, 582 in 1920, and 506 in 1925.³

¹ *Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 1st Philippine Legislature, Inaugural Session, 25, 26.

² ‘... I would be glad to see adopted a system of permanent tenure and retirement on pensions for the small and higher classes of civil employees. Their continuance in the Government indefinitely is a public necessity. I sincerely hope the Philippine Assembly will exhibit its spirit of justice and public interest to the point of concurring in such a measure even though this at present will be of benefit to more Americans than Filipinos.’

Laws as subsequently enacted provided pensions for the Constabulary, for school-teachers, and for the Public Health Service. In later chapters mention will be made of the so-called Retirement Act.

³ NUMBER OF REGULARLY APPOINTED OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES OF THE INSULAR AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS (INCLUDING THE CITIES OF MANILA AND BAGUIO) FOR SELECTED YEARS *

[Sources: Reports of the Bureau of Civil Service, of the Governor-General, of the Bureau of Education, and of the Philippine Commission.]

Year	Americans			Filipinos	Total
	School-teachers	Others	Total		
1903.....	800	1,977	2,777	2,697	5,474
1905.....	855	2,452	3,307	4,023	7,330
1913.....	658	1,965	2,623	6,363	8,986
1920.....	316	266	582	12,561	13,143
1925.....	310	196	506	16,339	16,845

* With the exception of municipal treasurers, this table does not include officers and employees of municipalities, who have been almost invariably Filipinos and who aggregate several thousands. Complete statistics as to their numbers are not available except in the case of municipal school-teachers. In 1913 these totaled 5396, all Filipinos. (*Report of the Director of Education*, 1913, 77.) Neither does this table include enlisted men of the Constabulary, all of whom are Filipinos.

See also Appendix XVII, a table showing the number of American and Filipino officers and employees, and their salaries, for the years 1903-26.

The number of Americans brought from the United States to the Philippine service decreased from 338 in 1904 to 156 in 1913, 98 in 1920, and 48 in 1925.¹ All but one appointee in 1925 were teachers.²

LABOR

The labor situation in the Philippine Islands is one upon which much has been written and about which very wide divergence of opinion exists among people supposed to be competent to judge. Sugar planters and other employers of labor complained of the shortage, and yet the Islands abounded with potential labor to the number of many millions of men and women. In some of the provinces — notably those of Ilocos Sur and La Union in northern Luzon, and Siquijor and Cebu among the Visayan Islands — the density of the population exceeded four hundred and fifty to the square mile.³

Many Americans and more Filipinos did not hesitate to urge the admission of Chinese labor as the only solution of the labor problem in the Islands, and it was a common expression among the Americans, and sometimes among the Filipinos of the class that employed labor, that the Filipino laborer would not work. There were two principal reasons why the Filipino failed to measure up to standard as a laborer: the first was poor physical condition owing to his unhygienic manner of living, and the second was lack of incentive due in part to unfair treatment on the part of employers.

Numerous tests proved beyond doubt that the average Filipino was afflicted with one or more intestinal parasites that appreciably sapped his vitality.⁴ Potable water from artesian wells or carefully protected municipal systems was prerequisite to a condition of general health among the peo-

¹ *Report of the Bureau of Civil Service*, 1925, 13.

² *Ibid.*, 29, 30.

³ *Census*, 1918, II, 28.

⁴ In Batanes Province, of four hundred persons examined all were found infected with some form of intestinal parasite. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 90.)

It was found in a survey made in the town of Pasig that over ninety-four per cent of the 1036 persons examined harbored intestinal parasites and more than half of these had more than one infection. (Dr. J. D. Long: 'Sanitation in the Philippine Islands,' in *United States Public Health Reports*, 31, No. 43, October 27, 1916.)

ple. It was noteworthy that the Chinese laborer proved to be generally free from these parasites and this is attributable to the fact that his beverage is usually tea, to make which he boils the water.

As noted elsewhere, the long-term prisoners who served their term in Bilibid and were compelled to live and work under hygienic conditions in the prison, came out of it with a far better physique than the average of their compatriots who lived according to their own light. Men who served with the Constabulary and Scouts showed similar desirable evidences of development and served as object lessons to demonstrate lines along which improvement in the labor situation might be made.

Employers of large numbers of laborers, especially those who endeavored to obtain temporary employment during harvest time, had in too many instances failed to learn how to treat their employees in such a way as to win their confidence and inspire their willingness to work. This did not apply to employees who gave personal service in the houses or assisted landowners in small haciendas.

To some of the employers of labor who complained that the Filipino would not work, it was suggested that they add two words and say 'unless paid.'¹ The various devices to which employers of labor resorted to obtain work without properly paying for it were legion. How the *prestacion personal*, or law requiring forced labor on public works, was abused in Spanish days to obtain labor on private estates, has already been set forth.

The very general prejudice against the Filipino as a laborer was not due to any essential disinclination on his part to work, but to known conditions which lay within the province of the government to remedy.

That the Filipino will work and work well if properly

¹ The editor of the *Cablenews-American*, August 15, 1912, summed up the whole situation in a few masterly phrases:

'The testimony of a large number of employers of labor in the Philippines, men who employ many men the year around, is to the effect that the Filipino laborer is very human and like his white counterpart in a great many ways. He will not work well when he is poorly paid, nor will he respond to ill treatment as well as to decent usage. The experience of these men is that they get out of their laborers just about what they pay them for.'

treated and properly paid has been abundantly demonstrated. This was proved over and over again in connection with factories in Manila and elsewhere in the Islands, and in the history of the many of the two million or more small landowners who diligently worked their fields and wrested a livelihood from the elements.

The quartermaster in charge of the transport service of the United States Army at Manila, in his report to Governor Taft on November 4, 1902, closed with the following remarks:

Chinese labor was formerly employed for the handling of coal, but has been abandoned and replaced by Filipino labor, which, by practical tests during several months, averaged more tons per day per man and at a much lower rate per ton.

The attendance of the Filipino laborer has been and is excellent. They do not absent themselves after Sundays, holidays, or fiestas, nor during such days should they be notified in advance they will be required to work. Their physical strength is much improved, and they are capable of doing as much and as hard work as any laborer we have in the Orient.¹

Mr. Laffin,² manager of the Manila street railway, gave further testimony:

The whole question can be answered in a few words. Filipino labor is entirely satisfactory if properly treated.

.

. . . The labor is here in abundance and for quality and volume of work is equal, if not superior, to any in the Orient.³

Perhaps the most emphatic proof of the capacity of the Filipino laborer and his relative excellence as compared with other Oriental and European peoples was made in the course

¹ As quoted in the *Census*, 1903, IV, 428.

² Richard T. Laffin, a competent and sympathetic American, was for many years manager of the Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company, and later of Stone & Webster's street railroad interests in Seattle.

³ As reported in a Manila newspaper in March, 1907.

In further proof there are the findings of Hugo Miller, of the Bureau of Education, who made a special investigation of Filipino labor in Hawaii. As reported in the *Manila Daily Bulletin* of August 27, 1913, Mr. Miller said:

'The Hawaiian planters have found out that the secret of success with Filipino labor lies in treating and feeding them well and teaching them proper methods of work. It is surprising how fast, under these conditions, a lazy, sickly-looking laborer is transformed into a healthy, hard-working farm-hand.'

of a movement, which began in 1906, of Filipino laborers to the Hawaiian Islands, where the planters had become greatly disturbed about their labor situation. Their industries had grown far in excess of the laboring capacity of their natives. The laws of the United States prevented the importation of Chinese or any other contract labor. Japanese could come in, but it was a serious question as to how wise it was to bring in too large a Japanese population. Once in Hawaii it was difficult to prevent their moving across to California, and the introduction of a very large Japanese population was likely to arouse racial hostility and make serious difficulty for the administration in Washington in its diplomatic dealings with Japan. A 'gentleman's agreement' between the statesmen in Washington and Tokio provided that a certain number were to be admitted, but that number was at that time limited without being determined by law or treaty.

Efforts had been made by employers in Hawaii to bring in other kinds of labor. Spaniards, Portuguese, Koreans, Chinese, and Porto Ricans were imported, and efforts had also been made to bring natives from the South Sea Islands. Finally, in March, 1906, Mr. Albert F. Judd, later Senator in Hawaii, was sent by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association to the Philippine Islands to see if he could secure some Filipinos.¹ He entered into an agreement with the Philippine government.²

This movement was sharply criticized by the Filipinos and a variety of devices was employed to defeat the efforts of Mr.

¹ 'We had a gentleman with us by the name of Judd, a Yale man from Hawaii, here to look up the question of importing Philippine labor to Hawaii sugar estates, and Governor Ide has asked me to work up a plan by which we shall be guaranteed that they shall be returned if the thing does not work well.' (Journal, II, 28, 29, June 19, 1906.)

² Under this agreement a certain proportion of the pay of such laborers as were secured should be deducted monthly, and at the expiration of their contract their passage back to the Philippine Islands should be purchased for them if at that time they wanted it, in which case the money deducted from their pay could be used to defray part of the cost. In case they did not want to return to the Islands, they would then be privileged to receive their money and do with it as they liked. By this device the Filipino was assured of a chance of returning to the Islands if he wanted to. The Philippine government maintained a supervisor of Philippine labor in the Hawaiian Islands, at first paid by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. His duty was to keep in touch with these laborers and to make sure that they were being well treated and given all the rights guaranteed by their contracts.

Judd and his successor, Mr. Pinkham.¹ In spite of all Filipino opposition many hundreds of families moved to Hawaii.² Those who returned gave such glowing accounts of the conditions under which they labored there that many more were sent, until by January, 1926, there were 26,283 Filipinos among a total of 49,155 laborers employed on plantations in the Hawaiian Islands,³ the Filipinos being seventy per cent of the field force.⁴

Some Filipino politicians and the employers of labor went so far as to excoriate the government for permitting these laborers to go forth and earn their living where they desired,⁵ and the government was asked to prevent forcibly, or at least to restrict, the movement. These critics failed to appreciate the fact that any such opposition on the part of the government would be an unwarranted infringement of the independence of the individual Filipino to go where he pleased and earn what he could.⁶

¹ Lucius E. Pinkham, appointed Governor of the Territory of Hawaii in 1913.

² During the period 1909 to 1925, 74,424 Filipinos emigrated to Hawaii for work on the sugar plantations, and during the same period 15,601 returned to the Philippine Islands. (Special report of the Director of Labor to the Governor-General covering investigation of labor conditions and employment of Filipinos in Hawaii, in *Labor*, Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, March, 1926, VII, No. 25, p. 28.) The Bureau of Labor reported that a total of 78,022 Filipinos had emigrated to Hawaii by December 31, 1926.

Filipinos to the number of 4836 migrated from Hawaii to the United States and but 161 from the United States to Hawaii during the years 1921 to 1925. (Letter from the Secretary of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, May 14, 1926.)

³ Letter from the Secretary of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, May 14, 1926.

⁴ *Labor*, March, 1926, VII, No. 25, p. 30.

It is estimated that the remittances to the Philippine Islands by these laborers amounted to \$800,000 annually. (A statement by A. W. T. Bottomley, President, Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, November, 1924.) Filipino deposits in banks in Hawaii were stated in 1926 as amounting to more than \$700,000. (Letter from the Secretary of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, May 14, 1926.)

An investigation made by the Bureau of Labor of five hundred of the more thrifty laborers returning after two to three years and over in Hawaii revealed the interesting fact that nearly eighty per cent of them had saved something over two hundred dollars each, and in addition that nearly ninety per cent had sent from Hawaii during the time they were there an average of something over three hundred and fifty dollars each to their families.

⁵ See *La Vanguardia*, February 15, 1910; *El Ideal*, September 17, 1910, and April 5, 1911.

⁶ The Governor-General, in one instance, took occasion to reply to those criticizing him because of his non-interference with the movement of these laborers: 'The

One interesting and highly satisfactory aspect of this movement was that the sugar planters in Hawaii have given the Filipinos a high standing as laborers. They said that they were equal to the best ¹ they had been able to secure from any other country, and this was very high praise, as there were then about eighty thousand Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands, and the Japanese were well known to excel as laborers.

One of the acts of the first Philippine Legislature was the passage of a law creating a Bureau of Labor,² an action in line with modern enlightened legislative practice. The first Director of Labor,³ appointed in June, 1909, was General Manuel Tinio, an able young Filipino, who at the age of eighteen had held the rank of major-general in General Aguinaldo's army in the revolution against Spain, and commanded an army corps raised in his province of Nueva Ecija. Again, in the insurrection against the United States, he held the same rank and commanded a corps which he had recruited. Later, he was elected Governor of the province of Nueva Ecija.

This capable officer took over the direction of the Bureau

government can take no hand in the matter without interfering with native rights. The people of the Philippine Islands are a free people. Anybody who undertakes to prevent the movement of the Filipino people wherever they want to go, whether to work or to play, interferes with their independence.' (*Manila Times*, February 19, 1910.)

¹ In regard to Filipino laborers in Hawaii, Mr. Albert F. Judd, who arranged for the first emigrations, stated in a letter dated April 25, 1907: 'I saw Watt, of Olaa, on Monday, and he said with enthusiasm that the Filipinos were proving better than the Japanese. This means a good deal, coming from a man of Watt's conservatism.'

O. A. Stevens, general labor agent in the Philippine Islands for the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, said: 'Some planters say that the Filipinos are the best laborers they ever had. All agree that they are satisfactory and come up to all that was expected of them. On one plantation of 600 Filipinos only one per cent had been absent more than one day in three months. Other gangs did nearly as well.' (*Cable-news-American*, June 23, 1910.)

D. M. Carman, a prominent and responsible American business man of Manila, stated in the *Cable-news-American*, August 16, 1912:

'A visit to the sugar plantations of Hawaii will convince anyone that when well fed, well housed, well paid and well treated, the Filipino will do his quota by the side of Japanese, Chinese, Russian, Hungarian and Italian.'

See also Appendix XVIII, for further praise of the Filipino laborer in Hawaii and statement of the advantages to the Filipino resulting from the emigration.

² Act No. 1868, Philippine Legislature, June 18, 1908.

³ The Assistant Director of Labor was Bernardino Monreal, a very energetic man, ex-Governor of Sorsogon.



MAJOR-GENERAL MANUEL TINIO

of Labor at a time when labor unions had been newly formed. The leaders were not in every instance men of desirable reputation and many business and manufacturing concerns were placed under tribute, strikes being threatened if the exactions were not forthcoming. Every week or two a strike would be called to show what was likely to happen to those who did not accede to these demands, and the situation was rapidly becoming intolerable.

One of the most picturesque occurrences was when an agitator, the president of one of the unions, called a strike of the stevedores' union which he had organized. The men were to strike for an increase in pay. One half of this increase was to go to pay the salary of an agent who would represent them and protect their interests, and the other half of this money was to be paid into a fund to create and operate a store. Part of the plan was that all ships employing these stevedores were to be compelled to buy their supplies of the union store. After setting forth the arguments in favor of this scheme, under which not one cent of the increase went to the men, the agitator got a very enthusiastic vote in favor of demanding this increased pay. In his speech he had announced that under no circumstances would he be considered as a candidate to represent the union. At the close of the speech loud cries arose in different parts of the hall for him to be their representative. With splendid theatrical force he declined three times even to be considered in this connection, at which declaration the calls for him became louder and more insistent until finally, apparently very much overwhelmed by this demand, he consented to take on this heavy responsibility with the large emoluments it carried. Fortunately for the well-being of the stevedores, their demands were too preposterous for the employers even to consider granting.

When General Tinio asked what his duties as Director of Labor would be he was told that he could do the best service by protecting labor in its employment from the exploitation of unscrupulous and corrupt agitators who posed as leaders. General Tinio set himself to rectify this abuse with the result that in a very short time the condition of labor and industry, in the region about Manila at least, was vastly improved.¹

¹ Director Tinio was extremely efficient in ascertaining the reasons leading up to

In general it may be said that, as a result of General Tinio's management of the bureau, strikes ceased, laborers went their way contented, employers readily corrected abuses brought to their attention, and the leaders fell back into their proper rôle of caring for and representing the laborer instead of exploiting him wholly to his disadvantage and to the benefit of their own pockets.

That the Filipino laborer has not grasped the fundamental idea of the partnership between capital and labor is proved by one of the articles in the declaration of principles of a labor union, which the Bureau of Labor in 1927 characterized as 'made up probably by the most intelligent of Filipino workmen, whose principles are typical of present day labor unions.' The article reads as follows:

That, in case of an accident or misfortune, none of us has to help other than those who, like us, are slaves to capital, co-workers in shops, who have similar conditions of living as ours, and cherish the same ideals.

On the other hand, other unions set forth among their objects the maintenance of good relations between employers and employees, the promotion of the brotherhood of laborers whether members or not, and the improvement of their moral and intellectual conditions.¹

The Bureau of Labor extended its activities beyond those of conciliation between employers and employees and the compilation of statistics, to the inspection of factories, plantations, and other places of employment of laborers, especially those employing women and children, adjustment of compensation in industrial accidents, the maintenance of employment agencies, and intervention in the contracting of seamen and of laborers emigrating to Hawaii and foreign

threatened strikes and preventing them. On one occasion an officious agitator was trying to stir up the employees of the Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company, eighty of whom were proposing to strike as a protest against a deduction from their salaries of five per cent per month, this amount to be paid into a relief fund. Director Tinio explained to the men that the fund was of immense benefit to them and the company itself contributed to it. He soon smoothed over the trouble and the employees, convinced that they had been misled by the agitator, continued at their jobs.

¹ The number of labor organizations at the end of 1926 was reported to be 121 with 62,858 members. (Data furnished by the Bureau of Labor.)

countries. The direction of homeseekers from the densely populated regions of Luzon and Cebu to locations on public lands in Mindanao was also added to its activities. This movement had its origin in the efforts of the government to augment the production of food crops and to induce the people to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the homestead provisions of the public land law. A plan for accomplishing this purpose was recommended by Acting Governor-General Gilbert to the Legislature and adopted early in 1913.¹

The impressive success of many of the homesteaders came to the attention of relatives and neighbors at their former homes with the result that applicants for transportation on government account exceeded the funds available, and many families went at their own expense to join those who had already migrated.

From the experience of the government in this movement, the fact was developed that the ordinary Filipino family does not cultivate more than ten acres of land, with the result that the homestead area of forty acres is usually excessive. The homesteaders were encouraged to bring onto their excess holdings other families of kinsfolk who later in turn could locate on homesteads surveyed from neighboring public lands if they became ambitious for independent holdings.

Lack of funds and preferential consideration given to other demands upon the attention of the government prevented much extension of these enterprises. The plan, however, has

¹ An initial appropriation of \$200,000 was made (Act No. 2254, Philippine Legislature, February 11, 1913) for the establishment of 'colonies' for the cultivation of rice and other food cereals and for the better distribution of the population of the Islands. Advantageous locations were made on public agricultural lands in the Cotabato Valley in the interior of the island of Mindanao, in the Cagayan Valley on the island of Luzon, and on the extensive interior plateau of the island of Bohol.

Surveys were made of forty-acre homesteads, and offers of transportation and financial assistance by the government secured without difficulty in Cebu and in the Ilocos provinces more than one hundred families of practical agriculturists for a trial of the project. These families were placed by the government on selected homesteads and given financial assistance where necessary to provide work animals and implements, aid, and food until crops might be harvested. There were, of course, the usual number of failures, but a large proportion of the total number of homesteaders were successful in bringing into cultivation adequate areas in corn or rice and other food and money crops which encouraged them to continue, notwithstanding homesickness and the physical ailments generally incident to the clearing and bringing of wild land under cultivation.

not been abandoned altogether.¹ Small annual appropriations are made for the Bureau of Labor to encourage the movement.²

From these beginnings an inter-island migration has gradually developed of substantial volume, for which statistics are not available as it is in greatest part the movement of homeseekers at their own expense. In furtherance of this the Bureau of Labor carries on publicity and with information from the Bureaus of Lands and Agriculture directs interested persons to advantageous locations.

In setting forth the two reasons why the Filipino was reputed to be unwilling to work, mention has been made of the unfair treatment to which he had been subjected. The Filipino employer of labor was very unjust about manœuvring his employee into a position bordering on peonage. He would lend him a small sum of money, or perhaps provide him with articles needed for wear or use, or desired for ornamentation. One could be pretty sure that the prices for which these things were sold yielded an excessive profit to the employer. The ‘interest’ charged on these loans was at the rate of ten and even as high as twenty per cent a month, and the unfortunate laborer would give many months of his work hoping to pay off a loan and at the end of the time find that the amount he owed to his employer was greater than it had been at the beginning. In other words, work as hard as he could, he was unable to work off the interest, to say nothing of being able to repay the principal. Once a laborer got into the toils of these unscrupulous persons his freedom was gone. He became little better than a slave.³

¹ The following table shows the number of emigrant homeseekers shipped by the Bureau of Labor to sparsely populated regions during the years 1921-25:

[Source: Report of the Governor-General, 1925, 95.]

Year	Total	Emigrant homeseekers	Members of families	Expenses incurred
1921.....	3,198	725	2,473	\$17,163.65
1922.....	762	177	585	6,823.60
1923.....	988	229	759	7,261.36
1924.....	934	193	741	6,940.13
1925.....	962	213	749	7,173.48
Total.....	6,844	1,537	5,307	\$45,362.22

² See appropriation acts for 1925 and 1926. (Act No. 3217, Philippine Legislature, December 8, 1924; Act No. 3227, November 6, 1925.)

³ A letter, dated September 1, 1910, from Alton L. Hall, who was a school-teacher

This evil was quite general throughout the archipelago, and it was no wonder laborers hesitated to put themselves into the hands of money-lending employers. The laboring man, burdened with a rankling sense of injustice, would not put forth his best efforts and did not feel the loyalty and co-operation with his employer which were necessary to get the best results.

In 1912, the Commission, in its effort to conform as far as possible to the desires of the Assembly, agreed to the passage of an act ¹ which provided fine or imprisonment for laborers who failed to live up to the contract they had entered into with their employers. The third clause in the law gave it a semblance of compensating fairness by providing a similar penalty of fine or imprisonment of the employer who failed to pay his laborer. The practical result, however, of the operation of this law was to strengthen the hands of those who employed laborers under this vicious system of peonage. The Governor-General recommended this law, but he did not come until later to a realization of the extent to which it could injure the cause of the laborer.

The Wood-Forbes Mission in 1921 reported the situation as follows: 'A frequent cause of complaint is against extreme action taken under the provisions of act 2098,' the operation of which it speaks of as resulting in a kind of legalized peon-

in Negros for six years, contains the following: 'An offered loan is a tempting thing to a man in destitute circumstances. If he accepts it, he is told that he must work for the planter who furnished him the money, or go to jail. It is then the aim of the planter to keep the workman in debt to him as long as he can. To lend force to his words, he wears a lordly air, carries a revolver, flourishes a whip or cane, and occasionally when a workman breaks away or rebels, has him arrested and imprisoned for stealing. Papa Isio, the former ladrone chief of Negros, was originally a laborer on a sugar estate. He ran away to escape a beating, and in the mountains found others in hiding, whom he organized into a band that burned hundreds of haciendas.' And further on Mr. Hall reaches this sensible conclusion: 'The only remedy for the hacendero lies in doing as his competitors do, — pay good wages and be contented with a reasonable profit.'

In this connection it is interesting to note that a temporary commission on slavery, of the League of Nations, discussed the matter of peonage in the Philippine Islands and Central American countries on July 20, 1925. Their discussion tended toward the conclusion 'that the system of labor existing in some parts of the countries under discussion amounts to forced labor on the part of the victims and therefore may be construed as partial slavery.' (From the *Manila Times*, July, 1925.)

¹ Act No. 2098, Philippine Legislature, January 20, 1912.

age.¹ 'During the fiscal year 1918 there were a total of 3266 cases of this nature, of which 1456 were convicted.'²

For some inexplicable reason the Commission had never enacted a law providing a penalty for dealing in slaves. Although slavery was prohibited in the Philippine Islands under the terms of the organic act³ which rendered it impossible for 'owners' of slaves to enforce their ownership if the slave chose to run away, there was no law providing a punishment for purchasing or selling a slave, or holding, or keeping him in captivity.⁴

This defect in the law was developed by a decision of the Philippine Supreme Court of March 16, 1907.⁵ The Commission endeavored to correct this oversight by appropriate legislation,⁶ but it is evident that the manner in which the matter was presented aroused the antagonism of the Assembly, as in four successive sessions they declined to concur in the passage of the bill.⁷

The Commission, however, acting in its exclusive legisla-

¹ The report went on to say:

'The laborers are kept in debt through the advance of money and supplies, and in return for these advances agree to work for definite periods and under certain conditions. Under the provisions of this act, should they leave before completion of contract they can be arrested and tried for violation of contract and for obtaining money or supplies under false pretenses.' (Report of the Wood-Forbes Mission, 1921, House Document No. 325, 67th Congress, 2d Session, 25.)

² Report of the Wood-Forbes Mission, 1921, House Document No. 325, 67th Congress, 2d Session, 25.

³ Act of Congress, July 1, 1902, Section 5.

⁴ The Spaniards had found slavery existing in the Islands as an established institution. Its regulation and later its prohibition were made the subjects of various decrees and ordinances on the part of both the Spanish government and the Church. See references indexed under 'Slaves and Slavery' in Blair and Robertson, LV. See also a collection of Spanish laws prohibiting slavery contained in the *Assembly Report on Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands*, Manila, 1914.

⁵ '... If the facts in this respect be interpreted otherwise, there is no law applicable here, either of the United States or of the Archipelago, punishing slavery as a crime. The child was not physically confined or restrained so as to sustain a conviction for illegal detention, nor are the acts of the accused brought within any of the provisions of the law for the punishment of offenses against minors; consequently the conviction in this case must be reversed, in accordance with the recommendation of the attorney general, with costs de oficio, and acquitted.' (U.S. vs. Cabanag, Vol. VIII, p. 64, Phil. Repts.)

⁶ April 26, 1909. (*Journal of the Philippine Commission*, 1st Legislature, 2d Session, 402.)

⁷ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 90.

tive capacity for the tribal peoples, passed a slavery law ¹ in 1911 which 'rendered immediately possible the release of a considerable number of Ifugaos held in slavery by Filipinos in Nueva Vizcaya.'²

The matter did not pass wholly unnoticed in Washington, for the United States Senate on May 1, 1913, passed the following resolution:

That the Secretary of War be, and he is hereby, directed to send to the Senate any and all facts bearing directly or indirectly upon the truth of the charge publicly made that human slavery exists at this time in the Philippine Islands and that human beings are bought and sold in such islands as chattels.³

The Secretary of War ⁴ in his report for 1913 mentioned this fact, and that there were in the War Department 'records of allegations, but no facts which bore on the truth of the allegations,' ⁵ and the matter was referred to the Governor-General.

The Honorable Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior of the Philippine government, was stirred to activity in this matter and he prepared, printed, and sent out a pamphlet ⁶ which he described as 'arranging in logical sequence a small part of the written and signed testimony of judges, lawyers, army and constabulary officers, policemen, churchmen, missionaries, bureau chiefs, ethnologists, provincial officers, both Filipino and American, business men, and private citizens of American, English, Spanish, and Filipino birth, declaring that slavery and peonage exist in the Philippines.'⁷

¹ Act No. 2071, Philippine Commission, August 7, 1911.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 76.

³ *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1913, 36.

⁴ A Democrat.

⁵ *Report of the Secretary of War*, 1913, 36.

⁶ Dean C. Worcester: *Slavery and Peonage in the Philippine Islands*, Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1913.

⁷ Taken from a letter of Dean C. Worcester's printed in *The New York Evening Post*, June 15, 1914.

The *Cablenews-American*, July 19, 1913, said:

'... Libeled and slandered, accused of being all that is vile, and vilified at home and abroad as a blight on the islands, he [D. C. Worcester] has performed a service of inestimable value to the country that openly rejoiced when his resignation was chronicled. Because of him the days of slavery in the Philippines are numbered; for,

There was a great deal of bitterness engendered and the issue became somewhat of a 'palpitating' one. The basis upon which the Philippine Assembly declined to pass the law was on the untenable ground that slavery did not exist and therefore such a law was unnecessary.¹ Ex-President Taft

doubt it not, there will be a law against it now. The Assembly shall pass one or Congress will.'

The *Manila Daily Bulletin*, January 10, 1914, made this interesting statement:

'... The famous document [D. C. Worcester's slavery report] is no longer available for distribution, announces the executive bureau, for the very simple reason that the governor general [F. B. Harrison] has seen fit to have the surplus copies of the report consumed by fire.'

¹ While on leave of absence in the United States, the Governor-General took occasion in the course of a public address to tell of this extraordinary failure on the part of the Assembly to perform its proper duty in regard to a slavery law. This brought forth a reply from one of the Filipino Resident Commissioners in a letter to the *Boston Herald*, June 24, 1912, in which he made the following points:

'The fact that the assembly has refused to approve of the bill . . . bespeaks the legislative ability of our assemblymen, while, on the other hand, the passage by the commission of said bill indicates either the incompetency or the negligence of the commissioners. Do we have slavery and compulsory service in the Philippines or not? If we do not, the bill to abolish it is unnecessary. If we do, it is also unnecessary, because the act passed by Congress, creating the present Philippine government, which serves as our constitution, already prohibits slavery and compulsory service, and, therefore, no act of the Philippine Legislature is needed to declare it illegal.

'If there is slavery and compulsory service in the Philippines, the Governor-General, as the chief executive, and the members of the Philippine commission, who, with the Governor-General, compose the executive department of the islands, are all of them guilty in not enforcing and executing the constitution of the archipelago.

'If there is anything in the Philippines akin to slavery or compulsory service, it cannot be found in the provinces to which the legislative jurisdiction of the assembly extends. Should there be such a thing in the territories inhabited by the few non-Christian Filipinos, which are under the exclusive control of the Philippine commission, I am sure the slave-holders can only be the government officials, who are appointed by the secretary of the interior, the Honorable Dean C. Worcester, the head of the executive department in charge of said territories.

'It will not be out of place to indicate here the reason wherefore the Philippine commission has passed the bill alluded to by . . . [the Governor-General]. The members of the Philippine commission are sternly opposed to Philippine independence. Moreover, they are opposed to allowing the Filipino people to have a Legislature wholly constituted of natives for reasons too apparent to be mentioned. One of their everyday arguments is "that the premature withdrawal of the United States would result in the establishment of an oligarchy composed of small and favored ruling classes who would oppress the masses."

'The passage by the Philippine commission of the anti-slavery bill placed the Philippine assembly in a very awkward position (as it was perhaps intended to do); to concur in the passage of the bill was to admit that there is such a thing as slavery and compulsory service in the Philippines, which is not a fact. To reject the bill would be construed as indicating that the members of the assembly were advocates of slavery. The moral courage of our assemblymen was shown when they took

characterized the reasons set forth by the Filipinos for not passing this law as 'utterly ridiculous.'¹

They were perfectly right in representing that slavery did not exist as an institution. It was not recognized by law. There were no slave markets; no slaves working in the fields under the lash of an overseer's whip; nor was the mild form of unrequited service that existed accompanied with any of the horrors which are normally associated with a country in which forced labor exists as a recognized institution.

Despite the indignant denial of the Assemblymen there is no doubt whatever that there was a certain amount of actual traffic in slaves,² particularly among the Negritos, or dwarf peoples, for whom regular prices were paid, and upon whose villages occasional raids were made in order to capture young people and carry them off for the purposes of sale. The children so obtained were taken into the households of the people who bought them. When asked, they reported that they had 'adopted' these children. The children were usually kindly treated. They were baptized, given clothes, and sometimes even a small amount of education. They were content and had to be kept more or less content because if they undertook to run away there would be no legal redress; the 'owner' would have no right to claim his 'property.'

This practice was not entirely confined to the Negritos. There were a number of well authenticated instances of Igorots, usually girls, for whose possession money was paid, and

the former course, that of truth. The members of the commission denounce the attitude of their co-legislators as proof of lack of sympathy for the masses of the people.'

In this letter the Resident Commissioner speciously ignored the whole crux of the matter. Without a penalty provided by law to punish those guilty of it, slavery was bound to exist in a limited degree in many parts of the Islands.

¹ In a speech delivered in the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, November 19, 1913, ex-President Taft said: 'The utterly ridiculous reason given by the Filipinos for not passing such laws is that to pass them would be a confession that slavery existed in the Philippines and they would not put such a stain upon their own people by enacting such legislation.' (As quoted in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 20, 1913.)

See Appendix XXIV for further quotation from ex-President Taft's remarks on this occasion.

² At Baguio, on May 13, 1913, General Aguinaldo admitted to a newspaper reporter the existence of a condition of peonage savoring of slavery, and said, 'I sincerely regret this deplorable condition, but it is true that it exists.' (*Manila Daily Bulletin*, May 14, 1913.)

sometimes the children of the Christian and civilized Filipinos were bonded over or given in bond to satisfy the principal or interest of their parents' debts.¹

In the height of the slavery controversy an interesting episode occurred in connection with the visit of the Governor-General to the province of Tarlac, whose governor apparently had not heard about the slavery agitation. In this province there were a number of villages of Negritos, or Aetas as they were called there, and the provincial governor informed the Governor-General that he could secure for him if he desired a girl or boy Negrito slave.²

The problem was a much more complicated one in connection with the Moros, who were prone, as Mohammedans are, to look upon slavery much more as an institution. There the whole system under which the sultans, datus, and headmen generally lived lent itself to a much greater control, even to the extent of life and death, exercised by the chiefs over the persons and liberties of their subordinates.

¹ Occasionally some of the Filipino newspapers commented on this matter in a way which tended to refute the position taken by some of their own leaders.

'All this comes to mind in connection with that phenomenon which is too frequently produced here and which has just awakened official attention. It is that odious practice of many unnatural parents of pawning their children when they are afflicted by financial needs. We know of many domestics who have grown up in the power of their masters because of having been pawned in infancy by their parents who, most often, expended the amount of the loan in gambling and idleness. We congratulate ourselves that the government has acted in this matter by prosecuting this paternal crime, which signifies an offense against the liberty of children. The prosecutorial action of the government will evidently tend to make those soulless parents believe that procreation is legitimate when a happy destiny is reserved for their descendants. Only among beasts does engendering offspring to be slaves not constitute a moral and juridical crime.' (Translated from *La Vanguardia*, September 30, 1912.)

² The Governor-General wrote as follows of how easy it would be for him to secure for his own use a couple of young Negritos as slaves:

'... I asked the governor of the province whether it would be possible for me to get a slave. He said certainly, that I could get any Negrito I wanted, and asked me whether I preferred to have a boy or a girl. I asked him how much I'd have to pay. He told me the parents of the children would esteem it an honor to present a child to the Governor-General, and said he would have all the young boys and girls of the town lined up and I could take my pick. But he thought it would be a suitable thing if I made a present of a few dollars to the mother of the child, not as a payment but as a sort of gratuity. I asked him what age he'd advise my taking. To this he replied that they were a little bit easier to handle when taken pretty young. He thought about twelve years old. If I wanted a full-grown young woman he thought I could get some good buxom girl of about eighteen.'

In 1913, the Commission passed a resolution, without dissent from the Filipino members, that the Governor-General be requested to send to the Secretary of War a copy of the anti-slavery bill with the recommendation that it be submitted to Congress.¹

The resolution and bill were held in the War Department and later handed to Governor-General Harrison for action, which he secured in November, 1913. As he reported, 'one of the first acts of the new Legislature was to pass, by unanimous vote, a drastic antislavery law,² applying to the islands, as supplementary to existing law, the provisions of the United States statute against slavery and peonage.'³

BUREAU OF PRINTING

While the arts of printing and bookbinding had been introduced by the Spaniards in Manila before the end of the sixteenth century,⁴ and in 1898 there were various establishments which had been developed to meet both the commercial and government requirements, the methods employed were antiquated and the quality of the product did not measure up to American standards. Besides a lack of familiarity with the English language, there were no facilities for quantity production; no modern typesetting machines; no means for the duplication and preservation of valuable forms of type; and no provision for the training of artisans in printing and its allied trades.

At the beginning of American occupation it was impossible to secure Filipinos qualified as craftsmen in any of the print-

¹ May 17, 1913. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 90, 91.)

² Act No. 2300, Philippine Legislature, November 28, 1913.

³ Governor-General Harrison went on to comment in that connection: 'It thus appears that the failure to pass such a law until that time was due rather to some inherent defect in the methods of those demanding its passage than to any lack of desire on the part of the Philippine Legislature to prevent such abuses.' (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, 13.)

⁴ See the report to King Philip II of Spain by Governor Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, dated at Manila, June 20, 1593. From sources of that period it appears that the art of printing was practiced under government license, and that before the year 1612 religious books had been printed by the friars in the Philippine Islands not only in Tagalog but also, at least in two instances, in the Chinese language and characters. (Blair and Robertson, IX, 68; LII, 332-33.)

ing trades. The activities of the small number then employed were limited to hand typesetting, the crudest forms of bookbinding, and the operation of obsolete types of printing presses. Typesetting machines, automatic presses, electrotyping, half-tone engraving, and the utilization of other than human energy in driving their machinery were industrial innovations which belonged to an era yet to dawn.

The problem of printing for the government was therefore one which compelled attention from the beginning, and the military authorities found it necessary to secure an American contract printer, who installed the necessary equipment with American operatives. As this expedient did not meet the requirements of a permanent service, the Commission determined to organize a Bureau of Printing. President McKinley, on receipt of a telegram from Governor Taft, authorized Secretary Root to appoint as director of the new bureau Mr. John S. Leech,¹ of Bloomington, Illinois, from the staff of the Government Printing Office in Washington.

Within two and one-half months Mr. Leech accomplished the difficult task of providing specifications for all the equipment, materials, and supplies for a modern printing plant which was to be located fifteen thousand miles from the base of supplies and operated under the handicap of requiring, under normal conditions, from six to nine months for the purchase and transportation of machine parts or any one of the hundreds of different kinds of supplies entering into its finished product. The plant was purchased in the United States by Colonel Edwards, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, under competitive bidding, the accepted bids being approved by the Public Printer at Washington.

Following the preliminary organization, a Bureau of Printing was created by act of the Commission.² This act required that the chief of the bureau 'must be a practical printer and versed in the art of bookbinding,' and imposed on him the responsibility of all printing, engraving, lithographing, and

¹ Appointed May 29, 1901, Public Printer of the Philippine government, recommended by Frank W. Palmer, Public Printer of the United States. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1920, part 1, p. 1029.)

² Act No. 296, Philippine Commission, November 7, 1901.

binding required by the government,¹ and besides made available to the general public services such as electrotyping, stereotyping, and photo-engraving, which no commercial establishment in the Islands then could perform. An efficient technical staff was secured in the United States, all men of thorough training and under contract to instruct Filipinos in all the specialties of printing and the allied trades.² Because of a lack of skilled Filipino engineers, electricians, machinists, and linotype machinists to operate the power plant and keep the complicated machinery and more than two hundred motors in a high state of efficiency, these trades were included in vocational training courses, and thus Director Leech complied with his official instructions 'to instruct Filipinos in all the specialties of printing and its allied trades.' True to the traditions of his profession that printing is a fundamental factor in the intelligent progress of a people, he trained Filipinos in all, even the most difficult, specialties of the art of printing, and advanced the more proficient craftsmen through the intermediate into the higher positions then held by Americans.

At Director Leech's suggestion the Commission enacted a

¹ The progressive increase in requirements on the Bureau of Printing for work and supplies is indicated by the following table: *

Year	Employees	Paper used	Expenditures
		<i>Reams</i>	
1903.....	242	7,201	\$197,723.46
1913.....	496	14,203	355,076.78
1914.....	386	14,622	348,587.98
1915.....	414	16,873	309,236.55
1916.....	†	16,646	402,000.00
1917.....	439	18,003	440,628.84
1918.....	434	22,802	526,332.49
1919.....	521	24,884	588,503.91
1920†.....	634	28,891	827,188.16
1921†.....	620	19,801	704,078.04
1922.....	527	14,596	644,645.01
1923.....	503	19,286	568,362.37
1924.....	490	19,251	506,977.25

* Expenditures and number of employees as stated in the corresponding annual reports of the Governor-General, and statistics as to paper used taken from tables in annual reports of the Governor-General for 1921 and 1924.

† Statistics not at hand.

‡ Extraordinary expenditures due to printing reports of the census of 1918.

² Mr. Leech contracted to teach native Filipinos the trades of printer (including linotype operator), pressman, bookbinder, stereotyper and electrotyper, and line and half-tone photo-engraver.

It is of interest that the Bureau of Printing operated the first battery of linotype machines in Asia.

law¹ providing for the appointment of Filipino apprentices and for a progressive scale of compensation for them and for craftsmen in the Bureau of Printing. Thus, in effect the bureau became a thoroughly practical trade school in which the highest standards of workmanship were maintained. Apprentices were secured from the various provinces, one qualification being a high standard in school work to insure proficiency in English and other studies. The artistic inclinations of these young Filipinos and their natural aptitude for learning were quickened, their physical well-being assured by systematic athletic sports, and industry and thrift encouraged by a bonus plan and savings deposits. They responded with earnest enthusiasm, and, with their deftness, nervelessness, and patient industry, came in the course of time to approach the excellence of their instructors in most of the branches of the printer's art.

Technical training was standardized; the component parts of all the branches of each trade were analyzed and the hand and machine operations segregated into specialties and sub-specialties. These were divided in the order of their relative importance into classes in a systematic sequence of instruction. The period of apprenticeship was four years, including one year as a junior craftsman. All mechanical instruction was supplemented by sufficient school work to equip a student apprentice with at least a common school education. There was no indenture to bind the apprentice to complete his trade.²

Through the craftsmen-graduates of the Bureau of Printing the commercial printing establishments in Manila and other cities in the Philippine Islands were able to introduce the use of typesetting machines and modern presses as well

¹ Act No. 650, Philippine Commission, March 3, 1903.

² The period of the apprentice's employment was wholly dependent on his ability satisfactorily to pass a written examination at any time on any subject upon which he had received instruction. The system offered student apprentices an opportunity to prepare themselves for positions requiring administrative and executive ability. It was aimed to develop initiative through instruction in office organization and management, in the relation of the various trades to each other, in the physical qualities of materials, and by the systematic reading of pertinent literature. Examinations including these subjects were also given the apprentice or craftsman, and those who secured an eligible rating were sure of advancement to a position of responsibility.

as photo-engraving and other advanced printing specialties.

Apprentices who completed their courses and qualified as craftsmen were graded and compensated as such in the Bureau of Printing. Many secured employment in commercial printing establishments, particularly as linotype operators, practically all newspaper operators being graduates from the Bureau of Printing. Others with a desire for wider experience have secured employment in the United States and foreign countries.

Director Leech's system of vocational training is acknowledged by people competent to judge to be excellent. He aimed to advance the unskilled Filipino step by step, until ultimately he could succeed his American preceptor as a teacher of the printing trades.

Director Leech was sometimes criticized for the large number of apprentices under instruction. Under prevailing trade practice the ratio was one apprentice to from five to fifteen journeymen — in some trades even less, while in 1913 apprentices in the Bureau of Printing constituted sixty-four per cent of the entire technical force. He had unwavering faith, however, in the soundness of the vocational training method he had evolved, and in its practical application he was wholeheartedly supported by a sympathetic force of American instructors.

The relation between the Director and his force, both American and Filipino, was one of friendliness and mutual sympathy. Within a decade a practically all-American force became one composed of ninety-four per cent of Filipino workmen, and at the time of Director Leech's resignation, October 21, 1913, all mechanical operations were being performed by Filipino workmen, one division was conducted by a Filipino graduate apprentice, all acting assistant chiefs of division were apprentice graduates, and Filipino craftsmen were being trained in positions requiring administrative and executive ability.¹

The bureau enjoyed a well-earned reputation for the excel-

¹ From the last-named group were selected the Filipinos serving as Director and Assistant Director in 1926, both of whom entered the bureau as apprentices and graduated as craftsmen during Mr. Leech's administration. These men have filled their positions since the retirement of the last American Director and technical

lence of its product. It developed process color printing in a high degree, the artistic quality of its anatomical reproductions frequently receiving high praise from European printers who had formerly executed the work by the lithographing process.¹

The Bureau of Printing never accepted orders for work for private persons which commercial establishments were equipped to do, but assisted the latter by executing special services for them.

The Reorganization Committee of 1905 adopted for the entire government the inventory supply accounting system of the Bureau of Printing.

The Director of Printing was charged with the duty of standardizing all blank forms to avoid unnecessary multiplicity, also with the duty of distribution and sale of all publications of the insular government.² As noted in the chapter on 'Finances,' the Bureau of Printing was placed upon a reimbursable basis, an operation fund of \$25,000 was provided,³ and it became self-supporting, meeting all expenses from its receipts.⁴ It is interesting to note that this method of operating by reimbursable appropriations which proved so satisfactory in the Bureau of Printing during the years 1906 to 1913, and was abandoned by the Filipinos in 1914, was adopted by the United States government in the Government Printing Office July 1, 1922.⁵

BUREAU OF NAVIGATION

The Bureau of Navigation came into existence, at first, under the clumsy title of Bureau of Coast Guard and Trans-adviser, December 1, 1919, with honor to their race and with credit to the system under which their advancement was made.

Until 1913, the cost of production of the Bureau of Printing, taking into account fair amounts for rent, depreciation, etc., was at least ten per cent below the cost at which the same work and supplies could have been secured from commercial establishments.

¹ Among its notable examples of book work was the report of the International Plague Conference, a large volume printed for the Imperial Chinese Government.

² Act No. 1407, Philippine Commission, October 26, 1905, Section 26.

³ Act No. 1527, Philippine Commission, August 18, 1906.

⁴ Director Leech expressed himself as believing that the system was not only statistically correct, but also of distinct advantage in reducing the cost of government.

⁵ Act of Congress approved March 20, 1922.

portation,¹ primarily to assist in the maintenance of order, transportation of the Constabulary, and in the prevention of smuggling. It was also charged with the construction and operation of lighthouses. Prior to the war with Spain there had been fifty-five lighthouses in operation, but when the Americans reached the Islands Spain had, as a war measure, ordered these lights extinguished.² When the American civil authorities took over the administration, they found not more than twenty-seven in operation. Under the direction of Commander J. M. Helm, later Rear-Admiral, United States Navy, and his successors, before many years the Philippine coast line was studded with lights, great and small, reaching in 1913 as many as 146.³ And in 1926 there were 193 lights, 146 buoys, and 77 beacons, a total of 416 aids to navigation, maintained by the government.⁴

One extraordinary occurrence in connection with the lighthouse service in the Islands deserves mention. The island of Balabac forms the southwestern extremity of the archipelago and narrows down to a point known as Cape Melville, upon which the Spaniards had built a first-order lighthouse which was a most important aid to navigation for ships passing between the Philippine Islands and Borneo. It lay on one of the main trade routes of the Orient and was sighted by ships passing from the Pacific to Singapore and ports in Indo-China. The order of the Spanish government in April, 1898, to extinguish the lights failed to reach the light keeper at Cape Melville, and for a period of two years no attention was paid to the lighthouse by the government. The light keeper went two years without pay, and in the course of time his supplies — including his oil for the light — gave out. Yet he stuck heroically to his post, supplied himself as best he could from the natural resources at hand, and rowed out to passing ships and borrowed oil from them in order to keep his light lit. He may fairly be said to have carried the torch. Needless to say his sacrifices were recognized when the Bureau of Navigation was organized and he received his pay and

¹ Act No. 266, Philippine Commission, October 17, 1901.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, I, 129.

³ See Progress Barometer, Appendix XVI.

⁴ Data furnished by the Bureau of Commerce and Industry.

allowances for the full time for services rendered, and later promotion to an important position in Manila.

For the requirements of the government of this group of more than one thousand inhabited islands, it was obvious that marine transportation would be a primary necessity, and the government ordered a standard fleet of fifteen steamers built in China and Japan for the coast guard service. This later proved to have been unwise, as the government found itself with too many steamers of one type. The boats were too small to carry enough freight or passengers to pay their way commercially, and too large for economical transportation of the lesser officers of government on their inspection trips. Later experience proved that what was needed was a variety of boats suitable for a variety of services. Three of these new ships were given the duty of inspecting, supplying, and maintaining lighthouses; four were transferred to the Coast and Geodetic Survey; one was equipped for special inspection trips of government officials; one was detailed to the Moro Province for the use of that government; one was used for picking up lepers and transporting them to the colony at Culion; while two or three were held in Manila for general service; some of them were laid up and at one time such of the remainder as were kept in commission were put on commercial routes to develop trade.

When finally Commander Helm was obliged by the exigencies of the service to relinquish the management of the Bureau of Navigation and return to naval duties, the Governor-General selected for chief of the bureau another graduate of the Naval Academy, who had resigned from the navy, and who had the same surname as his former chief.¹

Just as the extortions practiced by the merchants brought about the extensive business of government supply, so the high prices charged by private owners of marine railways practically forced the government to construct its own marine railway and repair shops. The site selected was a tract of filled-in land near the mouth of the Pasig River, known as Engineer Island.² Here the whole fleet of government vessels

¹ Frank P. Helm.

² Act No. 788, Philippine Commission, June 1, 1903.

necessary in this essentially maritime region were outfitted, repaired, and supplied.¹

The Bureau of Navigation was not popular with the Filipinos, perhaps because in the interests of economy the Director was not free in the use of passes, and the bureau was cited in the diatribes of the Filipino press as one of the 'extravagances' of the government. An illustration of this arose in connection with a rumor that the government was proposing to abolish the Bureaus of Navigation and Supply and to reorganize the Bureaus of Public Works and Printing. One of the daily papers took this occasion to allege, most unjustly, that the first two organizations were manifestly useless, and the last named excessively costly.²

Two committees appointed in the year 1904 had to do with the matter of shipping. One of these was a committee designated to determine harbor lines, that is, to indicate to what limits docks and piers might be extended so that the essential value of the harbor might never be encroached upon in granting permits for construction of wharves, piers, or other structures.³ Valuable work was done by this committee.

¹ The marine railway and repair shops have continued to be maintained by the government.

² This paper continued with a typical attack on the Bureau of Navigation as follows:

'... the fleet of coast-guard cutters . . . have served for nothing until now but to extract a good portion of the people's money from the treasury and to encourage the mania of high officials to take trips on the high seas with their friends and favorites, on any pretext. These coast-guards have not contributed to improve the inter-island mail service nor have they served as means of communication or transportation in cases of necessity. They are, and always have been, nothing but recreation yachts, while pretending to be insular marine . . . they have not even been able to do honor to their official denomination.' (As translated from *El Ideal*, May 25, 1912.)

It was typical of these papers to speak without knowledge and without study. There was no bureau of the government that was run with more economy and less waste than the Bureau of Printing.

The Bureau of Navigation was abolished and its duties distributed between the Bureaus of Customs and Public Works (Act No. 2308, Philippine Legislature, December 19, 1913) soon after the Filipinos gained control of both houses of the Legislature. In 1918, the operation of government vessels, the marine railway and repair shops, the lighthouse service, and the supervision of inter-island shipping were transferred to the Bureau of Commerce and Industry created by Act No. 2728, Philippine Legislature, January 31, 1918.

³ Act No. 592, Philippine Commission, January 9, 1903.

The committee was appointed September 13, 1904, and comprised: J. W. Beards-

The other committee was appointed by the Governor-General to investigate and report upon arrangements that might be made to improve the passenger and freight services by commercial steamships in the inter-island trade, reducing the number of government ships so far as might be compatible with the maintenance of good order and the public services.¹ As a result of the operation of this committee the Commission authorized advertisement for bids from commercial steamship owners to take over the government passenger and freight services.² Successful bidders were to be required immediately to bring their vessels up to modern standards of safety, sanitation, and comfort, to carry the mails, and to operate their ships on definite schedules. The same law provided that vessels operated by the Philippine government should charge for services rendered, and that such charges should be as nearly as practicable the rates charged for the same services by vessels under contract with the government. There were other provisions calculated to assure as far as possible good and regular steamship service at reasonable rates to every port in the archipelago. Government vessels were to be taken off routes and commercial steamers substituted as rapidly as business developed to an extent that justified a commercial line undertaking the service under contract. A Superintendent of Inter-island Transportation in the Bureau of Navigation was to coördinate the operation of government and contract vessels, and superintend the inspection and maintenance of good standards of service. The Secretary of Commerce and Police advertised for bids on twenty-one proposed routes.³

ley, Consulting Engineer to the Commission; Commander J. M. Helm, United States Navy, Chief of the Bureau of Coast Guard and Transportation; Major C. McD. Townsend, Corps of Engineers, United States Army, in charge of the port works of Manila.

¹ The personnel of this committee, appointed by Executive Order No. 36, September 19, 1904, was as follows: The Honorable W. Cameron Forbes, Secretary of Commerce and Police; W. Morgan Shuster, Collector of Customs; Brigadier-General Henry T. Allen, Chief of the Philippines Constabulary; Commander J. M. Helm, United States Navy, Chief of Coast Guard and Transportation; Captain Harry L. Pettus, Quartermaster, United States Army; and W. G. Masters, Assistant Director of Posts.

² Act No. 1310, Philippine Commission, March 23, 1905.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 3, p. 16.

Contracts were awarded for a five-year period to commercial steamers for service on eleven routes; the total annual cost to government in the form of subsidies under these contracts, which included the free carriage of the mails, was somewhat less than \$110,000. The immediate financial result to the government was the discontinuance of service of five vessels, representing an economy of \$125,000 per annum. The contract rates for passenger and freight services gave an average reduction of about twenty per cent below that previously charged for like services.¹ The coastwise merchant marine service was greatly improved, and, with dependable schedules for shipment of products and receipt of supplies, agriculture and commerce received a substantial stimulus.

Ships operating under subsidy contracts were required to have accessible to passengers a book in which complaints might be recorded. One rather amusing extract was turned in to the Secretary of Commerce and Police, culled from the 'Complaint Book' on board the steamship Union of the Tabacalera Company:

The undersigned consider it their duty to record their indignation at being unable to find anything to growl about during two days' voyage on this boat.

Failure of some ships to give the service called for by the regulations did occasionally occur. Even the officers of government steamers sometimes undertook to ignore the requirements and very summary and drastic action had to be taken to compel compliance with the specifications of the government. On one occasion it was brought to the attention of the secretary of the department that, though certain coast guard cutters had distilling plants, their water tanks were filled with water which the captains said was 'just as good as distilled water.' In this case the Governor-General took a hand, and his communication to the Secretary of Commerce and Police was passed on to all captains of the coast guard: 'I wish this matter brought to the attention of the Bureau of Navigation so forcibly that the error will not occur again, and that it be understood throughout the service that instant dismissal will be the penalty to be inflicted upon any captain

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1906, part 2, pp. 215-17.*

who fails to obey the order for having the drinking water on the ship absolutely pure and kept free from possible contamination.'

The Director of Navigation thereupon issued an order:

Hereafter all cutters of this bureau will use for drinking purposes only water which has been distilled aboard the vessel.¹

The shipping concerns were reluctant to enter into these contracts under the terms of which they necessarily relinquished much of their independence of action. Yet in practice they found to their surprise adherence to the rules laid down by the government greatly enhanced their profits, and on the occasion of the departure of the Secretary of Commerce and Police on leave of absence, a farewell party was given on the deck of one of the steamers by two Spanish firms and one English house, the more important ship-owning concerns in the Islands, in the course of which both merchants and ship-owners spoke of the effect of the government subsidies in highly laudatory terms.²

When the first contracts expired, the Legislature having failed to make provision for further subsidies, the government was faced with the alternative of having either to abandon the whole policy of ship subsidies and see the inter-island merchant marine fall back into the somewhat disorganized condition from which it had been raised, or to devise some new system of mail contracts or of further subsidies to meet the situation.³ In February, 1912, the Legislature authorized the continuation of the subsidies.⁴ The development of commerce, however, improved the earnings of ships engaged in

¹ Bureau of Navigation, General Order No. 1, June 6, 1910.

² Writing in his journal of this function, the Secretary of Commerce and Police said: 'They say our shipping laws and contracts have been the salvation of the inter-island trade and shipping.' (Journal, III, 43, June 15, 1908.)

³ The *Manila Times* of May 29, 1911, with its usual conciseness summed up the situation editorially: 'The proposition involved seems to us to be a very simple one. It has been made quite clear that a large number of the present runs cannot be continued unless there is state aid. If they are discontinued the farmers, the business men, and the general travelling public will sustain a very considerable loss and there will be a larger indirect loss because loss of transportation inevitably will retard the growth of many developing communities. The amount necessary to keep all the lines going is not a very large one and at the present moment it looks like mighty poor economy to refuse to again vote it.'

⁴ Act No. 2118, Philippine Legislature, February 1, 1912.

the inter-island trade and by 1913 the subsidies were decreased to \$70,000.¹

In 1905, Major-General (afterward Lieutenant-General) Henry C. Corbin, who at the time was commanding the Philippines Division, expressed a desire to be of service in a constructive way in helping the civil administration meet some of its more pressing problems. He volunteered to serve on a committee to consider the impediments to progress found in the maritime laws and practices. Governor-General Wright took immediate advantage of this to name a committee to investigate 'the whole subject of port dues and harbor management in the Philippine Islands, and to make recommendation looking to the removal of all unnecessary restrictions upon commerce entering and leaving the ports.'²

This committee, after months of frequent sessions, brought about the passage of a number of laws, one of which made commerce free within the Islands, discontinuing all customs inspectors and inspections at coastwise ports,³ and another abolished tonnage dues for foreign ships entering Philippine ports.⁴ The removal of these restrictions with their incidental expense was very well received by the merchants.

In October, 1905, the committee made a preliminary report in which it made a number of recommendations, including an interesting suggestion for the establishment of a free zone or free district in the port of Manila — which never became a fact. After General Corbin's relief in 1906 by Major-General Leonard Wood, the latter assumed the chairmanship of this committee, which continued its deliberations.

BUREAU OF COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEY

No full and accurate survey of the harbors and waters of

¹ *Report of the Auditor*, 1913, part I, 25.

Provision has been made for these payments in the annual appropriation acts in gradually decreasing amounts. In 1927 the appropriation for this purpose was only \$10,000. (Act No. 3340, Philippine Legislature, December 7, 1926.)

² Executive Order No. 12, March 27, 1905.

The committee was composed of Major-General H. C. Corbin, United States Army, commanding the Philippines Division; the Honorable W. Cameron Forbes, Secretary of Commerce and Police; and Colonel H. B. McCoy, Deputy Collector of Customs for the Philippine Islands.

³ Act No. 1341, Philippine Commission, May 4, 1905.

⁴ Act No. 1535, Philippine Commission, August 31, 1906.

the Philippine Archipelago had been made prior to American occupation. The lack of reliable charts was so serious a handicap to the merchant marine, as well as to the navy and army transport service, that arrangements were made by the military government under which the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey in 1900 entered upon systematic coast surveys and the publication of charts and other aids to navigators.¹

These surveys had a distinct military value and were made at a rate much more rapid than would have been the case if the civil government had undertaken the work for purely commercial service; the cost, therefore, was divided between the United States and the Philippine government.² The technical direction and personnel and one survey vessel were provided by the United States, and one survey vessel, and later additional vessels, by the Philippine government.

The Islands were very fortunate in the ability and coöperative faculties of the men detailed to act as chiefs of this bureau. G. R. Putnam, E. F. Dickens, John E. McGrath, and Philip A. Welker came in turn, each of whom did his work with entire satisfaction to the government.

On June 30, 1913, sixty-three per cent of the total length of shore line had been surveyed and the work was proceeding on a basis of somewhat more than five per cent annually.³ By the end of 1925 the major portion of the waters and islands of the archipelago had been surveyed.⁴

BUREAU OF POSTS

Postal service under the Spanish government was almost mediæval in character. The governors of provinces and the presidents of municipalities were charged with the duty of forwarding postal matter by land, while inter-island ships were required to carry it without charge.⁵ Post offices were not available very generally throughout the Islands and seem to have been limited to the more important commercial

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 71.

² See Chapter VI, 'Finances,' *ante*, 241.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 200.

⁴ See Progress Barometer, Appendix XVI.

⁵ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, part 1, p. 69.

ports. There was no general organization or equipment outside of Manila which cared for the dispatch of postal transactions with Spain or foreign countries.

The American army and navy have well-established methods of handling postal matter in their own services, and in 1898 these were elaborated to meet the needs of the army of occupation. The postal service was carried on by the military authorities until May 1, 1899, as a branch of the post office at San Francisco. At that time the Philippine postal service was organized as a separate institution under American administration and under the general supervision of the United States Post Office Department in regard to postal relations with foreign countries.¹

The Bureau of Posts in the Philippine Islands was modeled on the United States postal service, and manned by experts especially detailed from that service but who became officers of the Philippine government and responsible to the Governor-General and through the Governor-General to the War Department, not to the Post Office Department, in the United States.

With the extension of American occupation of Philippine territory it became necessary to develop the organization to meet constantly increasing demands. As more territory was occupied the postal organization was extended. During the period of active military operation the United States army and navy officers and enlisted men attended to transportation of mails and acted as postmasters except at Manila. An indication of the rapid development of the demands upon the postal service is to be found in the fact that during the year July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1900, a total money order business of more than one and one-half million dollars was reported.²

Spanish postage stamps of all classes to the number of thirty million were taken over by the American authorities on their occupation of the city of Manila. The Military Governor directed the sale of these stamps at auction, notices

¹ In 1920, apparently with the acquiescence of the Washington authorities, the Philippine Islands entered the Universal Postal Convention, being granted 'power to vote, with all the rights and privileges of an independent nation.' (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1920, 27.)

² Crowder, 1900, 192, 198.

of which were sent to all the principal philatelists and dealers in the United States and Europe, with the result that the total proceeds of the sales amounted to fifty thousand dollars.¹

United States postage stamps were used for a time on postal matter despatched in the Philippine Islands. Later these stamps were surcharged with the word 'Philippines'; and still later, in 1906, stamps of special designs were prepared at the United States Bureau of Engraving and Printing, bearing the portraits of men of Spanish, American, and Philippine nationality who had influenced Philippine history.²

From the two post offices, Manila and Cavite, in August, 1898, the services extended until, on June 30, 1913, there were 590 offices,³ and 936 in 1925.⁴

The first telegraph line in the Philippine Islands was installed by the Spaniards in 1872 and extensions were made until there were three trunk lines and several branches on the island of Luzon connecting Laoag and Aparri on the extreme north, and Sorsogon in the south, with Manila. On some of the other islands telegraph facilities also existed. During the insurrection practically the entire system disappeared.⁵

The early rehabilitation of the old telegraph and telephone services and the fairly comprehensive construction of a new service were regarded by the army as a military necessity, and during the period of the insurrection the whole service was in the hands of the officers of the signal corps under the direction of the commanding general.

During the period of gradual transfer to the Constabulary the telegraph, cable, and telephone lines were reconstructed

¹ Crowder, 1900, 150.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, part 2, p. 401.

The Americans selected were Washington, Franklin, Lincoln, McKinley, Sampson representing the navy, and Lawton representing the army. After Admiral Dewey's death his portrait replaced that of Admiral Sampson as representing the navy. Philippine early history was represented by Magellan, Legaspi, and a Spaniard by the name of Carriedo, who had left his fortune for the construction of waterworks for the city of Manila. Upon the two-centavo stamp appeared the portrait of the Philippine patriot Rizal.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 190.

⁴ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 70.

⁵ *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, iv, 81.

on a more permanent basis, locations changed, and some new ones constructed.

On January 1, 1906, the telephone and telegraph service was transferred from the Constabulary to the Bureau of Posts.¹ This proved to be a great saving to the service, as it placed all communications under one bureau and made possible a helpful consolidation of offices. The negotiation with the military authorities for the transfer of the remaining telegraph and telephone lines under military control was slow, but finally, on October 4, 1907, the final transfer of these lines was authorized.² This also resulted in a marked economy.

Upon the completion of this transfer, the army, which had maintained a cable ship for the purpose of repairing the marine telegraph lines, withdrew its ship and it became necessary for the civil government to undertake this service, as there was no ship maintained by any commercial cable company near enough to be ready in case of emergency. In 1908 the Bureau of Navigation succeeded in purchasing a three-thousand-ton ship in Singapore, which was named the 'Rizal' and equipped for cable service.³

In 1898 the telephone business in Manila was conducted by a private company, limited to the city, and had an installation so antiquated that the service was a constant annoyance to Americans accustomed to the kind of service obtainable from modern installations. In 1905 a group of San Francisco people undertook the construction of a modern telephone system in Manila. They secured control of the existing company, obtained a franchise from the insular government, and put in an up-to-date system in the city of Manila, leaving the telegraph and telephone service throughout the balance of the archipelago in the hands of the government.

In lieu of trying to construct a highly centralized plant and service, it had been the policy of the government to operate the telephone lines outside Manila in conjunction with telegraphs by the army and Constabulary. When the Bureau

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1906, part 2, p. 376.

² *Ibid.*, 1908, part 2, p. 357.

³ This cable ship *Rizal* was substituted in 1915 by the *J. Bustamante*. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1915, 39.)

of Posts took over these services in 1906, it pursued the policy of developing local government interest in telephone service, with the result that provincial governments generally took over inter-municipal telephone lines and the cities and larger towns installed local service or granted concessions to private enterprises. The army and navy maintained their own telephone service within their reservations.

Wireless telegraphy was first utilized by the army at stations in southern Mindanao and Jolo, where the submarine cables gave much trouble because of the sharp coral seabottom and strong currents. In 1908 the Bureau of Posts began wireless service with the station at Malabang, Mindanao, and the following year the army stations at Jolo and Zamboanga were transferred to the Bureau of Posts,¹ which has further developed this service as circumstances required and funds were available. By 1913 seven stations were in operation² and by 1927 there were thirty-eight in operation and three additional under construction.³ The navy constructed and maintained a powerful wireless station at Cavite near their local reservation.

Where there was no telegraph office the municipal treasurer was usually postmaster, and wherever there were telegraph offices, except at the larger ones, the chief operator usually acted as postmaster.

In the early days there was a period when the bureaus did not coöperate as readily as they afterward came to do when the government became better coördinated. On one occasion an impatient captain of a coast guard steamer failed to land the mail because the postmaster did not come out to get it. The postmaster made the excuse that the Constabulary officer who was supposed to supply the boarding boat was not on hand. The officers of the postal service, of the coast guard service, and of the Constabulary were notified that the mail must be delivered if it were possible to do so without danger to human life; that it was the duty of the captain of

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1909, 149.

² *Ibid.*, 1913, 194.

³ Data furnished by the Director of Posts.

It was officially estimated that there were three thousand private receiving sets in the Islands and two broadcasting stations.

the steamer to put the mail ashore; the business of the postmaster to go out and get it; and the business of the Constabulary officer to supply the boarding boat. And it was made clear to them that the next time the mail was carried by under similar circumstances, if the blame could not be placed on any one of three officers, all three would be dismissed, if for no other reason than lack of coöperation. After this ruling had been announced few instances occurred of failure in delivery of the mails.

The operation of the Bureau of Posts was exemplary from the standpoint of economy. One explanation of the excellent showing made by this bureau is to be found in the quality of the men chosen to direct it.¹ C. M. Cotterman, who organized and directed the bureau practically throughout the whole of the Taft régime, was a trained postal man from the United States who has, since leaving the government service in 1913, become one of the most substantial and respected business men in Manila. W. T. Nolting, as postmaster of Manila, was an extremely able assistant, and later became Director of Posts. His successor, W. G. Masters, was also trained in the postal service of the United States, and maintained the high standard set by his predecessors.

The personnel was largely Filipino. The bureau, upon receiving the transfer of telegraphs and telephones from the Constabulary and army, continued the school of telegraphy for the training of Filipino operators. During the year 1913, one hundred and fifty-seven Filipino students were admitted to the telegraph school, and ninety-one completed the course satisfactorily and were assigned to stations as junior operators.²

The creation of such schools was along the line of intelligent Filipinization. These young men through a period of years, promoted on a merit system only, would be sure to develop among their number some leaders capable of rising high in the service. To maintain the proper spirit, however, strict adherence to a merit system is necessary and all em-

¹ F. W. Vaille was the first Director-General of Posts, appointed May 1, 1899, when the Philippine postal service was first separated from the United States Post Office Department.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1913, 194.*

ployees should be protected from the insidious creeping in of politics and preferment of political favorites.

Some idea of the magnitude of this service can be drawn from a few figures taken at random from the year 1913. At this time, June 30, 1913, there were a total of 2530 officers and employees in the Bureau of Posts, of whom 2343 were Filipinos. The American personnel was in large part the higher administrative personnel and radio and chief telegraph operators. The total number of post offices in operation on that date was 590, of which 440 were provided with free delivery letter carrier service.¹ In the city of Manila alone, almost five million pieces of mail were handled in the course of that year, an increase of twenty-six per cent over the preceding year. In addition to the railway mail service, there were three hundred and twenty post routes, over which mails were carried variously by launch, automobile, wagon, horseback, and on foot. Two hundred and seventy-five post offices were equipped to transact money order business, nearly fourteen million dollars being handled annually. Domestic telegraphic transfers amounted to more than one million dollars.²

During the fiscal year 1913 a total of 687,307 telegrams was handled by the Bureau of Posts, all within the Islands. The total mileage of land and submarine telegraph lines under civil control was nearly 5800. The number of telegraph offices in operation on the same date was two hundred and ninety.³

In the fiscal year 1913 the expenditures of the Bureau of Posts, exclusive of the Postal Savings Bank,⁴ were nearly a million dollars, and the revenues \$710,000, the deficit being covered by appropriations from general funds of the insular treasury.⁵

¹ By 1927 more than six hundred and fifty municipalities had free postal delivery service.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 189-93.

³ *Ibid.*, 193, 194.

By December, 1925, the lines had reached an aggregate of 7990 miles and the number of offices, 408. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 70, 74.)

⁴ Details in regard to the Philippine Postal Savings Bank are to be found in Chapter VI, 'Finances,' *ante*, 285.

⁵ The total revenues for that year were 13.2 per cent greater than the preceding

An analysis of the receipts and expenditures of the bureau is most instructive and highly creditable, showing a surplus over the costs of operation every year since 1916, the surplus in 1926 amounting to over half a million dollars.

AGRICULTURE

According to the census of 1918, seventy-two per cent of the men in the Philippine Islands were engaged in agriculture.¹ The Philippine Islands are and always have been a distinctly agricultural community. The work, therefore, of the Bureau of Agriculture was of prime importance and could have been of incalculable benefit to the people. It was some years, however, before the right man was secured to direct the affairs of the bureau, and the early record of mistakes is a grievous one.

One of the greatest menaces to prosperity in the Islands was the prevalence of the animal disease known as rinderpest, which, as noted in an earlier chapter, decimated the cattle of the Islands,² made it necessary for the Filipinos to resort to new importations, and seriously threatened agriculture by reason of the shortage of draft animals needed not only to plough the fields but to carry farm produce to the points of shipment, whether seaport or railroad. The census of 1903 reported the total number of carabao and cattle as 768,430, and of horses as 144,171.³

Many costly and some disastrous experiments were made by the government in its efforts to eradicate the disease. Yet

year and the cost of operation and maintenance had been decreased 2.5 per cent. The greatest increase in revenues had occurred in the telegraph division, having been 19.5 per cent, as against 12.2 per cent increase in the money order division, and 9 per cent in the postal division. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 196.)

¹ *Census*, 1918, II, 78.

² Rinderpest and surra sweeping over most of the islands in 1901-02 had destroyed nearly fifty per cent of the carabao, cattle, and horses in many districts.

³ *Census*, 1903, IV, 225.

The following table, supplied by the Bureau of Agriculture, shows the number of carabao, cattle, and horses in the Islands in 1903, 1913, 1918, 1923, and the estimated number for 1925:

Year	Carabao	Cattle	Horses
1903.....	640,871	127,559	144,171
1913.....	1,063,932	426,119	179,552
1918.....	1,335,443	600,173	233,978
1923.....	1,618,875	873,995	282,116
1925.....	1,769,000	914,000	298,000

it persisted. Two great difficulties lay in the way of combating it. The first was that the active period of giving the infection came in the early stages before the disease had manifested itself. The second was that rinderpest was carried by certain wild animals and thus a region might apparently be free from the disease and yet have reinfection by deer or wild carabao. Moreover, animal quarantine was an unqualified nuisance and hence most unpopular with the Filipinos.

The government among its earlier experiments had tried simultaneous inoculation of cattle, but this was not carried on to a point where uniform results could be relied upon and in some localities there had been a resultant heavy mortality among animals from the inoculation. The inoculators of the bureau had been driven out of towns and some of them were lucky to escape with their lives. These experiences had made the people unwilling to accept new protective measures such as quarantine, as they had not learned to trust the bureau or to feel that their new measure was necessarily better than the old.

Strict quarantine proved to be the most effective means of combating rinderpest known at that period, and, as soon as a case was reported, the Constabulary were directed to move in, investigation was made of the movements of the diseased animal, and all animals that had been in contact with it were tied up or held in quarantine corrals until the period of incubation of the disease was over. For a time any animal found to have developed rinderpest was immediately killed and the owner in part compensated, but this was discontinued later when it was found that higher resistance to the disease gave increased percentage of recoveries. Quarantine at first encountered very general hostility throughout the provinces, which manifested itself in a tendency to conceal cases, misleading the government agents as to the numbers, movements, and contacts of the suspected animals, and especially in the unwillingness on the part of provincial and municipal officials to make the municipal police enforce the quarantine. The result was that the local officers countenanced surreptitious evasions to a point that rendered the quarantine ineffective.

When in 1911 Major-General J. Franklin Bell became

Commanding-General of the Philippines Division, it was suggested to him that he do in the north what General Pershing had already done in the south, that is, use his troops to enforce animal quarantine. The civil government could ask for the detail of Scouts only for maintenance of order. As an outbreak of rinderpest could not be construed to menace public order, it was obvious that the civil government could not ask for the transfer of Scouts to civil direction for enforcing quarantine. One of the outstanding characteristics of General Bell was his hearty and cordial desire to coöperate with the civil authorities, and as there was nothing in the law that prevented the Commanding General's using Scouts for such a purpose, General Bell cordially assented to the suggestion made to him. He not only ordered to the service the requested number of Scouts with immediately beneficial results, but after personal investigation he multiplied by four the number of men so engaged, reporting that he felt the situation required that additional number and that he had already ordered them to take the field.¹

Island after island, province after province, were quickly cleared of the dread scourge,² and planters began to breathe easily as they saw their animals saved and the guards withdrawn. And finally, in 1913, the rinderpest had disappeared from the archipelago with the exception of one small district on the island of Luzon, consisting of eleven municipalities, divided among three provinces, but all adjacent to each other in one restricted area. More than eight hundred municipalities and all islands other than Luzon were clear.

This was the condition when the administration was changed in 1913. The new and inexperienced administrators saw fit to withdraw the quarantine guards and turn the rin-

¹ '... He [General Bell] has taken hold of the work of assisting the civil government with a vim, and is keen on the matter of quarantine against the animal disease, and suggested detailing another battalion of Scouts to the work, and all the veterinarians, farriers, and noncommissioned officers we needed to make their work effective. He called me up on the telephone later in the day to hurry me up on it. Good work. I am enthusiastic over this kind of assistance.' (Journal, iv, 317, April 6, 1911.)

² For a description of the efficient work by which Dr. C. G. Thomson, of the Bureau of Agriculture, cleared the district of Davao of rinderpest, see the report of Brigadier-General John J. Pershing, Governor of the Moro Province, for the fiscal year 1911, 19-20.

derpest campaign over to provincial control¹ with results which will be shown later.² When it is realized that the direct value of these animals was an average of fifty dollars a head, and their incidental value due to the work that they could perform in making agriculture possible was many times that, it is easy to understand the seriousness of the loss to the Islands involved by the destruction of their draft animals.

The government laboratories manufactured protective serum against rinderpest but it proved of very temporary effect. Research work was carried on by the best scientists that could be secured in the United States, and much valuable information ascertained as to the transmission of both rinderpest and surra. These results were utilized to advantage in the regulation of quarantines, and progress has been made which appears to promise eventually an effective vaccine against rinderpest.³

During the régime of Governor-General Wood the Legislature passed an act which authorized the Director of Agriculture to require that cattle be immunized; provided an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars; made obligatory co-operation by provincial governors and municipal presidents with the Director of Agriculture; and provided penalties of both imprisonment and fine.⁴

As all commercial importations of beef and work animals from the continent of Asia were liable to bring in rinderpest or other dangerous disease, import quarantine stations were provided and great precautions taken at the ports of Manila and Iloilo, to which importation of cattle was limited. In 1911, a quarantined abattoir was established near Manila to guard against the introduction of pleuropneumonia from Australia, and the importation of cattle for immediate slaughter was permitted. This served to reduce the price of beef.

¹ Act No. 2303, Philippine Legislature, December 13, 1913, amending Act No. 1760, Philippine Commission, October 10, 1907.

² See Vol. II, 241-42.

³ This was the work of Dr. W. H. Boynton, of the Bureau of Agriculture. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1923, 22.)

⁴ Act No. 3166, October 2, 1924.

Other dangerous communicable diseases, especially anthrax and foot-and-mouth disease, have been problems for the government and cattle owners. Until effective vaccines practicable for field use shall have been perfected, quarantine will continue to be the main recourse to check the spread of these diseases.

The government encouraged the importation of the zebu of India, which has a high resistance to rinderpest and foot-and-mouth disease. This resistance was found to be transmitted to its progeny upon crossbreeding with Philippine cattle. The zebu was found to thrive in the Islands, and, since its introduction in 1909, there have been repeated importations.

Besides fighting animal disease, the government endeavored to promote agriculture by establishing experiment and demonstration stations at various points, in addition to one started by the Spaniards in Negros, which was modernized. Improved varieties of sugar cane, rice, corn, fruits, and vegetables were introduced from other countries. The breeding of better domestic animals was encouraged by the importation of pure-bred Arab and other selected stallions, Galloway and Hereford bulls, and several types of goats, poultry, and swine. The selection of superior native animals for breeding was also the subject of widespread instruction and demonstration. The improvement in horses, poultry, and swine is noteworthy. In 1919, the Legislature appropriated five hundred thousand dollars for loans in amounts not exceeding one thousand dollars for purchasing work cattle or agricultural implements for the purpose of developing new land for rice and corn.¹

For some years the government demonstrated the advantageous use of modern agricultural machinery. Commercial firms followed the lead of the government and obtained favorable results, especially with rice threshers, which in some districts, notably the province of Nueva Ecija, have practically replaced the ancient threshing floor. Also there has been great advance in the use of modern rice and sugar mills, motor tractors, and other machinery to render labor more effective.

¹ Act No. 2818, March 4, 1919.

Attention also was paid to seed selection, use of fertilizers, field methods, and the preparation of agricultural products for market,¹ resulting in greater yields and improvement in quality of rice, corn, sugar, and vegetables.

To encourage the tobacco industry the Commission in 1907 instituted a system of cash bounties or prizes, introduced pure seed, and provided inspectors to advise planters in modern methods of field work and curing the leaves. These measures, together with the enforcement of sanitary conditions in factories and the grading of tobacco used in cigars for export, revived the industry.

Originally in the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Agriculture was transferred in 1910² to the Department of Public Instruction for more close coördination with the public schools in the dissemination of information as to good agricultural practice, especially by the establishment of school and home gardens, school clubs for raising better poultry and swine, seed selection for field crops, and, through the domestic science classes, in popularizing the use of greater variety and better cooking of locally grown food products. As has been seen in the chapter on 'Education,' instruction in agriculture was included in the courses of study in the public schools, vocational courses were provided in farm schools established at various points among the tribal as well as Christian peoples, and Colleges of Agriculture and of Veterinary Science established.

The problem of protecting field crops from destruction by locusts was a difficult one. The large areas of uncultivated uplands, especially in the sparsely inhabited foothills of the mountain ranges, were breeding places from which in the dry season great swarms of locusts were liable to appear and devastate the rice and sugar cane fields, wholly destroying the crops and causing serious food shortage as well as financial losses.

It was found that the insects could be destroyed if attacked when they first emerged from the ground or soon after, while

¹ Standardization of grades of abaca, or Manila hemp, and other fibres for the export trade was established in 1914. (Act No. 2380, Philippine Legislature, February 28, 1914.)

² Act No. 1972, Philippine Legislature, April 11, 1910.

still in the hopper stage of development. The matter was one of such importance that the Governor-General gave it his personal attention, and in 1909 recommended the plan which was adopted and has since been pursued with good results wherever effectively applied. The important features of the plan are to ascertain the places where the locust eggs have been deposited, place a watch to report immediately the first indication of hatching, and then require the services of all able-bodied persons from the nearest settlement to destroy the hoppers by fire or other efficacious methods. Provincial governors were placed in charge of local organizations to formulate and enforce regulations carrying the plan into effect. Funds were provided from the insular treasury to aid in the purchase of necessary supplies and other incidental expenses, the general management being in the hands of the Director of Agriculture. The Constabulary was called upon to assist.

In 1924 the Legislature made a continuing annual appropriation of fifty thousand dollars for use exclusively in combating locusts.¹ In the same year the Legislature passed an act enabling the provincial boards to levy a tax of from ten to thirty cents on all grown men up to sixty years of age to assist in locust extermination.²

FORESTRY

The virgin forests covering an extensive part of the area of the Philippine Islands are one of the most important of their natural resources. Something over forty-one million acres are commercial forests,³ heavily timbered, and their conservation early commanded the attention of American administrators. Some of the Filipinos, particularly the more nomadic peoples, had the bad habit of making what was locally known as *caiñgin*; that is, they cleared a little area of forest land by cutting down the trees and burning them, planted a crop or two, and when weeds and wild grasses began to appear, they abandoned the clearing, moved on, and did the same thing somewhere else. This practice of

¹ Act No. 3163, March 8, 1924.

² Act No. 3146, March 6, 1924.

³ For detailed discussion of Philippine hard woods, see *ante*, 9-11.

caiñgin making was prohibited by law and all the influence of the government used against it.

A competent Director of Forestry ¹ was secured in 1901, and efforts made to introduce modern methods of conservation so that the trees ready for cutting could be taken out without depleting the forests. Also, careful rules were adopted for communal forests. The cutting of timber and firewood and the taking of rattans, resins, and other commercial products have been controlled by strict regulations. A schedule of charges was fixed and the collections were more than enough to defray all the expenses of the bureau.²

No effort has been spared by the government to prevent waste in the exploitation of the public forests. The bureau has distributed seeds and rendered other forms of assistance to private landowners, and has encouraged reforestation of denuded areas. It has set out camphor, Para rubber, cinchona, and other trees of commercial importance as well as the best native woods, and has maintained forest reserves and botanical gardens.³

The Bureau of Forestry also protects the sources of rivers which are of value for irrigation.

The use of modern machinery in the Philippine lumber industry was slow to develop. Gradually American, European, Chinese, and latterly Filipino capital entered the field

¹ Major George P. Ahern, United States Army, retired, held the directorship of the Bureau of Forestry for many years. He was succeeded by his assistant, William F. Sherfese, who later became adviser to the Chinese Republic, and in turn was succeeded by Arthur F. Fischer, whose promotion also followed several years' service in subordinate grades in the bureau.

² The revenues and expenditures of the Bureau of Forestry for selected years, and the totals from the time of its organization through the year 1925, are shown in the following table:

[Source: Report of the Director of Forestry, 1925, 212.]

Fiscal year	Revenue	Expenses	Surplus	Per cent Expenses
1908.....*	\$105,786	\$53,621	\$52,165	51
1913.....	195,332	113,524	81,808	59
1918.....	325,346	167,127	158,219	51
1921.....	506,576	262,461	244,115	51
1925.....	630,185	295,610	334,575	47
Total, 1901-1925.....	7,181,659	3,718,556	3,463,103	51

³ Those at Mount Makiling, Baguio, and Cebu are noteworthy.



A FOREST MONARCH

until in 1925 there were forty-one mills in operation, the majority, however, of small capacity.

The production of lumber has increased from about 36,600,000 board feet in 1903 to 369,000,000 in 1925.¹ Exports have increased from nil in 1903 to more than 52,200,000 board feet, having a value of more than \$2,100,000, in 1925. During the same period the imports of lumber decreased from more than 7,600,000 board feet in 1903 to 4,300,000 in 1925.²

As has been seen in the chapter on 'Education,' a School of Forestry was established in 1910 and became a part of the University of the Philippines in 1916. Graduates of this school in an increasing degree have provided the technical personnel of the bureau, some of these Filipinos taking advanced studies in the United States. Borneo, China, and other countries in Asia have drawn on the American and Filipino personnel of the bureau for expert foresters, and natives of those countries have taken courses of study in the Philippine School of Forestry.

The bureau disseminates in the United States and in foreign countries correct information regarding the valuable Philippine woods, and coöperates with private enterprise engaged in the production of lumber for export. It also maintains helpful testing laboratories.

WEATHER BUREAU

The story of the Weather Bureau is one of the most remarkable in Philippine annals, and like most great stories it centres about one extraordinary man. Father José Algué, a Jesuit priest, was so devoted to science that he made himself one of the foremost world experts in meteorology and seismology. With no lessening of his religious fervor, he had the mind of a pure scientist. He gave to the movement of typhoons in the vicinity of the Philippine Islands intensive observation and lifelong study, and the accuracy of his deductions was little short of marvellous. It was told of him that in the early days he had gone to the Spanish govern-

¹ Of the minor forest products, firewood, charcoal, and rattan are chiefly for local consumption. Gum copal, rubber, elemi, gutta-percha, sapan wood, and others of less importance are exported in limited quantities, their total value in 1925 being approximately \$250,000. (*Report of the Director of Forestry*, 1925, 213.)

² *Report of the Director of Forestry*, 1925, 213.

ment and asked for a modest appropriation to cover the cost of establishing a series of observation stations where readings of the barometer and other weather indications could be taken, to assist him in figuring the direction and speed with which areas of depression were moving, with the idea of giving notice to shipping and to the people generally of the approach of typhoons. His request went unheeded. Typhoons were an act of God, and it was almost impious to undertake to foretell what lay in the mind of the Deity. A little later, Father Algué announced the imminent approach of a destructive typhoon moving directly toward Manila, and urged that the police be sent out to give the people house to house warning to put away valuables, get out ropes to tie their roofs down, that all ships be notified to stay in harbor, steamers to get up steam, sailing vessels to lower their top hamper and get out extra anchors. Again his words fell on unheeding ears. Just as foretold, the destructive typhoon struck Manila and caused frightful loss running into millions of dollars. This object lesson opened the eyes of the Spanish authorities. The modest appropriation requested by Father Algué was granted him, and the next typhoon advancing upon Manila found everybody prepared and the loss was comparatively trivial.

The American officials were fortunate in being able to retain this superman and he remained at the head of the Weather Bureau.¹ In March, 1899, two other Spanish scientists of the Jesuit order were appointed assistants. The remainder of the personnel was Filipino.

The accuracy with which Father Algué foretold weather conditions was so well known among shipping men that a ship seldom put to sea in the typhoon season without first ascertaining from Father Algué whether or not the way was clear and what might be expected during the course of the voyage. Ships proposing to carry cattle requested of Father Algué information as to whether or not the sea was to be too rough for transporting live stock.

Father Algué's scientific study of typhoons resulted in his invention of the barocyclonometer, an instrument that not

¹ Father Algué retired in 1925 on account of age and ill health. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 199-200.)

only indicates the approach of a typhoon but also the course its vortex is taking. This instrument enables navigators to lay their courses so as to avoid danger.

Father Algué gave to the matter of earthquakes the same thorough analysis that he gave to typhoons. His instruments in the Weather Bureau were marvels of scientific accuracy.

The buildings and in large part the scientific equipment of the Weather Bureau are the property of the Jesuits, the government paying a moderate rental.

In 1901 the Commission provided for seventy-two weather stations¹ and these were increased as funds became available.² These stations were equipped with the necessary apparatus for meteorological observations and at the principal ones trained observers were provided. By 1927 the records of rainfall and also of prevailing winds covered a period of about twenty-five years, and they are of great value to persons seeking advantageous agricultural locations. In the cases of the city of Manila and the few other points at which observations were recorded under Spanish administration, rainfall and other meteorological data are available since as early as 1865. Magnetic observatories are maintained at Manila and other selected points. The astronomical division at the central observatory communicates daily the correct time to all points connected by telegraph with Manila.

The Weather Bureau has published authoritative information as to Philippine climate and earthquakes,³ that on earthquakes and typhoons by Father Algué and his associates being especially noteworthy.

BUREAU OF SUPPLY

The question of government purchasing was one of great delicacy and difficulty. The local merchants wanted the government bureaus to be compelled to buy from them, but the merchants had neither the capital to carry in stock the volume of material required by the government, nor the

¹ Act No. 131, Philippine Commission, May 22, 1901.

² In 1925 there were 162 stations. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 200.)

³ See also *Census*, 1903, I, 29, 87-254; 1918, I, 291-467; and *Report of the Philippine Commission* (Schurman), 1900, IV, 113-357.

good sense, speaking generally, to make their prices sufficiently reasonable so that the government was willing to deal with them. It took from four to six months to secure fulfillment of orders from the United States, and too often the articles when they arrived were useless because of not meeting specifications. If they were held in stock by a merchant, the government often found itself obliged to pay many times the value of the needed articles. This penny-wise policy on the part of the local merchants resulted in the establishment of the government purchasing agency.

Management of a purchasing department of this magnitude requires a high order of business acumen besides special knowledge and unimpeachable integrity. It was difficult, within the range of the scale of salaries paid for bureau chiefs, to secure a purchasing agent of the high order required for this work. It was fortunate that the agents secured both for Manila and for the New York office measured up to the standard of integrity required.

It was almost inevitable that such an agency would fall into the error of purchasing too freely and carrying too large a stock. And the government found itself loaded up with very large supplies,¹ some of which were not immediately needed and tended to deteriorate. There was much dissatisfaction on the part of the local merchants, many of whom were Americans and all of whom felt themselves entitled to the patronage of their government. The service rendered by the bureau, however, was too important to admit of its discontinuance, but the government adopted more and more the policy of having the purchasing agent make his purchases wherever possible through the local merchants, thus decreasing the stock the government had to carry, encouraging private enterprise, and lessening to a certain extent the amount of business done by the government. This policy was pursued until, in 1913, the purchases locally amounted to 77.9 per cent ² of the total supplies for the government.

¹ The cost value of supplies in stock of the Bureau of Supply increased from somewhat less than \$1,250,000 in 1913 (*Report of the Auditor*, 1913, 84) to more than \$2,900,000 in 1920 (*Report of the Auditor*, 1920, 154), and was decreased by the succeeding administration to less than \$450,000 in 1925. (*Report of the Auditor*, 1925, 212.)

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1913, 260.

Due apparently to a change in policy, the following year the local purchases were

The annual expenditures by the government for supplies, excluding those purchased locally by provincial and municipal governments, increased from approximately \$1,600,000 in 1903 to \$3,500,000 in 1913,¹ and to \$11,000,000 in 1920,² and decreased to \$9,650,000 in 1925.³

The Bureau of Supply took over the management of the plant which was constructed by the military government in 1901 to provide cold storage for meat and other perishable foods necessarily imported at that time, and the manufacture of ice and distilled water for the troops, and for the hospitals. At that time none of these necessary provisions for the health of Americans existed in Manila, except a small ice plant which was inadequate to meet the requirements of the civil population.

The government plant originally had a cold storage capacity of nearly five hundred thousand cubic feet for meat, butter, milk, etc., forty tons of ice daily, and an ample supply of distilled water. This latter, delivered by tank wagons at the homes of the people throughout the city, saved many lives during the cholera epidemics, and in subsequent years, by popularizing the use of pure water, greatly reduced the mortality from dysentery and other diseases.

The facilities of the government ice plant have been available to the public, but as a matter of good policy the establishment of similar services by private enterprise was encouraged, and Manila came to be well served in these modern facilities, which add greatly to comfort and health in the tropics.

but 67.55 per cent. (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, 303.) The former policy was later restored, and 86.32 per cent of the supplies of the government were purchased in the Islands in 1925. (*Report of the Governor-General*, 1925, 78.) The increased stocks carried by local merchants have facilitated this good policy.

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, 302-03.

² *Report of the Governor-General*, 1920, 152.

³ *Ibid.*, 1925, 78.

CHAPTER XIII

BAGUIO

ONE of the Spanish traditions to which the Americans fell heir told of a 'paradise' somewhere in the hills in northern Luzon, where was to be found a pleasing and temperate climate offering opportunity for delightful conditions of life, not so far from Manila and the populous regions of the island of Luzon as to be impossible of access.

In July, 1900, two members of Judge Taft's Commission, the Honorable Luke E. Wright and the Honorable Dean C. Worcester, undertook an expedition to search for this place and report upon it.¹ To their delight, they found the words of the Spaniards more than borne out by the charms of the region in question. About one hundred and fifty miles north of Manila, five thousand feet above the sea, nestled among the mountains of the province of Benguet were the beautiful rolling hills of Baguio² and the little plain of Trinidad. The situation and climate were ideal. The hills were covered with thick, rough grasses and great pines, interspersed in the valleys and along the water-courses with tree ferns. The soil, a reddish clay, was capable of supporting many varieties of vegetation; the average temperature was sixty-five degrees Fahrenheit, a pleasing change from the heat of the lowlands, which averaged twenty degrees more. There were almost always breezes, and even in the heat of the day, with the tropic sun directly overhead, the temperature in the shade of the pines and in the breeze was pleasant and cool. The air was fine and invigorating, and, except in the rainy season, there were plenty of clear hours during the day to make outdoor life delightful, although there was always a likelihood of sudden and heavy showers. The temperature at night was such that a wood fire of pine logs was most welcome.

¹ Mr. Worcester has given an entertaining account of the experiences of the party in his book, *The Philippines Past and Present*, I, 451 ff.

² *Baguio* is the local word meaning typhoon. Why it should have been selected for this site is obscure.

The trip was made by boat to San Fernando de La Union, and from there by horseback on a very fair trail known as the Naguilian Trail, as it passes through the town of that name. This was a comparatively easy trip, but it involved nearly a day by sea before starting a ride of nearly thirty miles on horseback into the hills, which in itself consumed a whole day. It was obvious that not only the time but the method of travel greatly limited the possible usefulness of Baguio, particularly as a health resort, as the trip presented too many difficulties for invalids.

The committee returned to Manila with such enthusiastic reports that the Commission almost immediately embarked upon the project of making Baguio available as the summer capital of the Islands.

To seek a shorter route from Manila, an engineer was secured who prepared plans for the construction of a road, but he proved a most unfortunate choice. Instead of recommending the extension of the railroad through the densely populated region to the foot of the hills, or at least the construction of a good provincial road, with permanent bridges, to the base of the mountains, he started his construction leaving twenty to twenty-five miles of poorly constructed and little-maintained road for his line of communication. Moreover, he made a preposterously low estimate and an utter failure of his work, as the appropriation was exhausted before he had even reached the foothills. A new estimate was made by another engineer and a further appropriation — this time for three or four times as much as the first estimate had called for. This brought the road into the cañon of the Bued River, which later events proved ought to have been avoided rather than used, and here the second appropriation was exhausted, the road being still far from completion.

The Commission now found itself confronted with the unpleasant alternatives of abandoning the whole project and regarding the appropriations already made as utterly lost, or of going on at an expense running beyond a million dollars. Without even then a realization of how costly it was ultimately to prove, they chose the latter alternative, put in a new engineer, this time a competent army officer, Colonel L. W. V. Kennon, who took his instructions literally and

started building where the others left off instead of at the railroad as he should have been ordered to do. He soon had a fine organization of four thousand men at work and was making rapid progress, blasting his way through the friable rocks, around precipitous and treacherous-sided mountains so steep as to be in a state of unstable equilibrium. The work was further constantly impeded by deluges of rain which brought down quantities of rocks and slides, even to the point of endangering the lives of the workmen.

As the Benguet Road began to creep up into the hills, a stage line was inaugurated from the northern end of the railroad at Dagupan through the province of Pangasinan to the end of the road, from which point the remainder of the trip was made up the Bued River. During the construction of the road, stages passed from camp to camp of road-builders, until finally, at a point called 'Camp Four,' all passengers had to take to horses and follow a new trail which zigzagged up the mountain-side on an extremely steep grade, where it was often necessary to walk, leading the horses. The trail reached the high levels at a place called Loakan, from which point seven miles of delightfully cool riding on easy grades brought one into the site of the future city of Baguio. It was by this route that the great landscape architect of Chicago, Daniel H. Burnham, made a memorable visit to Baguio in December, 1904, with his assistant, Peirce Anderson, the result of which was the preparation of a comprehensive plan for the development of the proposed new city.

A further heavy appropriation was necessary before the road finally — in January, 1905 — reached the site of the new summer capital, till then accessible only on foot or horseback.¹

Governor Taft had strongly favored the project and supported it with his vigorous personality, but he left the Islands more than a year before the first wheels passed over the road into Baguio. From his position as Secretary of War in Washington, however, he directed that the work proceed and that

¹ As a matter of fact, the cost of the construction reached the sum of \$1,961,847.05 when opened to traffic March 27, 1905 (*Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 3, p. 25), and subsequent additional expenditures brought the total cost to May 1, 1913, to \$2,754,281.05. (Worcester, I, 457.)

the project be brought to completion. Even as originally completed, the road left much to be desired. The river was crossed at many places by rudely constructed span bridges of wood swung on steel cables from wooden towers.

In June, 1909, the Commission authorized ¹ the Governor-General to impose a tax on all vehicles passing over the Benguet Road in order that the burden of its upkeep should be borne by the traffic which passed over it and not become a tax upon the revenues derived mostly from the civilized and Christian provinces, most of which made little use of it.

The early error of the government in its choice of a route to Baguio was abundantly demonstrated in the succeeding years by the series of disasters which befell the road from floods and attendant slides. The rainfall in Baguio sometimes reaches two hundred and fifty inches a year, and, while heavy typhoons are passing, it is not uncommon for the rainfall to reach as high as twenty inches in twenty-four hours. During a storm which took place July 14 and 15, 1911, there was a record fall reaching almost the proportions of a cloudburst, when the astounding figure of 45.99 inches in twenty-four hours was reported by Commissioner Worcester.² After such a deluge, it is a wonder that anything was left of the road. At one point part of a mountain slid down and blocked up the valley until the Bued River rose to a height of one hundred and fifty feet ³ and went roaring seaward, carrying with it that part of the mountain which had slid down, with numberless trees and, among other things, a number of the Benguet Road bridges, several of them recently constructed of steel, which had been thought to be good for generations. These were left some miles down the river, rolled up into pitiful balls of tangled girders and trestles.

On this occasion the first accounts led many to believe that the Benguet Road could never be reopened for use, and that Baguio was doomed. The Islands were fortunate at that time in having an extremely competent Director of Public Works, Mr. Warwick Greene, and by November it was found that the repairs, which it was feared would run up

¹ Act No. 1959, Philippine Commission, June 26, 1909.

² Worcester, I, 472; *Census*, 1918, I, 379, 380.

³ Worcester, I, 472.

beyond \$500,000, would be completed within a tenth of that sum.¹

The allocation of very large sums required to complete the Benguet Road had not been made without arousing comment in Manila, and with each successive appropriation the Commission — not a popular body with those Americans who had come out with the army — was greeted with storms of abuse. The local American papers rang with scathing denunciations of the whole project, so that it was not a matter of surprise that the Filipino papers should have joined in the chorus of criticism, and those prone to abuse the government were sure to bring in derogatory comments about Baguio and the Benguet Road. It was seldom that anybody was found who had a favorable word to say about it. The fact that much of the criticism was just did not lessen the sting which attached to it. It was fortunate that the administration of this unpopular project was carried on without any occasion arising in which serious misuse of funds was noted.

The problem of the road, however, remained a constant one. Storm after storm made it temporarily impassable, but, despite gloomy prognostications on the part of the engineers, it was always restored.

Later, at a time of great economic stress, the Legislature was able to find the sum of \$150,000 to improve another road to Baguio.² This road by way of Naguilian, noteworthy for having been recommended by Spaniards, was widened and surfaced, and in 1927 both roads were being maintained and largely patronized.

This new way into Baguio followed the ridges instead of the valleys and reached the coast much further north. Its cost was about one-tenth of the cost of the original road. Had the Philippine Commission been properly advised, it could very easily have arranged with the railroad to build to the port of San Fernando de La Union, with a branch running into the foothills, from which point a bus line of automobiles could have brought people into Baguio. Half the money wasted on the first road would have improved the city to a

¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1912, 153; *Journal*, v, 74, November 28, 1911.

² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, 46.



ZIGZAG ON BENGUET ROAD

point that would have made it attractive and available, and all the years of delay, heart-burning, and scathing criticism would have been avoided.

As it was, at the time the Benguet Road was opened, the Commission, in view of the almost universal condemnation of the venture, was unwilling to spend further money to develop the region then reached, and the government found itself in the unpleasant predicament of having spent something over two million dollars to build into the mountains a short road, subject to interruptions, to reach a place where the only accommodations for visitors were a so-called sanatorium with a few beds, built by the government, and a scant half-dozen poorly built houses of not very ample proportions. The critics of the government were not slow to call public attention to these facts and they charged the Commission with having expended all this money to provide a place of recreation available only to themselves.

Something had to be done, and it was decided to make a sale of lots with the condition that houses should be built on them within a reasonably short period of time. The money thus raised was expended in building the roads most needed to open up the parts of the proposed new city reaching such lots as were likely to be built on first.

The first roads were mere unsurfaced bits of grading cut out of the side hills, but they served for carriages and for the little Igorot ponies upon which most of the visitors rode. Rainy weather and showers in Baguio are very frequent, even in the dry season. The clay surface of these roads made riding difficult and made it likely that wheeled vehicles would slide off the edge, in which case the fall might be a serious one. A small additional amount of funds was secured to put a thin layer of gravel over the surface of the roads, which made them safer for horses and possible for automobiles, which were just then beginning to be introduced into the Islands and to find their way up the Benguet Road into Baguio. In later years, when the Legislature was in session, it was found so difficult to secure money for the further development of Baguio that the device of an assessment for betterments ¹

¹ Act No. 1957, Philippine Commission, June 15, 1909.

was resorted to. This was collected in spite of the very indignant clamor on the part of the community, particularly those who had bought lots in Baguio and had to pay the tax, a clamor which was echoed in the American press.¹

To those engaged in the development of the city of Baguio, the experience was new and quite delightful. The reservation of the town site of Baguio had been made by the Commission on February 11, 1903.² The fourteen thousand acres, which were later to be included within the city limits when these were finally laid out, at that time had no vestige of a road, merely a few footpaths and only a half-dozen houses besides three or four little scattered groups of grass-thatched hovels occupied by Igorots. This tract was to be changed and developed as a health resort. It was difficult to estimate the extent to which its growth might ultimately reach. It was within the bounds of reasonable possibility that the ultimate city might grow to have a population of fifty or one hundred thousand people, but the plans were made on the conservative basis of a probable growth to twenty-five thousand. It was most fortunate that the Philippine government should have the privilege of the great vision of Mr. Burnham in facing this problem, and the plan that he made has since been adhered to faithfully.³ The streets and avenues for the prospective city were planned, and districts set aside for the residence and business sections, for the service end, stables and garages, etc. Sites were designated for the government centre, including the future capitol building, the provincial and municipal buildings, the Governor-General's residence, and other public buildings; reservations were indicated for

¹ Journal, III, 421, February 18, 1910.

See editorials in the *Manila Times* of January 20 and 25, 1910. That of January 20, 1910, said: 'The proposal that there be levied this year a special tax for public improvements against property in Baguio has encountered a deep-set feeling of opposition from many of the owners and the most cursory examination of the situation convinces one that it would be an act of wisdom and fairness upon the part of the government to suspend action and final judgment until the other men of interest can have a hearing.'

² Act No. 636, Philippine Commission.

³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1905, part 3, pp. 405, 406.

This plan is published in *Daniel H. Burnham*, by Charles Moore, II, 196-202, Boston, 1921; and in the *Plan of Chicago*, 28, 29, prepared under the direction of the Commercial Club of Chicago, 1909.

an army post, a naval hospital, the railroad terminal, and a country club. Convenient sites were set aside for semi-public buildings such as churches, libraries, convents, hospitals, observatory, etc., and last but not least, a comprehensive system of parks and playgrounds connected by parkways winding in and out of the valleys and following the courses of streams, along which there were planned bridle paths, shrubberies, and driveways.

Having dreamed of the city to be, the American administrators and engineers set about to build it to fit in as nearly as possible with the form of the vision. A committee was organized which had the delightful duty of selecting names for all the roads and points of interest in the city.¹ The committee in making its selections alternated words of good American use with Igorot words descriptive of the localities named, and so there were North, South, and Outlook Drives, and Bua, Kisad, and Pakdal Roads.

A country club was organized; a small amount of money was privately contributed and, wholly without recourse to public funds, a clubhouse, at first little more than a shack, was built, a steward employed, tennis courts built, and a golf links started. The United States Army also began developing its reservation. A hospital and a few residences for officers and barracks for men were built, which made the beginning of what has grown to be the very beautiful Camp John Hay. The Constabulary school for the training of officers was moved from Manila to Baguio. The government sanatorium which had been established at Baguio in 1902 was taken over by private parties and built into a rather extensive rambling hotel, known as 'The Pines.' Another hotel was built on the other side of the town and called 'The Hills.'

Knowing how scrupulously careful Governor-General Smith would be about allowing an appropriation of money for a suitable residence for himself in the hills, the Commission, just before Governor-General Smith was sworn in, authorized the construction of an official residence of the Governor-General in Baguio.² To be sure, the amount was not a heavy burden upon the Philippine treasury, as the

¹ Journal, II, 199, March 16, 1907.

² Resolution of the Philippine Commission, September 8, 1906.

original cost was but fifteen thousand dollars. In order to beautify and care for the grounds, a detail of fifty 'trusty' prisoners was sent to Baguio, who lived there and arranged the terrace, parking, and ornamentation of the twenty-five acres set aside for the Governor-General's estate.

Having a free hand and absolutely virgin territory to deal with, it was possible to lay out the new city with an eye to harmony and beauty impossible in older communities or where the cost of tearing down existing structures limits the scope of the plan.¹

In April, 1907, a committee composed of the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Commerce and Police, the Consulting Architect, the Director of Forestry, and the provincial governor of Benguet began the work of further developing the Baguio reservation and park system.²

Mr. Parsons, the Consulting Architect to the Commission, who had the duty of interpreting Mr. Burnham's plans, made the reservation for every road one hundred feet wide. The exigencies of the contours made it impossible to keep the road in the exact centre of the reservation, but it left ample margin on either side for trees and shrubs, and a comprehensive system was thought out for planting each road with a distinctive border.

Everything was in the making. First, there had to be implanted in the people a desire to use Baguio; secondly, there had to be a place in which they might stay and something for them to do while there; and thirdly, the transportation facilities must be comfortable and of moderate cost. From the railroad terminus at Dagupan, the stage line, which has been mentioned as operated during the construction of the road, was continued direct to Baguio by means of four-mule teams with relays. The distance was fifty-three miles, the first twenty-seven of them being over provincial roads,

¹ 'Rides morning and afternoon and long conferences with Sleeper and Parsons on layout of Baguio take a large part of the time. I am particularly anxious lest the chance should be lost to make the city beautiful.' (Journal, II, 5, May 5, 1906.)

² A Manila newspaper said in this connection: 'The 329,622 square meters that have been set aside by the Commission for a park system, as provided by the Burnham plan as modified by Architect Parsons, will come under the special jurisdiction of this committee. The committee will attend to the general layout of the town also.' (The *Cablenews*, April 4, 1907.)

usually in bad condition, with two fords impassable in times of flood or high water. In 1907, the railway built a branch line to a point called 'Camp One,' at the foot of the mountains, and the stage line was thus shortened to twenty-four miles. The first trip over the railroad to Camp One was made by Secretary Taft when he came to inaugurate the first Philippine Assembly and took the occasion to visit Baguio and spend a week in the hills at the summer capital which his vision had made possible.¹

Mr. Warwick Greene, who later attained the important position of Director of Public Works, at the time was personal assistant to the Secretary of Commerce and Police, and became one of the guiding spirits of the development of the system of transportation to Baguio. He had a genius for mechanics, and it was he who conceived and put into operation the first automobile line to negotiate the dangerous, steep, and winding road into Baguio. He installed a system of block signals permitting traffic to go only in one direction at a time, and cars to pass each other only at chosen points. He purchased for the government a number of big De Dion cars, and, in addition to performing his many important official duties, he demonstrated the operation of the cars himself until he could train a sufficient force of Filipino drivers to take over the service. To his credit be it said the trip was made easy, safe, and popular.

The government decided to have a convention of teachers in Baguio every year. A lot was allocated for a summer camp, buildings erected, and, beginning in 1908, during the annual vacation period most of the American school-teachers in the Islands assembled in Baguio, where they attended lectures, exchanged views and experiences, and discussed their problems and methods, to the great advantage of the service. Numbers of Filipinos joined these conclaves, and each year distinguished lecturers were secured in the United States to come to the Philippine Islands and give courses of lectures to the assembled teachers at Baguio. A level spot in their camp was made into a baseball field and used for games. The movement was a great success and made the life of the American teacher in the Islands a much happier one.

¹ Journal, II, 330, October 25, 1907.

In 1909, the government constructed a large group of buildings for its service in the hills, including one building for the executive department and one for each of the four other departments of the insular government.¹ A large mess hall was also constructed, and that year for the first time the government clerks and employees in many of the bureaus were moved bodily to Baguio for the hot season.² An athletic director was secured and group sports carried on. The Filipinos took readily to this innovation, and a physical examination showed that there was an average gain of weight on the part of the clerks who came up. Of course some of the bureau chiefs were unable to send employees to the hills as the nature of their work held them in Manila, but most of the chiefs and the clerical forces did go and the movement was popular. To accommodate people wishing to make this new use of Baguio, the government built fifty cottages, which were leased, preferably to government employees, but to other private individuals in case there were not enough official applications.

No story of Baguio would be complete without mentioning the fine service rendered by William M. Haube in connection with the construction of the city and the maintenance of the Benguet Road. Of German origin, he was an indefatigable worker, and one who, when given an especially difficult task to perform, proved his capacity by always doing a little better than his estimates or than any one believed possible. It was he who built the large group of buildings for the use of the government when first moved up there in 1910, and got them ready on time; and it was he who, with a very sparse allowance of funds, built and maintained an important part

¹ The committee to arrange a plan for preparing Baguio to move the bureaus of government there and to make recommendations in regard to the details were:

Captain C. H. Sleeper, Director of Lands, chairman;

W. T. Nolting, Special Agent, Executive Office;

Ellis Cromwell, of the Bureau of Internal Revenue;

Frank R. White, of the Bureau of Education;

William M. Haube, of the Bureau of Public Works.

² 'We have nine large buildings, seven of which are built round a quadrangle open at the end towards Baguio. The centre is parked, there are roads, walks, terraces, trees, plants and bushes growing, and a fine water supply and plumbing, while an electric light company is nearing the completion of its plant, and a steam laundry about to be installed.' (Journal, IV, 23-24, March 23, 1910.)

of the roads, service buildings, and other improvements which made the use of Baguio possible in later years.¹ Although he was included with others in an unfounded charge by the Auditor, the government had the satisfaction of seeing its valuable agent completely exonerated.

In the law creating the Assembly no place was mentioned at which sessions were to be called. The Governor-General, desiring to familiarize the Assemblymen with Baguio, on the occasion of calling the first session of the second Philippine Legislature made the rather bold move of summoning it to meet in Baguio.² This was done after consulting former Speaker Osmeña, soon to be reëlected to the speakership of the new Assembly. What the courts would have held as to the legality of calling for a session of the Legislature elsewhere than in Manila will never be known, as no objection was raised; and a three weeks' session was held in Baguio in which a number of important measures became law, including the appropriation bill. This was during the period of early development of Baguio and the opportunity for proper entertainment and caring for the wives and families of the Assemblymen was not available. The movement was somewhat premature and did not result in the general support of the summer capital on the part of the legislators which its attractions in later years would have commanded. The main effect, however, was satisfactory.

The Roman Catholic Church early took advantage of the facilities offered at Baguio. A dignified place was selected for the residence of the Archbishop and a cottage built for him, while a hilltop became the site of a modest church, later followed by a much more imposing one. The Jesuits secured another hilltop which they named Mirador, where they built an observatory and a monastery of stone, which they used for meteorological observations and as a health resort for their priests. The Dominicans took another hilltop and built there a very fine stone monastery.

When General J. Franklin Bell became Commanding

¹ In his journal the Governor-General compared Haube, the engineer who had the construction of Baguio in charge, with Aladdin and his lamp. (Journal, iv, 23, March 23, 1910.)

² March 28 to April 19, 1910. Proclamation by the Governor-General, February 28, 1910.

General, his enthusiasm for Baguio knew no bounds, and he began the structure of a series of cement buildings on the military reservation and personally designed and supervised the construction of an open-air amphitheatre in a little semi-circular valley immediately below the house of the Commanding General, which had been constructed during the incumbency of Major-General Leonard Wood as division commander. General Bell's amphitheatre seated a thousand people and became one of the unique attractions of the city.¹

Further familiarity with the climate of Baguio bore out the descriptions so vividly portrayed by Commissioners Wright and Worcester after their first visit to the hills. Americans and Europeans and their wives, jaded by a protracted sojourn in the heat below, became wildly enthusiastic when they felt the first draft of the air of Baguio. They would turn quickly to the woolen clothes they had not used since they had left home, perhaps years before, draw up delightedly to the first blazing fire they had seen possibly since some Christmas spent with the family and friends in the homeland, and immediately become cordial partisans of a cause which they had perhaps been among the earlier ones to denounce. An American periodical² published a discriminating article giving an interesting description of Baguio and the activities in connection with its use, ending with a remark that 'even a brief period of usefulness has caused even its enemies to call it a "glorious blunder."'

¹ Journal, v, 200, March 6, 1913.

A special correspondence from Baguio to the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, February 21, 1913, read:

'The amphitheatre is built close to the commanding general's residence in a natural grotto which has been terraced and sodded, with beautiful flower beds running along the top of each terrace where roses and other flowers are even now blooming profusely, although the amphitheatre is not yet completed.

'The stone walls built by the Igorots are wonderful and the entire structure is of such a nature that it must be seen to be appreciated, as it is a difficult matter to describe the beauty of the walls, the unique appearance of the special class of rock used in the structure and the boxes and cosy corners that have been built without disturbing the work of nature, but rather beautifying it.

'There will be a large stage and platform and the amphitheatre will be a unique place to hold various athletic exercises, to display moving pictures or to present plays from light comedy and minstrel to the best of Shakespeare's masterpieces, as the stage is large and roomy and able to accommodate a grand chorus.'

² *The Century Magazine*, December, 1911.

The cloud shows at this resort are something which, once seen, can never be forgotten. The moist, warm air of the southwest monsoon blown against the mountains piles up huge masses of cumulus clouds which come sweeping over the hills in an endless panorama of startling effects. As the setting sun shoots up through the cleft in the mountains to the north of the high peak of Santo Tomas, it plays on these cumulus clouds, turning them into a variety of colors of almost unbelievable brilliance. The air appears luminous with sunset colors, and one seems to be living in the sunset instead of standing at a distance and viewing it. There are times when one rides in an atmosphere permeated with an orange-colored haze, seen through which the green of the pine trees turns to an almost livid blue. As one official described it:

Baguio has been . . . the most startingly beautiful thing I have ever seen. We've had a full moon rising on the one side, and the late sun setting on the other, and the air so filled with luminous colors playing on the different piles and degrees of clouds that it all has seemed like a wonderland . . . Night after night everyone gathers on some neighboring hill to see the colors. Last night it was as though the hills to the west were absolutely aflame under a sombre cloud cover.¹

Many felt that Baguio was the most beautiful and delightful place that they had ever seen. 'This is the place you always look for in the States and never find,'² said one army officer. An American globe-trotter, with his wife, went up for a Sunday and stayed for a year.

The joy of Baguio was by no means confined to visitors from temperate zones. Wealthy Filipinos caught the infection. On one occasion the Governor-General invited a party of members of a shooting club in Manila to visit him in Baguio. Their enthusiasm became so great that, before the week-end party had broken up, practically every member had made arrangements to secure a home in the hills. Don Antonio Roxas, Don Manuel and Don Tomas Earnshaw, and Don Felipe Caballero, all of the wealthiest and most distinguished Filipino families in Manila, none of whom had ever before visited Baguio, were among the visitors who became

¹ Journal, III, 21-22, May 18, 1908.

² *Ibid.*, II, 217, April 27, 1907.

most enthusiastic. As the Governor-General commented in his journal, 'Señor Zobel . . . has spent his time rushing madly about trying to buy a house, anything to have right away to live in. Don Antonio Roxas was converted with the first breath of that elixir they call air up here; his eyes sparkled and he began to set himself immediately to work to find house lots.'¹

As a result of the visit of these prominent Filipinos to Baguio, and the enthusiasm they displayed, almost two dozen cottages were built and homes established in the hills in the course of the ensuing year. Those taking part in the movement included some of the best-known Spanish families and more important commercial and social leaders in the Islands.

Other Filipinos were not slow in appreciating the benefits to be derived from cooler airs. In May, 1913, General Aguinaldo visited Baguio as the guest of the Governor-General, had his first game of golf at the country club links, and took to that sport with enthusiasm. He made the pertinent comment that, in his opinion, Baguio ought to be the permanent capital of the Islands.²

The potential economic value of Baguio to the Islands was something not to be ignored. Wealthy Filipinos had always been very apt to take their fortunes and set up residence in Paris or in Spain. Americans usually returned to the United States or for short vacations visited China or Japan. Many left their children in the homeland, and that fact alone made their stay in the Islands of uncertain tenure, the tendency being always to save their pennies and make plans to join their families, as they did not care to have their young people brought up under the enervating influence of a tropical climate. Bishop Brent, Episcopal Bishop of the Islands, had the vision to raise the money necessary to establish a school for American boys in Baguio, and a very successful school was started to which American and English boys were admitted.³

¹ Journal, iv, 312, April 2, 1911.

The entry continued: 'Don Antonio Roxas is now determined to build; Don Manuel Earnshaw says he will, and will spend part of each year here, and live here all the time in his old age; and Señores Caballero, Zobel, and Soriano, all are determined to live here also. Well done for Baguio.'

² Journal, v, 235, May 16, 1913.

³ First opened January 1, 1910.

Many army officers brought out their sons and placed them in this school. The first head master was the Reverend Remsen B. Ogilby, who, upon his return to the States, was chosen president of Trinity College.

With the growth of the population of Baguio, there came an increased demand for transportation and for accommodations for which it was impossible to provide facilities. The rough-and-tumble shack which at first served as a country clubhouse gave way to a handsome building with porches, fireplaces, bedrooms, and gardens, and a series of cottages available for rent by club members. The original rough and unskillfully planned golf course of nine holes was abundantly patronized. Little by little it became smooth and perfected, and finally, by coöperation of the military authorities, who permitted the use of a portion of the army reservation, it was extended to eighteen holes.

It was early evident that some special arrangement was necessary for the government of Baguio. The usual municipal government organization did not exactly fit the requirements of this hill station, where it was planned to house the higher officers of the government and many of the bureau chiefs, and during the hot season provide for Filipinos, Americans, and foreigners from the lowlands and from outside countries, and to which it was probable there would be a large number of army men and their families moved from the lowlands for health purposes, and with a growing resident population of Igorots. In view of the exceptional circumstances surrounding its development, it was deemed wise to give Baguio a special form of city government, and in August, 1909, a charter¹ was prepared which provided for an appointive mayor and council, the mayor being usually the engineer who already had charge of the maintenance of the Benguet Road.

As is often the case in newly formed communities, abuses crept in and at one time a saloon element threatened to render difficult the administration of this town lying on the frontier between the civilized people and the tribe of Benguet

¹ Act No. 1963, Philippine Commission, August 9, 1909.

‘Baguio is now operating as a city. I have appointed a municipal board and they are at work organizing.’ (Journal, III, 277, September 9, 1909.)

Igorots, the difficulty being further increased by the existence of successful gold mines in the immediate vicinity. There was a time when the rough element endeavored to get a foothold in the municipal government. A new municipal board was appointed. Mr. Conrad P. Hatheway, then a personal secretary to the Governor-General, stepped into this situation with great force and tact, assumed the reins as acting mayor, and in a very short time curbed the lawless elements and restored the good name of the municipal government of Baguio.¹ In this movement he was assisted very greatly by the willingness of Bishop Brent to serve with him as a member on the municipal board, and, in the absence of Bishop Brent, Dr. Ogilby, the principal of his boys' school, served as alternate.²

On May 19, 1909, a new railway concession, agreed upon with the bankers who had undertaken the construction of new lines of the Manila Railroad Company, provided for an extension to Baguio. A rack railroad was determined upon. On February 1, 1912, the first sod on the Manila Railroad branch to Baguio was turned. Six hundred men were put to work, but it was found difficult to get the class of labor wanted, and the railroad management had recourse to the Igorots of Bontoc, several hundred of whom came with their women, who assisted the men working on the road. One interesting result of this was a suggestion by the Igorots to the American engineers for a diversion of the mountain streams and their use in assisting in construction of the grade, both for cuts and fills.³ The engineers reported that the advice of the Igorots was good and substantial economies were effected by working according to their recommendations. As will be seen, after 1913 all work on this branch was discontinued and such work as had been done abandoned, but it is to be hoped that it is not permanently lost, as some day the construction of this line into the hills should be completed.

¹ Journal, v, 193-94, February 23, 1913.

² At this time the Baguio City Council was composed of: Mr. A. D. Williams, mayor; Mr. Conrad P. Hatheway, vice-mayor; and three members, Captain M. R. Hilgard, commanding officer at Camp John Hay, Bishop C. H. Brent, with Dr. R. B. Ogilby as alternate, and Mr. R. C. Wood.

³ Journal, v, 238, May 16, 1913.



BURNHAM PARK, BAGUIO



AMPHITHEATRE PLANNED BY GENERAL BELL, CAMP JOHN HAY, BAGUIO

By 1913 the success of Baguio was assured. The scant half-dozen houses mentioned earlier in the chapter had multiplied to several hundred buildings and the population of the city had increased with each season.¹ The movement of the government to Baguio stimulated its growth very greatly. Each year a slightly more ambitious programme was undertaken. Following the construction of the government centre, which was economically built of temporary materials around an open park or plaza, space was reserved for later construction of a permanent group of government buildings to be built on a larger scale around the temporary central group. There were not lacking thoughtful Filipinos who felt, as did General Aguinaldo, that Baguio ought ultimately to be the permanent capital of the Islands. A line down the main axis laid out by Mr. Burnham was cleared through the pines, the hills terraced, and an artificial lake constructed in the central valley.² The park around the lake has been appropriately named for Mr. Burnham. Buildings and stores sprang up along the line of the main street, and in the business centre markets were built, and the business grew so rapidly that the earlier buildings soon proved too small, and larger, more commodious ones were necessary. On market days, the whole vicinity was thronged with people carrying their wares, some of whom had come in from many miles away. Playgrounds were built and regular sports indulged in.

With the ensuing years has come a growing and annually increasing popularity of Baguio. Governor-General Harrison, in his report for 1919, called it 'the most beautiful hill station' in the tropical Orient of which he had knowledge. And

¹ Even in 1911, the journal of the Governor-General indicated that the Baguio situation had 'grown way beyond our poor power to cope with. The hotels are packed full, the bowling alley has rows of cot beds, and every house, every room taken, and still people flock in by hundreds.' (Journal, iv, 322, April 15, 1911.)

² '... the view out through the trees from the insular to the provincial government buildings gives a little glimpse of the lake that is very pleasing. The "Naguilian trail" has been cut and widened to an extent that enables four-line teams to traverse it without trouble, and automobiles have negotiated it successfully. We have just made the money available for metalling it full length, and down below the province has built the necessary connection, and the railroad will reach Bauan in La Union very soon, which gives our second avenue of communication. The Swiss expert has reported to Higgins that his line is feasible, and so we are progressing finely.' (Journal, v, 120, March 19, 1912.)

he added: 'Previously existing hostility toward Baguio on the part of certain sections of the Filipinos has entirely disappeared, and it has their full support in the government, and as a place of resort.' ¹

A further advantage which came to be realized, especially by Filipinos, was the value of Baguio as a health resort. Tuberculosis was very prevalent in the Islands and the benefit of the cool air in the hills was early demonstrated. The government constructed a hospital ² with cottages for tuberculosis patients, and it was not long before the Filipino doctors began to prescribe a period in Baguio for their phthisis patients. Many notable cures resulted and a good many lives were saved.

Governor-General Wood wrote in 1926 of the service Baguio had come to perform for the Philippine people:

Baguio has fifty per cent more people here this summer than ever before and a good deal of building. . . . We had a good many conventions here this summer and a tremendously large attendance at Teacher's Camp; convention of Judges of First Instance, convention of fiscals, ³ of provincial treasurers, auditors and of postmasters; also there was a large convention of public health officers . . . Camp John Hay is packed with people to the very limit. . . . I think we can count on Baguio as a real fixture. More and more Filipinos come here every year, and in fact it was almost impossible to house them all this year. The Government Center is now used for insular government employees and authorities and others who cannot find a place to stay in. I think as the years go on Baguio will be more and more a summer capital of the Islands. ⁴

All the advantages of Baguio, social, economic, and sanatory, came little by little to be recognized by a larger and larger percentage of people. The early criticism of Baguio development and disapproval of the amount of money spent on it have yielded to a general and cordial approval of the whole project on the part of the Philippine public, and words of contumely have given way to praise and appreciation. ⁵

¹ *Report of the Governor-General*, 1919, 34.

² This was occupied in July, 1908. (*Report of the Bureau of Health*, 1909, 96.)

³ Prosecuting attorneys.

⁴ Letter from General Wood to W. Cameron Forbes, dated June 3, 1926.

⁵ Professor Thomas Lindsey Blayney, in the *Review of Reviews* for January, 1916, had the following to say about Baguio: 'Personally the writer feels, after visiting

The permanent population of the city was estimated in 1927 at eight thousand, while the number of visitors during the preceding year was estimated to be over sixty thousand.

It would certainly be most gratifying to Chief Justice Taft — the real father of Baguio, since it was under his orders and upon his responsibility that the great enterprise was undertaken — could he visit the Baguio of to-day and see the extent to which his great vision has come to be a vibrant and living actuality.

India and the famous British "Hill Station," Darjeeling in the Himalayas, that Baguio is one of the most creditable and enduring monuments to the foresight and forethought of former commissions.'

The *Cablenews-American* of December 29, 1917, wrote editorially of Baguio as follows:

'It is refreshing, to say the least, to hear the praises which are being lavished nowadays on Baguio, the beautiful and salubrious mountain health resort of the Philippines. . . .

' . . . Baguio is again coming into its own and is justifying every centavo of expense which has been appropriated for it in the past. Never, so say the fortunate persons who were enabled to get away to the hills for Xmas, has the holiday season been so gay and well attended as it has this year. Hundreds of Manila people motored up before Xmas and are remaining over until the first of the year.'

CHAPTER XIV

TRIBAL PEOPLES

THE primitive and semi-civilized peoples constitute about nine per cent of the total population of the Islands. These tribal peoples are the unassimilated descendants of aborigines and of immigrants in prehistoric times from the continent of Asia and the islands of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

The aboriginal inhabitants of the Philippine Islands were no doubt very primitive dwarf peoples of three distinct types: the Negrito, a pygmy negro with frizzled black hair and very dark skin; the straight-haired pygmy of Mongoloid type and brown skin; and the third combining characteristics of both the aboriginal Australian and the Ainu of Japan. These three aboriginal types long ago became mixed with each other, the Negrito being now the most easily recognized.

It is impossible to form any estimate as to the number of these aboriginal inhabitants at the time of the beginning of successive waves of Indonesian and Malayan invaders by whom the aborigines were gradually driven back from the coast to the comparatively inaccessible mountains and swamps. This movement continued during the centuries of Spanish domination of the Islands until, by the time of American occupation, the aborigines were so few in number and so widely dispersed that they were not regarded as a problem from the standpoint of public order. The census of 1903 enumerated less than twenty-five thousand¹ of these peoples in the entire archipelago.

With the subsequent exploration and extension of government control throughout the Islands contact was gradually established with these small scattered groups of more or less nomadic peoples. Their customs and other characteristics have been studied and reported upon by administrative officials, government ethnologists,² and to some extent by

¹ *Census*, 1903, II, 46.

² These include David P. Barrows and Albert E. Jenks among others. The work of H. Otley Beyer continuously since 1905 affords the most valuable sources of information.

representatives of scientific institutions in the United States. The census of 1918 gives a total of somewhat less than fifty-six thousand persons who are classed as pygmies, of whom about twenty thousand were found on the island of Luzon, eleven thousand on the island of Mindoro, and the remainder in the Visayan Islands, and on the islands of Mindanao and Palawan.¹ The difference between this census and the previous one lay probably in the completeness of the enumeration of 1918, as it is unlikely that there was any such actual increase in the pygmy peoples.

These peoples for the most part live in wandering bands in the deep forests, subsisting on wild forest products, and building only temporary shelters of branches and leaves. Some, however, have assimilated customs of the civilized Filipino, live in houses, engage in agriculture as well as hunting, and own domestic cattle.

The original languages of the pygmies appear to have been altogether lost. They speak dialects of the Malay type, although using many archaic words and forms.²

The largest number of aborigines in any single area are found in the southern Zambales mountains northwest of Manila. In these mountains there are Negritos of purest blood as well as mixed pygmy types.³ Negritos, more or less pure, are also found in the mountains near the eastern coast of Luzon and in several of the southern islands. In eastern Luzon and Mindanao there are also a few of a taller Negroid type who are thought to be descendants of people from New Guinea or the islands of the Pacific. In northern Palawan there is a remnant of a tribe of Negroid blood, known as Bataks, who are distinguished from others by the practice of polyandry and the use of the blowgun as well as the bow and arrow.⁴ The Bataks also have a practice of shaving the hair from the front half of the top of the head.

In the island of Mindoro there is to be found an interesting tribe known as Mangyans, some eleven thousand ⁵ in number,

¹ *Census*, 1918, II, 896.

² *Ibid.*, 910.

³ The average stature is about four feet six inches, some fully developed adults, however, being as short as three feet ten inches. (*Census*, 1918, II, 912.)

⁴ H. Otley Beyer, in *Census*, 1918, II, 914.

⁵ *Census*, 1918, II, 896.

of whom it is estimated that about one-half are of the straight-haired pygmy type.

The Australoid-Ainu type is found among the pygmies living in the Apayao swamps in extreme northern Luzon and in some other localities.

While the pygmies are generally classified as savages in the sense of being very primitive in their customs of life, they are timid and often submissive when in contact with other races. In some localities they are definitely under the domination of the more civilized peoples.

While the descendants of the aborigines, notably the Negritos, are found in scattered recognizable groups, there has undoubtedly been extensive assimilation, especially of the straight-haired type, by subsequent immigrant peoples.¹

Almost as savage as the Negritos are the Ilongots, a semi-nomadic tribe living chiefly in the province of Nueva Vizcaya in central eastern Luzon. Their home is the dense forest, and they are timid, treacherous, and suspicious. When riding in on horseback to visit these people, through dense and seemingly uninhabited tropical growth, one hears in the forests the distant noise of voices, the weird cries of unseen people giving warning of the approach of a stranger. The men have long hair, rather effeminate and hairless faces, slight figures of small stature, and wear distinctive and striking costumes. They hunt with bow and arrow, and, although a few of them have been induced to live in permanent settlements, they are very apt to move from place to place, staying only a short time in one locality. In September, 1907, William Jones, a graduate of Harvard University, himself of North American Indian blood, went to the Philippine Islands to collect ethnological material for the Field Museum of Chicago. He lived for eighteen months among the Ilongots, and paid with his life² for a failure to understand or perform some of their ceremonials in connection with one of their feast days.

The tribal peoples who are believed to be descendants of the earliest invaders of the Philippine Islands are those who

¹ Beyer, in *Census*, 1918, II, 953.

² March 29, 1909. See Henry Milner Rideout: *William Jones*, New York, 1912.

appear to be related to the tall races of southern Asia and are termed by ethnologists 'Indonesian.' The general physical characteristics of this type are prominent and angular general features, straight black hair, light to dark brown skin, and an average height of about five feet seven inches, some attaining a stature of six feet or more.

There are seventeen groups of these tribal peoples and, according to the census of 1918, they numbered somewhat less than 172,000.¹ Their early speech and culture have largely disappeared,² although there is found in all Philippine languages some indication of an Indonesian element.³

The Indonesian immigrants to the Islands are believed to have been followed by successive waves of Malay invaders who brought superior civilization and assimilated or drove earlier immigrants and aborigines back from the coast. Their descendants made up the great mass of the Filipino people at the time of the conquest of the Islands by the Spaniards.

There still remain four tribal groups of semi-civilized Malays. These inhabit the mountainous regions of northern

¹ TRIBAL PEOPLES CLASSED AS INDONESIANS

[Source: Census, 1918, II, 898-99.]

Name of tribe	Number	Location
Apayaos.....	12,134	Northern Luzon
Atas.....	5,051	Eastern Mindanao
Bagobos.....	13,182	Eastern Mindanao
Bajaos.....	98	Sulu-Borneo seas
Bilaans and Tagabilils.....	18,084	Eastern Mindanao
Bukidnons.....	10,798	North Central Mindanao
Gaddans.....	5,268	Northern Luzon
Ilongots.....	2,376	Eastern Luzon
Isamals.....	130	Eastern Mindanao
Kalingas.....	22,275	Northern Luzon
Kulamans.....	381	Southern Mindanao
Mandayas.....	7,950	Eastern Mindanao
Manobos.....	26,936	Eastern Mindanao
Subanuns.....	19,583	Western Mindanao
Tagacaolos.....	5,218	Eastern Mindanao
Tagbanuas.....	14,478	Palawan
Tirurais.....	7,830	Southern Mindanao
Total.....	171,772	

² None of the arts of civilization now found in the Philippine Islands appears to be the result of the Indonesian immigration, except perhaps some custom of adornment, dress, agriculture, the construction of houses, or other practices peculiar to certain groups and localities, the origins of which have not as yet been determined by scientific research.

³ Beyer, in *Census*, 1918, II, 919.

Luzon and according to the census of 1918 numbered about 170,000.¹

All of these three racial types, pygmy, Indonesian, and Malay, are found in the interior of the large island of Luzon, where they constitute important tribal groups. The Honorable Dean C. Worcester in 1913 estimated the tribal peoples of Luzon to number 440,926, a much larger figure than that reported in the census of 1918.² In Mindanao the tribal peoples, Indonesians and pygmies, are less numerous, aggregating about 187,000.³ On the islands of Mindoro, Negros, Palawan, and Panay there are groups of Indonesians and pygmies numbering about 45,000.⁴ While small numbers of aborigines are recognizable on some of the other islands, they are not so classified in the census enumeration. The migratory Indonesian Bajaos of the Sulu Archipelago are mentioned in the chapter on 'Moros.'

It was with the group of savages in northern Luzon that the greatest advance was made in administrative achievement, and it was due to Commissioner Dean C. Worcester that the interest of the American government was quickened and this work undertaken and carried through. The tribal groups varied greatly in their habits, degree of civilization, and the ease with which they could be won over to the arts of peace. The most highly civilized were the Tinggians, who inhabit the province of Abra. The others, who live principally in an extensive mountain region, which in 1908 was

¹ TRIBAL PEOPLES CLASSED AS MALAYS

[Source: Census, 1918, II, 900.]

Name of tribe	Number
Bontocs	28,424
Ifugaos	69,717
Igorots	65,424
Tinggians or Itnegs	7,034
Total	170,599

² Worcester, II, 650.

The numbers for Luzon given in the *Census*, 1918, II, 99, total 266,290. The difference between this 1918 figure and Secretary Worcester's estimate in 1913 does not indicate a diminution of the population. It merely indicates different methods of classification. For example, tribal peoples who had been baptized would be included in the census among the Christian and civilized Filipinos.

³ According to the census of 1918.

⁴ *Census*, 1918, II, 896, 898.



THE HONORABLE DEAN C. WORCESTER
Philippine Commissioner and Secretary of the Interior

designated as the Mountain Province,¹ and divided into sub-provinces each under a lieutenant-governor,² were the Igorots of Benguet, Amburayan, and Lepanto; the Bontocs; the Ifugaos; Kalingas; and Apayaos.

The first governor of the Mountain Province was William F. Pack,³ of Michigan, a most picturesque character with his snow-white hair, great height of six feet four inches, and florid face, who became so well known among the tribal peoples that they came to trust and love him, and many were the interesting adventures in which he participated.

It was a curious failure on the part of the Commission to live up to one of the main tenets of American government, that when dealing with these people legislatively they classed them as non-Christians and legislated for them as so designated. It would have been much more in accordance with

¹ The Mountain Province was created by Act No. 1876, Philippine Commission, August 18, 1908, under the administrative control of the Secretary of the Interior.

² The following is a list of governors of the sub-provinces:

Amburayan:	Pio Ancheta W. F. Hale John Evans J. C. Early A. V. Dalrymple Eugene de Mitkiewicz	Bontoc:	T. K. Hunt P. Wagar Daniel Folkmar E. A. Eckman John Evans J. C. Early Samuel E. Kane Sharon R. Mote Joaquin Ortega Nicasio Balinag Tomas N. Blanco
Apayao:	Blas Villamor Norman G. Conner Francis J. Whitney Alex. H. Gilfillan Maximo Meimban D. Ducusin C. B. Lizardo R. Sabino C. B. Lizardo	Ifugao:	Jeff D. Gallman O. A. Tomlinson W. E. Dosser
Benguet:	H. P. Whitmarsh Wm. F. Pack E. A. Eckman John Evans Hilario Logan Sharon R. Mote Joaquin Ortega Tomas Guzman Juan Gaerlan	Kalinga:	W. F. Hale Alex. H. Gilfillan Samuel E. Kane Hilario Logan Tomas N. Blanco Nicasio Balinag
		Lepanto:	Thomas Moir Wm. Dinwiddie W. A. Reed W. A. Miller Samuel E. Kane Jose Martinez Joaquin Ortega Tomas Guzman

³ William F. Pack came to the Islands during the insurrection as an officer in the army. He became governor of the province of Benguet and was promoted from that post to be governor of the Mountain Province, Benguet becoming a sub-province under the new organization.

American principles had they called them 'tribal peoples,' for in classing them as non-Christians they apparently made a religious distinction. The distinction, in fact, was not religious at all. These peoples might all have embraced Christianity without necessitating the change of a single word in the laws enacted in their behalf. The difference is one of civilization. These tribal peoples are not to be classed with the Christian and civilized Filipinos who inhabit the low-land provinces, and who comprise ninety-one per cent ¹ of the population and do probably ninety-eight per cent of the business of the Islands. Congress recognized this fact and provided by law ² that the autonomous government given the more civilized Filipinos be withheld from the Mohammedans and the tribal peoples generally.

The Commission, shortly after entering upon its legislative duties, enacted laws ³ establishing local civil governments and provincial government in the province of Benguet, the inhabitants of which were chiefly Igorots.⁴

In the acts of organization ⁵ special provisions were made for the tribal peoples residing within the jurisdictions of the provinces of Misamis and Surigao.

One of the early acts of the Commission created a Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes ⁶ which was charged with the making of 'systematic investigations with reference to the non-Christian tribes . . . with special view to determining the most practicable means for bringing about their advancement in civilization and material prosperity.'

Early in 1902, the Commission by special acts ⁷ provided for local and provincial governments in Nueva Vizcaya, a mountainous region of the interior of Luzon the population of

¹ *Census*, 1918, II, 19.

² Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902, Section 7.

³ Act No. 48, November 22, 1900; Act No. 49, November 23, 1900.

⁴ The Municipal Code for the local government of Christian communities was not applicable to settlements of tribal peoples.

⁵ Act No. 127 and Act No. 128, Philippine Commission, May 15, 1901.

⁶ Act No. 253, October 2, 1901.

The designation of this bureau was later changed to 'The Ethnological Survey,' and in 1905 passed as a division to the Bureau of Education and in 1906 to the Bureau of Science. As mentioned in the chapter on 'Moros,' the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was revived by Act of Congress approved August 29, 1916.

⁷ Act No. 337, January 28, 1902; Act No. 387, April 9, 1902.

which was in large part tribal. Subsequently, the special legislation for the local government of tribal peoples was extended to those resident in Abra and other regularly organized provinces. After some three years' experience and a better understanding of the capacities of the tribal peoples the Commission enacted 'The Special Provincial Government Act' and 'The Township Government Act' ¹ in substitution for all previous legislation on these matters.²

The Act of Congress of 1902, creating the Assembly, provided that it was excluded from legislating for the territory inhabited by Moros and other tribal peoples.³ Thus, upon the inauguration of the Assembly on October 16, 1907, the Commission became the upper house or senate for the regularly organized part of the Islands, but remained the sole legislative body for the tribal and Mohammedan part.

In this dual capacity there were many problems in which the Commission had to use discretionary judgment, as, for instance, deciding what proportion of the insular revenues it was fair for them to divert to the care of the tribal people, whose contribution to those revenues was insignificant. They paid very little internal revenue tax, produced practically nothing for export, and consumed so little of the imported goods that their *pro rata* share of what was taken from customs and internal revenue would have been too small to pay for the needs of their administration. On the other hand, they were a potential source of trouble. Without proper administration by police, sanitary officers, teachers, and provincial governors, they might very easily have become an actual menace to the well-being of the civilized populations in the neighboring provinces.

The Commission met this difficulty by dealing with the problem with what seemed to them scrupulous fairness, and in no instance was their action in appropriating moneys from the general treasury for the territory over which they held

¹ Act No. 1396 and Act No. 1397, September 14, 1905.

² See Vol. II, Chapter XV, for special legislation for the Moros, or Mohammedan peoples.

³ The pertinent portion of the act read: '... all the legislative power heretofore conferred on the Philippine Commission in all that part of said Islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes shall be vested in a Legislature consisting of two Houses — The Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly.' (Act of Congress approved July 1, 1902, Section 7.)

exclusive control, the subject of bitter attack by members of the Assembly.¹

The appropriation of funds from the insular treasury for expenditures in the tribal provinces did not, however, pass unnoticed by the Filipino papers. Any such action was sure to be criticized.²

Another nice question arose in connection with the construction of the summer capital at Baguio. Located in the territory set aside to be under the exclusive legislative jurisdiction of the Commission, the city was to be built only incidentally for the benefit of the tribal residents and almost entirely for the benefit of the civilized Filipinos, to whom it became a place of popular resort in the hot season.

There were many laws passed by the Legislature, namely the Commission and Assembly sitting as upper and lower houses, which were of general interest, but under the terms of the act of Congress were not applicable to the territory inhabited by the Mohammedan and tribal peoples by reason

¹ The exclusive legislative jurisdiction of the Commission over the territory inhabited chiefly by Moros and tribal peoples was criticized in principle, together with other features of the organization of government at that time, in a joint memorandum presented by both the Nationalist and Progressive Parties to Secretary of War Dickinson during his visit to the Islands in the latter part of 1910.

² *La Democracia*, in its issue of December 13, 1910, had this to say about it:

'Upon the constitution of the Philippine Assembly the Commission was invested with the power to legislate alone without the Assembly's consent for the so-called non-Christian provinces. That is what the Philippine bill lays down and in the exercise of that faculty the Commission has been disposing of the public treasure to make improvements in those provinces, to the extreme of spending considerable sums, such as those expended on the Benguet Road.

.

'For our part we are of the opinion that the practice followed by the Commission is evidently unjust and absurd, inasmuch as it implies the inconceivable power iniquitously to despoil the Christian population for the benefit of the non-Christian tribes, and we can in no way suppose that the American Congress, in passing the Philippine bill, even thought of investing the Commission with such power, both odious and arbitrary.' (Translation.)

See also editorial, 'An Ominous Reminiscence,' in *La Vanguardia*, December 13, 1910.

The popular sentiment which had been stirred up against the Benguet Road by hostile criticism in the papers made the Filipino leaders of the Assembly hesitate to appear to approve any appropriation for the work. They recognized, however, the necessity of maintaining a road and had no objection to wording the bill for general improvements in such a way that the executive officers could allot the necessary amounts.

of the participation of the Assembly in their enactment. It was deemed advisable for the Commission, acting in its exclusive legislative capacity, to scrutinize all these laws and if appropriate make them applicable to tribal territory in order that the Islands should have in so far as was possible a uniform set of laws.¹ There were certain notable instances in which the Commission and the Assembly failed to agree in regard to important measures, sometimes due to some lesser aspect or clause in the law which kept them apart. In several of these cases the Commission passed the act applicable to the territory over which they held exclusive jurisdiction before the Assembly could be induced to take this action, with sometimes curious results. For example, the law penalizing slavery was passed by the Commission applicable to such territory several years before the Assembly took similar action.

The Spaniards had made very little headway in the matter of pacifying these tribal peoples and winning them to the arts of peace.² They had lived practically uncontrolled and undirected for centuries, each town a unit in itself, with little intercommunication with neighboring towns except that of a hostile nature. The men, armed with head-axes, spears, shields, and sometimes bows and arrows, formed themselves into a guard and with a system of signals occupied points of observation to protect the aged, too infirm to fight, and women and children who worked the fields.

As there was very little level country within their reach, for purposes of cultivation the savages, most notably the Ifugaos, had terraced the mountains almost from bottom to top.³

¹ The following memorandum is taken from the personal journal of the Acting Governor-General, August 18, 1909: 'The Legislature passed about one hundred and fifty laws, more or less. Of these, some should be applicable to the non-Christian territory and some not; where they are general laws they should, for the sake of uniformity of law, but I found nothing had been done by the Commission to put them into effect; hence a very queer legal state of affairs, a hodge podge, and so I got Araneta busy on it. We passed a law making our recent customs and internal revenue laws effective, and I arranged to have Mr. Araneta prepare a new law making all of the Legislature's enactments apply specifically to the non-Christian territory, naming the laws both by number and title.' (Journal, III, 252.)

² For statement as to the extent of penetration of the tribal territory by the Spaniards, and other related information, see 'Non-Christian Tribes,' in *Census*, 1903, I, 453-77, 532-61.

³ 'The Ifugaos probably possess the greatest system of stonewalled terraced rice-

In one place as many as three hundred terraces were to be seen one above the other. Often the acreage of wall built to protect these terraces exceeded the acreage of cultivatable land which they held.¹ These people were very adroit about controlling the water. Their manner of building a terrace was to build up the walls with stone, plaster the interstices with clay, then puddle mud into some brook from a high point in the mountain and let the water carry this mud down in suspension to the retaining wall, where in the course of time it would settle and little by little a cultivatable field would be built up. Very ingenious devices were invented to keep away the *mayas* or rice birds, which, unchecked, would have brought starvation to a village. Moving scarecrows worked by hydraulic power were to be seen waving about over the tops of the growing rice.

Although living in the hills and at an altitude which in winter could be cold, some of these people wore almost no clothes, the men merely a loin cloth and the women an extremely scanty skirt which they were ready to remove in case of rain.

The principal sport of the men, if one might call it that, was head-hunting. Every town was intermittently at war with every other town, the young warriors of each village pitting their wits against their enemies of that neighboring town with which their feud was most active. They tried to possess themselves of something belonging to the other. Pigs, cattle, and sometimes women, were fair prey. According to the code in vogue, it mattered not whether the head of the person taken was that of a warrior or of some one entirely defenseless, like a little child. So long as the people of the village with which they were at war at that time failed to protect their property, everything was fair game.

fields to be found in any part of the world. These terraces often run for thousands of feet up the mountain sides, like gigantic stairways, and their stonewalled faces would if placed end to end reach nearly half way round the earth, since they total some 12,000 miles in length. The building of these walls and terraces must have been the work of many centuries, and even now it requires a prodigious amount of annual labor to keep them in repair. The terraces are irrigated by an elaborate system of canals and ditches, some of the former often being several miles in length.' (Beyer, in *Census*, 1918, II, 935-36.)

¹ Dean C. Worcester: 'The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon,' in *The Philippine Journal of Science*, I, No. 8, October, 1906, 829.



IFUGAO RICE TERRACES AT BANAUE

Commissioner Worcester chose as governors of the sub-provinces of the Mountain Province a number of active young Americans, sometimes selected from the Constabulary, usually men who had served in the army, and with them he started out to win the confidence of these strangely assorted peoples. The savages were told they must stop their inter-village warfare and bring their disputes to the American governor for settlement. Those who put their cases in the hands of the governor would have all the forces of law and order to settle their questions; and the governor and his police dealt with those who failed to do so. Persons charged with criminal acts were required to be brought in for trial. The police at first were Filipinos; later men from the tribes were enlisted in the Constabulary until each tribe was policed by picked men from its own number. These enlisted men proved to be excellent soldiers, faithful to trust, tireless, courageous, and skillful. They also proved to be the best shots in the Constabulary.¹

The villages lying near the Constabulary stations were the first to give their allegiance to the government.² Others a little farther afield followed; and gradually the power of the American governor was extended to the extreme limits of his province, and the people were won over to the new order of things.³ They found the Americans patient, honorable, fair,

¹ '... The people are good soldiers and the different detachments of Constabulary stationed in the Ifugao country to keep order are composed entirely of Ifugao people. They are amenable to discipline, are very fond of military life and are the best shots in the Constabulary. The two companies of Ifugao Constabulary have qualified for three years as the best shots in that organization and the company stationed at Banaue, which is under the command of Lieutenant F. E. Ross, holds the highest per cent ever made by a company of insular police.' (Excerpt from special correspondence from Banaue, Ifugao, to the *Cablenews-American*, April 13, 1911.)

² 'Major Crawford, P.C. [Philippines Constabulary], is in from the 4th District (Northern Luzon) with intensely interesting tales of conditions, expeditions among head-hunting Igorots, explaining to them that they must give up the idea of killing his Constabulary and be good and plant rice and give up feuds with their neighbors over a few lost heads. He is stopping child stealing and ordering people to plant. The acreage of crops has doubled in many places and people are in good condition apparently.' (Journal, I, 322, September 22, 1905.)

³ 'There are nearly one hundred and fifty towns in this province [Kalinga] and Governor Hale has got his influence established in all but three. These have told him they propose to take his head if he comes in, but he says he'll go there and talk them out of it. One town last year threw spears at him, and he had them picked up

and diligent. They could get sympathetic attention to their grievances, prompt and just settlement of their disputes, and presently to their amazement they found themselves prospering as never before, for the energies of the able-bodied men could be taken from guarding and devoted to productive effort. Moreover, they were astonished to find that interest was taken in their well-being and that hospitals, schools, provincial buildings, markets, and prisons were all built for their service and were well run, sanitary, and creditable. When Commissioner Worcester visited these provinces it was most touching to see the enthusiasm with which he was greeted.¹ Crowds gathered literally in thousands, and the hillsides were black with leaping and shouting savages, waving large American flags fastened on poles, and cheering in a frenzied unison which reminded an American of the organized college yells to be heard ringing from various football stadia throughout his own country.

Commissioner Worcester devoted himself especially to having trails built throughout the Mountain Province. He tried to hold these to easy grades, which seldom exceeded six per cent and usually followed the contours of the hills. The trails were six feet wide, carefully drained, but the Igorot bearers preferred the shorter distances even though they meant much steeper grades, and were apt to cut across to save the long loops of the graded trail. After Commissioner Worcester had completed his improvements, one could ride for a distance of some two hundred miles over a mountain trail from Benguet to Apayao that, with occasional dips through the river valleys, continued at an elevation of well over four thousand feet, sometimes reaching a height of more than six thousand. At intervals rest houses were built at which travellers could lodge for the night.² The diminutive and sent them back with a message that they must not provoke him too much or he'd come and fight them, and it would be a pity to kill all their men-folk.' (Journal, iv, 85, May 12, 1910.)

¹ 'We rode for two or three hours only, over a level and winding trail to Banaue, now the capital of the sub-province [Ifugao]. The valley is literally terraced from river to mountain top and is a really marvellous sight. Every turn of the road had its quota of people, often yelling mightily, and the sight of Worcester almost invariably invoked cheers.' (Journal, iv, 69, May 5, 1910.)

² '... It is a remarkable fact that on the thousand miles of road and trail which have been constructed since the American occupation in the Mountain Province and

Igorot horses, stunted descendants of the Arab brought in in Spanish days, were commonly used both by Americans and savages for their journeys in and about the Mountain Province. These horses were remarkably tough and, although they looked as though they could hardly support a ten-year-old American child, it was amazing to see them take a two-hundred-pound man up a steep mountain-side for two or three thousand feet without pause, hesitation, or apparent distress.

When the law was passed compelling every able-bodied man among the tribal peoples to give ten days a year of free service to road and trail construction,¹ the tribal men were incensed — not because the work was required, but because it was limited to ten days. 'How do we know,' they said, 'that ten days' work is going to be enough to complete the road, and what good is a road that is not completed and doesn't lead anywhere?' Some of them actually tore up their receipted certificates, for they looked upon them as limiting their work days on the road, and they argued that these roads were for their benefit and why shouldn't they work on them as many days as they wanted? ²

The savages have developed a very extraordinary system of communication which Americans speak of as the 'grape-vine telegraph.' It is carried on by shouts or calls passed from mountain to mountain. Whether they had learned by

Nueva Vizcaya no one has as yet been murdered. In the wildest regions there has been an understanding from the outset that people travelling over government roads were to be let alone!' (Worcester, II, 564.)

¹ Act No. 1396, Philippine Commission, September 14, 1905.

At the time of the organization of government among the tribal peoples, the lack of defined private landholdings made it necessary to provide a special system of local taxation under which there was imposed a tax on personal as well as real property, with exemption of owners of property of assessed value less than one hundred dollars. (Act No. 1397, Philippine Commission, September 14, 1905, Sections 50-60.) By 1920, economic progress in these regions was deemed by the Legislature to warrant the gradual extension to them of the general cedula and real property tax laws of the Islands, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior, in substitution for the special system of taxation. (Act No. 2913, Philippine Legislature, March 23, 1920.)

² 'Our staff correspondent at Baguio told of the Igorot of Tublay who presented to the Commission a petition in the name of the presidente and councillors of that town asking that the head tax for roads be increased from ten to fifteen days in order that the roads might be kept in good condition.' (From an editorial in the *Manila Times*, March, 1907.)

experience just where the acoustic properties of the mountain were such that the voice would carry farthest, or how it was done, is not generally known, but the fact is that messages are sent with amazing rapidity. On one occasion a man was murdered in Kiangnan in the early morning. His parents lived a three hours' journey away, and yet in exactly three hours they arrived on the scene, showing that word had reached them enabling them to start almost at the time the murder was committed.¹

The American administration was the first to penetrate many of these regions and to win the confidence of their inhabitants. Their peaceable customs, religion, and prejudices were respected. Besides schools, hospitals, and public order, they were given an opportunity to earn something for themselves and aspire to a better scale of living. The enthusiasm with which they grasped an opportunity to get an education was almost pitiful. It was interesting to enter one of the schools where some Filipino teacher, often a woman, was instructing a lot of little girls in the use of English. Visiting parties of inspection were likely to be greeted by a class of perhaps a dozen or two Igorot girls singing in unison, 'In the Good Old Summer Time,' or 'Honey Boy,' popular favorites of the day. Mention has been made in the chapter on 'Education' of how the Igorot boys took early to baseball.

One of the pioneers in the uplift of the Igorots was Mrs. Alice McK. Kelly, whose husband was developing a gold mine in the neighborhood of Baguio. She gathered the young Igorot girls about her and began teaching them manual training, household industries, hygiene, and the rudiments of primary school subjects. Her school grew in importance and popularity, received government support, and finally became one of the features of that region. Mrs. Kelly learned the Igorot language and, by her warm espousal of the cause of these people, so won their admiration that she is still, after years of absence, held in great veneration throughout that region.

The Bureau of Health also did effective work for these tribal peoples, old and young, who quickly learned to appre-

¹ This incident occurred during a visit of inspection to Kiangnan by the author, who thus had personal knowledge of the event.

ciate the resulting benefits. Many prevalent skin diseases could be cured by cleanliness and simple remedies, and in this direction the work of the health officers in instructing the people generally in hygiene proved immediately beneficial. One of the more outstanding health achievements was the discovery by Dr. Strong, of the Bureau of Science, that salvarsan, or '606,' as it is sometimes called, is a specific for the disease of yaws. Persons suffering from this disease were horribly disfigured, and there were numerous cases among the hill people. One of these, a chronic sufferer, was taken to the hospital in Bontoc and given the treatment by hypodermic injection. Expecting some more dramatic treatment, he was greatly disappointed at the apparent lack of attention he received. To his amazement, however, he soon found the healing process beginning, and at the end of the ninth day he disobeyed orders and disappeared. A week or so later he reappeared perfectly well, bringing with him a dozen unfortunates who were suffering from the disease. These in turn were treated and cured.¹

The government, as has been seen in dealing with the matter of health, maintained a hospital and nurses' training school in Manila to which girls from all the provinces were brought, and it was provided that a certain number of girls from the tribal peoples should receive the same privileges given their sisters in the lowlands, and be given financial aid to take the nurses' training course. Selected residents of the Mountain Province, including Igorot girls, were brought to Manila, received their training in the nurses' training school, and returned to carry back to their people the torch of hygiene and sanitation.

It is not out of place to give one episode that illustrates the manner in which some of these savages conducted themselves under difficult circumstances. During one of his inspection trips the Governor-General, upon arriving in Bontoc, was met by a group of warriors, some forty in number, from the town of Tinglayan near the Kalinga border. They were prepared for war, armed with spears, shields, and head-axes, scowling and thoroughly angry. They escorted the Governor's party to the rest house where he was to pass the night

¹ This story is told slightly differently in Worcester, I, 430.

and, coming up on the piazza, squatted and waited until he was ready for an interview. When asked what their presence meant, the spokesman said that a Constabulary soldier some time previously had asked the president of their town for a man to carry his baggage. No man being immediately available, this soldier had ordered the president of the town to carry it himself, which the president had very properly refused to do, whereupon the soldier had struck him, inflicting wounds of which he died. The angry population had been dissuaded from immediately killing this soldier, but they had bound him hand and foot and brought him to Bontoc and turned him over to the American authorities for punishment. Their complaint was that the Americans had done nothing about it, the man was still alive, and they demanded that the Governor-General have him taken out immediately and killed. They were not at all satisfied with the explanation that these things were not done by the Governor-General, that first a trial was necessary before the courts, and that in the matter of punishing criminals the Governor could not act except in accordance with the finding of the court. The warriors contended that the Governor-General was all-powerful and could do anything, that the man deserved death, and they demanded that death be meted out to him. The same explanation was repeatedly given them, but it did not satisfy. The next day the Governor-General's party passed through their town and met with scowls and all but open hostility. Only a few of the men of the village, led by a powerful Igorot named Agpad, were courteous to the visiting party. Agpad, incidentally, had distinguished himself some years before by plunging into a river and saving the lives of two drowning Americans. The court, when its session came to be held, condemned the prisoner to fourteen years' penal servitude. A year later, when the Governor-General revisited Tinglayan, the difference in the reception was astonishing. The town was decorated, floral arches erected over the trail, the women and children out in force, and the party was greeted two miles out of the town and accompanied in by a cheering, enthusiastic populace. Although the culprit had not been killed, yet they realized justice had been done. A delegation preferred one request, however, which was that

this prisoner could be confined in some other jail than that of Bontoc. At Bontoc, they said, when on outside work such as prisoners were put at, the citizens of Tinglayan could see him and the temptation to put a knife into him was so great that they were afraid they could not resist it! They thought that if he served his sentence in another jail, they could be relieved of this temptation. In accordance with this request, the prisoner was transferred to a prison at Cervantes.

The differences between these tribal peoples are very interesting. The isolation of village from village brought it to pass that each village has its own customs and codes. What is good etiquette in one village does not suit another. There have been cases of blood feuds handed down from generation to generation, and these presented great difficulties in the effort to bring about peaceful relations between towns. A typical conference for the purpose of establishing peace between two towns was recorded in the journal of an eye-witness:

Each chooses a champion who tells all the mean things the other town has done against his, and the other replies. After hearing the sum of the causes of offense they try to reach some sort of agreement or blood compact, weapons are exchanged, pigs killed, and the man who breaks the pact on the part of one town must be killed by the man who made the pact on the part of the other. These feuds, thus created, last into the second generation.¹

How serious these feuds may prove to be is shown by something that happened in the central school at Bontoc. One little boy told his teachers that he was likely to be murdered. The peaceable Americans pooh-poohed the idea and took no precautions. Shortly afterward another small boy under orders drove a knife into the child's stomach, inflicting a wound of which he died.

The Bontocs were inveterate head-hunters and among the wildest and most intractable of the tribes, but they came at length to be very appreciative of what the Americans brought them.

The Igorots have certain virtues and certain defects com-

¹ Journal, iv, 85, May 12, 1910.

The journal continued: 'In other words, if one of the compacting warriors dies, his son must carry out the blood compact in his behalf and kill the party to the compact in the offending town, or, if he too has died, his son must be killed.'

mon to savages.¹ They are kindly, appreciative, truthful, and, to marked degree, faithful to trust. If one gives an Igorot an errand to do or message to carry and is sure he understands it, one can rest assured that that man will be faithful to trust even to the death. It is entirely safe to stop an Igorot anywhere and, without asking for his credentials, give him something to deliver. If he undertakes the task, the article in question is as good as delivered no matter how valuable it may be. During the construction of the Benguet Road hundreds of thousands of dollars were sent up on the backs of Igorots, and the only loss incurred was when one of the Igorots was stopped on the road and robbed by an American.

The Igorots of different localities differed from each other in many respects. Those of Benguet were entirely peaceable. They had no warlike proclivities, did no head-hunting and were rather scorned in consequence by their more warlike neighbors in the north, the Bontocs and the Ifugaos, and were regarded as an inferior race of burden bearers.

To the northwest of Benguet were two other peaceable Igorot sub-tribes, timid, patient, hard-working, and long-suffering, known as the Lepantos and the Amburayans. The territory they occupied was extensive and magnificent, a region of long, connected mountain ranges, peaks, extinct volcanoes, and deep valleys which formed beds of large rivers.

In all these tribes the men wore nothing but a scanty loin cloth called 'gee string,' but there were marked differences in the clothing worn by women of different tribes — in their manner of wearing their clothes, the colors they used, and in their ornaments and tattooing. The Benguet women were carefully and completely clothed from the neck to well below the knees in a distinctive garment, woven by themselves, of pleasing, quiet colors, reds, blues, grays, and whites, but they wore no shoes or stockings. Their long, straight black hair hung loose down their backs, or was sometimes wound

¹ This applied to most of the savages resident in the Mountain Province. The word 'Igorot' is frequently used to include, besides Benguets, Lepantos, and Amburayans, the Bontocs, Ifugaos, Kalingas, and Apayaos. It is not used to include Ilongots and Tinggians.

partially around their turbans, a strip of white or red and white cloth wound once around, but never over, the head. Women as well as men carried heavy loads on their backs, and the women usually carried what they called an *anito* stick to keep away the evil spirits. This was a section of bamboo, open at one end and split up both sides, which they carried in one hand and tapped against the other forearm in such a way as to produce a musical note.

Perhaps the most striking instance of success in dealing with the tribal peoples was that of Governor Jeff D. Gallman, who came to the Philippine Islands as a sergeant in the United States Army. Working up through the Constabulary to the rank of captain, he was appointed governor of the Ifugao sub-province, estimated to have about seventy thousand people who had never before recognized any sovereignty and who in their self-created isolation had probably made no advance toward civilization in several hundred years. An incident recorded at the time is typical. In reply to a question as to whether he had ever been attacked, Governor Gallman told about some murders that had been committed in one of the towns two years before. The story, told in a journal at that time,¹ follows: 'He [Gallman] sent for the murderers and the guns. They replied that if he wanted them he could come for them, that they too wanted guns and would take all he brought, and some heads too. The population of the hostile district was three thousand. Gallman took thirty-five of his Ifugao Constabulary and went in, separated his force, and went after the murderers with only four, hoping to bring on a fight, as he knew that was the only way to get the guns. He got his fight all right. They launched twenty spears at him from close range, and fired one rifle bullet which just missed his head, while a shower of rocks struck him, one knocking his revolver from his hand and another knocking him over the cliff.' Governor Gallman had then found his feet, run back and joined his men, led them on to the attack, and pretty soon brought the whole village to such terms that they were willing to deliver their guns and the men asked for as implicated in the murder. And thereafter they became his staunch friends and supporters.

¹ Journal, iv, 64-65, May 3, 1910.

With the complete pacification of the province came a growing confidence in Americans, and it was a most extraordinary experience to visit one of these villages and see the conditions under which these people lived. It was almost like taking an incursion into some village of prehistoric times. An account of a visit with Commissioner Worcester into the region occupied by the Silipanes, an intractable branch of the Ifugaos, the last to be brought under American authority, is taken from the journal of a participant:

Silipanes who came to receive us were drawn up in a long line along the outside of the trail, and perched by the dozens on the hillsides above. As I rode by, shaking the leaders by the hand, the *gansas*¹ pealed out with a roar of welcome. They also have a huh huh huh in unison which a crowd gets yelling; they let it come faster and faster until it all ends in a hurrah. After speeches they all clap, raising their hands and clapping over their heads, the speaker modestly leading both the cheers and clapping. The speeches here were numerous and pacific, the vein most usually cross cut, being the fact that now they had had a *cañao* (feast), Worcester and his party had visited them, and they were just as good people as those of Kiangnan now. This seemed to give them great satisfaction. Only half a dozen timid girls were here when we came, but the word was passed about that they were wanted, and soon a hundred or more were to be seen mingling with the others. They wear a short skirt of black and white or grey, striped horizontally, and sometimes a grey upper garment. Many have their teeth blackened, and all chew betel until the interior of the mouth is a hideous vermilion. The crowd was orderly; we slept without a guard and the door open, but we slept little as the dancing, tom-toms, and a curious singing chant they have, continued without intermission all the livelong night. . . .

What a weird night we passed. I can see now the copper gleaming figures moving slowly in their weird measures round the fires, framed by concentric circles of faces of people squatting round, until lost in the outer rim of night, the *gansas* continually sounding, and through it all the chants of the singers, the occasional yell of the orator for silence, his intense vehemence in shouting every syllable in short choppy style, the wild cries and handclapping that denoted the end of his speech — usually a rather boastful one, as many of the orators begin by telling that they are rich and powerful and therefore have a right to be heard.²

The Ifugaos were sometimes awkward in learning American customs. Handshaking, for instance, was very new to

¹ Tom-toms or gongs.

² Journal, iv, 65-66, May 3 and 4, 1910.

them, and their efforts at this form of greeting were sometimes quite uncouth.¹

The Ifugaos occupy a very extensive territory, all mountainous, in which the most remote town, that of Majayjay, was nearly three days' journey over mountain trails from the capital of the province.

Commissioner Worcester felt that it would be desirable for some of the Ifugao leaders to learn something about the world events of their day and so gain prestige among their people. He arranged for a group of eight or ten of the important men to visit Manila. The result was exactly the opposite of what he had hoped. On their return, these men were branded as unmitigated liars by their people and lost much of their standing. To people who had never seen more water than a diminutive mountain stream which almost dried up in summer, and to whom the commonplaces of modern machinery were utterly unknown, the descriptions of 'houses on water' (ships) and 'bull carts without bulls' (automobiles) were too completely preposterous for credence. Some time after this the Governor-General visited this territory on an inspection trip and in the course of an address to the people he spoke of his hope that the road would be so far widened and improved that he could make his next visit there by automobile. Great was the delight of these doubted solons, who leaped with joy and shouted the word in the native dialect. They were at last vindicated.

North of Bontoc lies the territory of the Kalingas, a warlike people, with their own very strict moral code, unchastity in women, for example, being punishable by death. These people are most picturesque. Their warriors have a way of painting their faces red; they tie their long hair in a knot behind and decorate it with plumes made of the curling feathers of the tails of roosters into which little tufts of brilliant red feathers are tied at intervals. These plumes are fastened to a stick and stand high on either side of the head. Their ornaments and loin cloths are red and yellow. Their skin shines like burnished copper, and they wear armlets of the curved tusks of the wild boar, and carry a head-axe tucked

¹ 'Shaking hands is a new thing among these people, and they often give the left hand and often touch without grasping.' (Journal, iv, 68, May 4, 1910.)

through the belt, the naked blade resting against the bare skin of the thigh. They carry light, graceful wooden shields decorated with a tasteful pattern of their own design, and their long spear handles are decorated with bands of brass or copper. Tradition has it that some time in the past the Spaniards transported a few Moros to the Kalinga country and the infusion of Moro blood has rendered them somewhat different from the neighboring tribes.

A contemporary description, as given in the journal of a visitor to the Kalingas, follows:

Yesterday we had an exhibition of the ceremony incident to the taking of a head, with the same approach we saw at Kiangang, except that the shielded warriors were opposed this time in their advance by a single spearman who acted as a pretended enemy. A pig was killed as part of the ceremony.

A piece of wood rudely shaped to resemble a head was stuck on a post, decorated with earrings, necklaces, and wreaths of flowers, and given the name of a man now serving in Bilibid for murder, and then the rites proceeded, different in detail but similar in appearance to the other, except that young girls joined the dances. One, who was very striking, danced most gracefully within a few inches of the so-called head. One peculiar thing about these dances is that they rob both the cradle and the grave — withered old dames well past sixty, and that is older here than at home, joined in the slow figures with frisky maids of sixteen, matrons of forty, or children of eight; similarly with the men. One robust and advanced dame performed her movements with a baby strapped to her back.¹

The journal continues:

A dozen of the most brilliantly and gaudily got-up men took up their *gansas*, as the tom-toms are called in this country, and began their curious rhythmical beat standing; then, as the beat quickened, first one and then another would begin to move his feet till all were dancing up and down. One girl, a child of perhaps eight, would dance forward slowly, and presently another, till about twenty women were dancing in a group facing the men. They either move the feet slowly forward and back, holding their arms out with the palms of the hands upward, protruding their chests, or they put their hands on their hips and run forward or back with a graceful movement, always keeping the feet very near the ground. Presently the men turn and dance round the women, following the leader, winding in and out, putting their heels high and bending their bodies low. The women dress in light colors, with many beads, and skirts of a strip of cloth that barely meets at the side,

¹ Journal, iv, 71, May 6, 1910.

hanging over a belt of many thicknesses of some woven stuff that makes a big and rather unsightly protuberance bulging all round just at the hips.¹

The same journal, about a year later, describes gifts brought by the Kalingas to American visitors at Lubuagan, the capital town of their province, on the occasion of a meeting of *buknongs*² and village presidents with the visitors: 'Two head-axes, one woman's belt, one pair of armlets made of boar's tusks, and a pair made of wicker-work, four hats, and several chickens and eggs were handed me, and gratefully acknowledged. Their talk was all of satisfaction with existing affairs; they said they'd be good and stop head-hunting, and build roads and plant crops.'³

North of the Kalingas lies a mountainous territory, heavily forested with primeval jungle and watered by the Abulug, a large river flowing into the sea almost at the extreme northern point of the island of Luzon. On this river live the Apayaos, the last of the tribes of northern Luzon to come under the civilizing influence of the American government. Suspicious, wild in their habits, few in number, they dwelt in a region too difficult of access to give early contact with the Americans. Commissioner Worcester tried the experiment of appointing a Filipino governor for the Apayaos and chose for this purpose, Blas Villamor, scion of a distinguished Ilocano family, whose rare courage he had had opportunity to test. Later, however, Commissioner Worcester found it necessary to make a change. On the next official visit of an American party, which included the Governor-General and the Director of Health as well as the Governor of the Mountain Province, the interior villages were found deserted, and the party was told that the departing provincial governor had intimated to the Apayaos that trouble was likely to ensue. The frightened villagers had run off to the hills on the approach of the terrible white people. It was with great difficulty that a few were induced to come back and parley.

Like other mountain tribes, the Apayaos were head-hunters. One of their practices, on the return from a success-

¹ Journal, iv, 83, May 11, 1910.

² *Buknong* is the Igorot word for local chief.

³ Journal, iv, 356, May 5, 1911.

ful foray, was to chop up the head of their victim into as many pieces as there were members in the attacking party. Each man had a basket made by splitting the end of a bamboo cane, spreading the pieces, and then weaving other pieces of split bamboo around them, thus making a cone-shaped receptacle at the end of a stick. This stick was driven into the ground and the fragments of the victim's head were placed in the basket. These baskets lined the trail leading from the village where the head was taken. According to the traditions of the Apayaos, this practice kept the evil spirits from pursuing them. It was gruesome to see these baskets, with their fragments of human head, marking a trail to some village.

With the appearance of an American provincial governor, it was not long before he was able to change the attitude of these people toward Americans and prove their good intentions, but it was necessarily a long, slow task to wean them from their savage practices and lead them into a more civilized mode of life. Good progress along these lines has been reported.

When Secretary of War Dickinson made an official visit to the Philippine Islands in 1910, a five-day trip into the mountains was arranged for him. He rode most of the way on horseback from near Tagudin on the Ilocos coast to Bontoc. Great preparations were made for his entertainment and tribal peoples from all the neighboring provinces were brought in to the capital city of the province to meet him. This was an unprecedented event, as up to that time many of the people of these tribes, and even villages, had met only in hostile encounters. Many thousand men turned out to open a new trail through to Bontoc to have it ready in time for the occasion, and, although it seemed impossible that it could be done, the last bridges were put in the day before the Secretary's party arrived, that party being the first over the new trail.¹

¹ 'Several thousand men have been "busting" themselves to get it open, and even Gallman didn't believe it could be done. The last bridges were put in yesterday and today it was passable the full thirty-four and a half miles of its length. Pack [Governor of the Mountain Province] told us that each foreman said he didn't know about other sections, but was ready to fight if any one doubted about his.' (Journal, iv, 158, August 1, 1910.)

The attitude of the Filipino toward the tribal peoples was very similar to that of the Spaniard, perhaps copied from it. It was one of entire indifference when the tribal peoples were at a distance; when they were close, the Filipinos wanted protection from them in case of warlike intent. They were not, however, averse to making use of them in various ways, often as domestic servants almost without pay.¹

In one respect the Filipinos were deeply interested in the question of the tribal peoples, and that was in greatly resenting their exhibition in their natural state, especially in the United States or in foreign countries at world fairs or other public places. In this feeling they were thoroughly justified. While the exhibition of an Igorot village or a Negrito village, such as were shown at the World's Fair at St. Louis, was interesting from an ethnological and scientific point of view, it did the Filipinos a great social and political injustice, as it gave an utterly false impression to almost every one who saw it as to the composition of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. That the Igorots were mostly unclothed was heralded throughout the United States, in the course of a press discussion as to the propriety of the exhibit, to an extent that brought multitudes visiting the World's Fair to see this exhibit, each one desirous of determining for himself whether or not it was proper. The fact that these were inhabitants of the Philippine Islands was broadcast; the fact that they did not comprise more than five per cent of the population was not. The result was the dissemination of a totally false and objectionable impression about the Philippine people. The interest elicited by the Igorot exhibit in St. Louis encouraged other promoters to gather groups of these people for exhibition in other places. It is easy to imagine the feelings of Filipinos on hearing of news items like the following published in the United States:

Wards of the United States are attracting interest in London at the present time as rare specimens of savage people. They are known as Igorrotes and come from the Philippines.²

When it was proposed to have such an exhibition at the

¹ This practice has been discussed in Chapter XII, 'Various Governmental Activities,' *ante*, 531-32.

² The *Chicago Record Herald*, June 3, 1912.

annual carnival in Manila, the Philippine Legislature refused sanction, appropriation, or participation in the project unless it was assured that no tribal people should be exhibited except those who were customarily fully clothed, and that none of these could even attend as visitors unless dressed in civilized garments. And this was done, to the great discomfort of those who were wearing clothes probably for the first time.¹

Although Commissioner Dean C. Worcester had encouraged the exhibit at St. Louis, he found the effect on the individuals concerned was demoralizing and for that reason threw his influence sharply against any further exhibitions.²

Later, belated action was taken by the Legislature penalizing the exhibition of these tribal peoples.³

One of the laws it was found necessary to pass in order to protect the tribal people was that providing against the importation and sale of spirituous liquors in their country.⁴ The Christian and civilized Filipino had seemingly little inclination to drink to excess. One seldom sees a Filipino in an intoxicated condition. The tribal people, on the other hand, often become ready slaves to the habit, and it was early seen that legislation on that subject was necessary for their preservation. They were not, however, prohibited from making their own wine from rice and sugar cane, rather unsavory mixtures on which one might become extremely intoxicated, or of which one might drink heavily without any effect, according to some development of the beverage hardly discernible to the unaccustomed eye and taste.

Perhaps the most interesting and picturesque part of the Philippine Islands is the great island of Mindanao, second

¹ Act No. 1805, Philippine Legislature, January 30, 1908. This law provided that none of the tribal peoples shall be exhibited at a carnival unless specifically authorized, and it was understood with the members of the Legislature that no one insufficiently clothed would be admitted, and this condition was scrupulously observed.

² Commissioner Worcester placed himself on record to this effect in an official endorsement dated April 22, 1910.

³ Act No. 2399, Philippine Commission, March 27, 1914, provided that no member of the tribal peoples should be taken away for purposes of exploitation or exhibition; penalty for violation to be not more than ₱10,000 (\$5000) fine, or imprisonment for not more than five years.

⁴ Act No. 1639, Philippine Commission, May 1, 1907.

largest of the group, which lies below the typhoon belt and the population of which hardly suffices to scratch the outer edge of its possibilities. Fringed with 488,000 Christian Filipinos, mainly in the north and parts of the east and west coasts, and with nearly 250,000 Moros in the south and on the Lanao plateau, the great interior is very sparsely inhabited, chiefly by tribal peoples, of whom there are about 187,000. Many of the Christian and Moro districts are densely populated, but there are vast areas practically uninhabited. The density of population of the entire island of Mindanao and adjacent islands is less than twenty-five per square mile. Mindanao contains mountain ranges, beautiful upland lakes, great rivers, some of them navigable for one hundred miles, and watering level plains of rich soil capable of growing vast quantities of tropical products.

Various tribes of pagans, such as have been described elsewhere as tribal peoples, inhabit these interior regions, their villages sometimes reaching to the coast.¹ Of these the most numerous are the Manobos, who live in the interior of the island on the headwaters and tributaries of the Agusan River. To the eastward of these are the Mandayas, who occupy the region on the eastern headwaters of the Agusan River. The Bukidnons, on the north and westward of the Manobos, live on a high, grassy plateau deeply creviced by cañons coursed by rivers. This region is well adapted for raising cattle, hemp, coffee, and fruits. The province reaches the sea on the northern part of the island, which brings the Bukidnons in contact with the Christian Filipinos of the province of Misamis. On the west coast, but living mostly in the hills back from the sea, are the Subanuns, who in numbers are next in importance in Mindanao to the Manobos. On the southeast side, in the mountains forming the deep indenture in the coast known as the Gulf of Davao, are to be found the Bagobos, who dress in a home-made cloth of a handsome deep red shade, profusely beaded, and ornamented with bells which with each movement of the wearer jingle almost like sleigh bells.

In the same region of the Gulf of Davao, there are also Atas, Bilaans, Tagabilils, Isamals, Kulamans, and Tagacao-

¹ See table *ante*, 589, footnote 1.

los. On the hills between the Cotabato River and the Celebes Sea is the small tribe known as the Tirurais.

These relatively primitive people generally retain their pagan cultures, except as modified on the north by contact with Christian peoples and missionaries, and on the south by their relations with the Mohammedans. The tribal peoples are distinguishable from their Christian and Mohammedan neighbors by their dress, and in some cases mutilation of the lobes of the ears for the large earrings which some of them affect. There is no marked racial difference in physical appearance.

There seem to be no great differences in the dialects spoken by these various groups ¹ except in the cases of the Bilaans and the Tirurais. Both otherwise agree to a marked extent, in general type of life, with adjacent groups of Moros and of other tribal peoples.

A large proportion of Christian and Mohammedan inhabitants of Mindanao appear to be descendants of pagan tribal peoples who in other generations pertained to the groups the remainder of which exist to-day in the interior of the island.

The Atas, and in lesser degrees other groups of tribal peoples in Mindanao, give evidence of intermixture of aboriginal blood, and there still exist a few of these Negroid and pygmy elements, of whom three distinct groups are recognized. The Mamanuas, of whom there are about sixteen hundred ² living in the region adjacent to Lake Mainit in Surigao, northeastern Mindanao, are considered in part at least of Papuan origin.³ Some of these people live in more or less permanent villages founded by the Jesuit missionaries, and practice a certain amount of agriculture. The poorer types, however, continue to live in wandering bands without settled habitation. The second group of aborigines are of marked Negroid type, dwelling on the north and west slopes of Mount Apo among the Atas; and the third group is that of the Mangguáñgans, a very primitive, timid, wild people of the straight-haired pygmy type.⁴ Of these people there are

¹ '... The general type seems to correspond quite closely to that of the Magindanao Moro language.' (Beyer, in *Census*, 1918, II, 925.)

² *Census*, 1918, II, 896.

³ Beyer, in *Census*, 1918, II, 915.

⁴ *Ibid.*

about three thousand,¹ many of whom live among or near the Manobos and Mandayas, whose culture and languages they have acquired. These aborigines are generally more or less dominated by chiefs of the Manobos or other tribal groups with whom they come most in contact.²

In Mindanao the tribal peoples lacked their Worcester. Somewhat tardily the province of Agusan on the north, inhabited by the Mandayas and Manobos, and that of Bukidnon, adjacent to the province of Misamis, were put under his general direction,³ and their pacification and winning to the ways of peace was a much slower and more formidable affair than the winning of the tribes to the north. In the southern part of Mindanao the Subanuns, Bagobos, Tirurais, and other tribal peoples were under the administrative control of the governor of the Moro Province; and the province was divided into districts or sub-provinces, each with its appointed governor, in order to get a closer contact with the people. The tribes, however, in most cases were so far intermingled as to make it impracticable to designate one administrative head over each tribe.

The Bukidnons have the misfortune of inhabiting a territory tributary to the province of Misamis, the commerce of which was very largely in the hands of a small and peculiarly rapacious group of *caciques*,⁴ and this made the problem of helping the Bukidnons much more difficult.

The Governor-General in his journal in 1911 described the situation:

The Filipinos being in control of the seaport, took all the products of the people on one pretext or another and never paid more than a minor fraction of the value in return — for example, a box of matches, a handful of salt, or a small tin of kerosene for fifty times the value in hemp, copra, forest products, or coffee. Lewis [provincial governor of Bukidnon] has won these people against most vicious opposition, as the Filipinos whose game was being broken up have stopped at nothing. They have sent emissaries of misrepresentation ahead and villages visited were found deserted and the people taken to the hills; they have tried personal misrepresentation, they have had Lewis arrested on trumped-up charges

¹ *Census*, 1918, II, 896. ² Beyer, in *Census*, 1918, II, 916.

³ Act No. 1693, Philippine Commission, August 20, 1907.

⁴ See Chapter I, *ante*, 19, footnote 2.

(trumped up by a renegade American, by the way); and they have tried to stir up religious fanaticism and even insurrection.¹

On the occasion of a trip into Bukidnon with General Pershing in 1911, the Governor-General had an interesting experience when riding into the town of Tanculan. His party were greeted with most cordial demonstrations by the populace and a ceremonial dance by a warrior who danced backward in front of them, holding a spear with which he made pretended thrusts as he leapt backward purporting to prevent their advance. This seemed a curious form of welcome but it was as a matter of fact performed in all friendliness. The party found the streets of the town scrupulously clean, the buildings neatly fenced from the road, and the yards planted with fruits and flowering shrubs, and in the public square the party were invited to play the newly introduced game of baseball with the young people of the town. Accepting this offer, the Governor-General occupied one base, General Pershing another, one of the secretaries caught, while

¹ Journal, iv, 415-16, July 5, 1911.

Upon this entry, the Governor-General, writing later, made the following note:

'To go into that kind of maelstrom a man has to be personally very clean and straight. If he makes one slip he is lost, and an ex-cowboy [Governor Lewis had been in the cattle business in Wyoming] is a risky fellow to put into a job of that sort, because if a little of the roughness of the cowboy overcomes him even for a few minutes, he might step outside the line of conduct required of a governor in the province and make it difficult for the Americans to give him the support that he required. I understood the whole game, however, and was able to let the Filipino ring see that I knew what was doing in such a way as to spike their guns pretty generally.'

The Secretary of Commerce and Police wrote in 1907 as follows:

'Last night I saw a telegram recently received by the Constabulary, telling of a conspiracy in the new province of Bukidnon in Mindanao, got up by the Misamis people to create a revolt against the new order of things and the new American governor, and to request a Filipino governor. This I don't take much stock in, but these mountain people are so credulous they will believe anything and an agitator only has to tell them that an American governor will eat their children, or, as was advertised in Cebu a little while ago, kill them and use their blood to show where gold is found, and they believe it, or are likely to until they know the governor. I have ordered Constabulary ready to go down at a moment's notice and warned the Governor-General of the danger.' (Journal, ii, 306, October 2, 1907.)

In a report to Commissioner Worcester, May 1, 1910, Governor Lewis wrote in part:

'It appears to me that a strong intelligent effort is being made to disrupt Bukidnon and place the governing authority in an unfavorable light with a view to furnishing material for the Assembly to use in their effort to obtain control of the Non-Christian provinces or at least the return of Bukidnon to Misamis.'

the aides-de-camp were placed in other positions, and a few of the native boys of the town borrowed for fielders. The older people took the greatest interest in the contest.

The following description of the Bukidnons is culled from the journal of the Governor-General of that time:

The native costume for women is a long black skirt, a jacket that does not quite reach the waist, which is bare. The jacket is of Moro cloth, red, white, and blue, in perpendicular stripes, but the tones soft and mixed with patterns and often some black. The hair is banged across the front and on either side there are locks left long that hang down in front of the ear and serve the same useful purpose as side whiskers except that they may be curled in larger circles and flap more freely. The hair behind is rather elaborately tied and greased, showing a couple of neat loops or bows of hair stretching out on each side, more Japanese in effect than anything else I have seen in the Islands. A cloth arrangement of red with white borders hanging down in four flaps, two to a side, serves as a cap on an old lady's head does at home, except that this cap arrangement is gaudy in color and hangs from the knot of hair at the back of the head and would not ease up any one who felt her hair was getting thin. The toes are heavily ringed as are the fingers, the rings extending out over the several joints instead of ornamenting only the joint next the hand, as is the barbaric fancy in North America. One girl also had heavy jingling anklets that hung around her ankles except when the time came to dance, when she pulled them up over her stockingless calves to stick where they would not interfere with the silent, gliding movement with gentle waving of the hands and fingers similar to the Moro contortion that characterizes these dances. The people are earnest, modest, quiet, and generally pleasing in spite of their ugliness.¹

One of the problems in the administration of the regions inhabited by tribal peoples was that of the development of commerce. The products of these peoples, in addition to honey, gums, rattan, resin, wax, and other jungle products, include coffee, Manila hemp (abaca), tobacco, native woven cloth, mats, and minor articles.

The Spanish government appears not to have succeeded in introducing the use of currency among these people, and trade with them was exclusively the barter of cheap distilled spirits and other merchandise for their products. This trade was in the hands chiefly of Chinese, a lesser number of Christian Filipinos, and a very few Spaniards. As is generally

¹ Journal, iv, 417-18, July 6, 1911.

the case under such circumstances, the more primitive people were systematically victimized, which tended to destroy the main incentive to production. The result was the perpetuation of primitive conditions among these tribal peoples, who made little improvement in their mode of living and developed little demand for articles which they could not themselves produce. It was entirely impracticable to secure hired labor except occasionally and only for long enough to enable the laborer to secure some small article such as a bolo, a can of salmon, or a bottle of gin. Currency meant nothing to them, and the conditions as to security of life and property offered little inducement to the accumulation of wealth. It was obviously necessary to remedy these conditions, and to give incentive to the people to devote themselves to productive labor. To this end roads and schools were built, markets regulated, and care taken to avoid danger of food shortage.

Efforts were made by the government to regulate trade and induce greater competition, but without success. Local American administrators in trying to remedy these conditions carried paternalism to the point of putting the government squarely into business.

Governor Frederick Johnson of the province of Agusan, on the island of Mindanao, in 1910 found the tribal peoples so exploited by traders that they had practically stopped planting and would not work. Traders had charged as high as what amounted to fifteen hundred per cent per annum on advances of goods to planters. After vain efforts to induce the traders to modify their methods, the government put in small stocks of suitable trade goods in four out-stations and in the provincial capital. Governor Johnson made the use of currency compulsory for all transactions, and operations were on the basis of twenty-five per cent net profit.¹ There was no authority of law at that time by which government funds could be used for financing these operations and consequently Governor Johnson and his associates used their personal funds, under the supervision of the government auditor.

¹ Report made by Governor Johnson to the Secretary of the Interior, June 22, 1910.

As it was not permissible under civil service rules for government officials to engage in trade within their jurisdictions, the Secretary of the Interior authorized these stores to be taken over on government account. To meet similar situations, similar measures had been tried in the Moro Province, and later this 'trading system,' as it was called, was authorized in the Mountain Province and the province of Nueva Vizcaya to encourage commerce among the tribal peoples in northern Luzon.¹

The Legislature, following its reorganization under the Jones Law, pursued the policy established by the Commission and made generous appropriations for the maintenance of schools and public health services and for the construction of roads in the territory inhabited by the tribal peoples. Funds were also appropriated annually for promoting good relations between the tribal peoples and the more highly civilized population, and groups of influential men and women were brought from the mountains and more remote regions to the large cities, including Manila during the carnival season, and on tours through the more advanced provinces.

The provisions of the special local government laws were extended to tribal groups located within the regularly organized provinces; the land laws were amended by the Legislature² to protect the landholdings of the tribal peoples by requiring approval by the Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to validate any conveyance or encumbrance of their lands. The Legislature also has made appropriations annually for the expense of educating selected young men and women from among the tribal peoples in the secondary schools in Manila and at other centres of the civilized population, and in other ways has endeavored to promote their assimilation.

With the establishment of civil order, the missionaries began to take great interest in endeavoring to convert these people to the Christian religion. Under the leadership of Bishop Brent, missions were established at Bontoc and Sagada by earnest and zealous ministers. They erected houses, opened schools, taught manual trades, converted

¹ Act No. 2528, Philippine Commission, September 3, 1915.

² Act No. 2874, Philippine Legislature, November 29, 1919.

some of the people to their religion, and endeavored to teach them the Christian spirit and civilized practices. The Roman Catholic Church also reopened a number of missions, notably in the towns of Bontoc and Bauco, where Belgian fathers devoted themselves unselfishly and without stint to the work of Christianizing the Igorots. Some of these men came from very wealthy families in Belgium, and brought, beside a thorough training and a very holy spirit, their own money to help a cause to which they were devoting their lives. To equip themselves for this service, in addition to their theological education, these Belgian priests had taken courses in engineering and agriculture, and thus were peculiarly fitted to serve in caring for the material as well as the spiritual welfare of those who came under their influence.

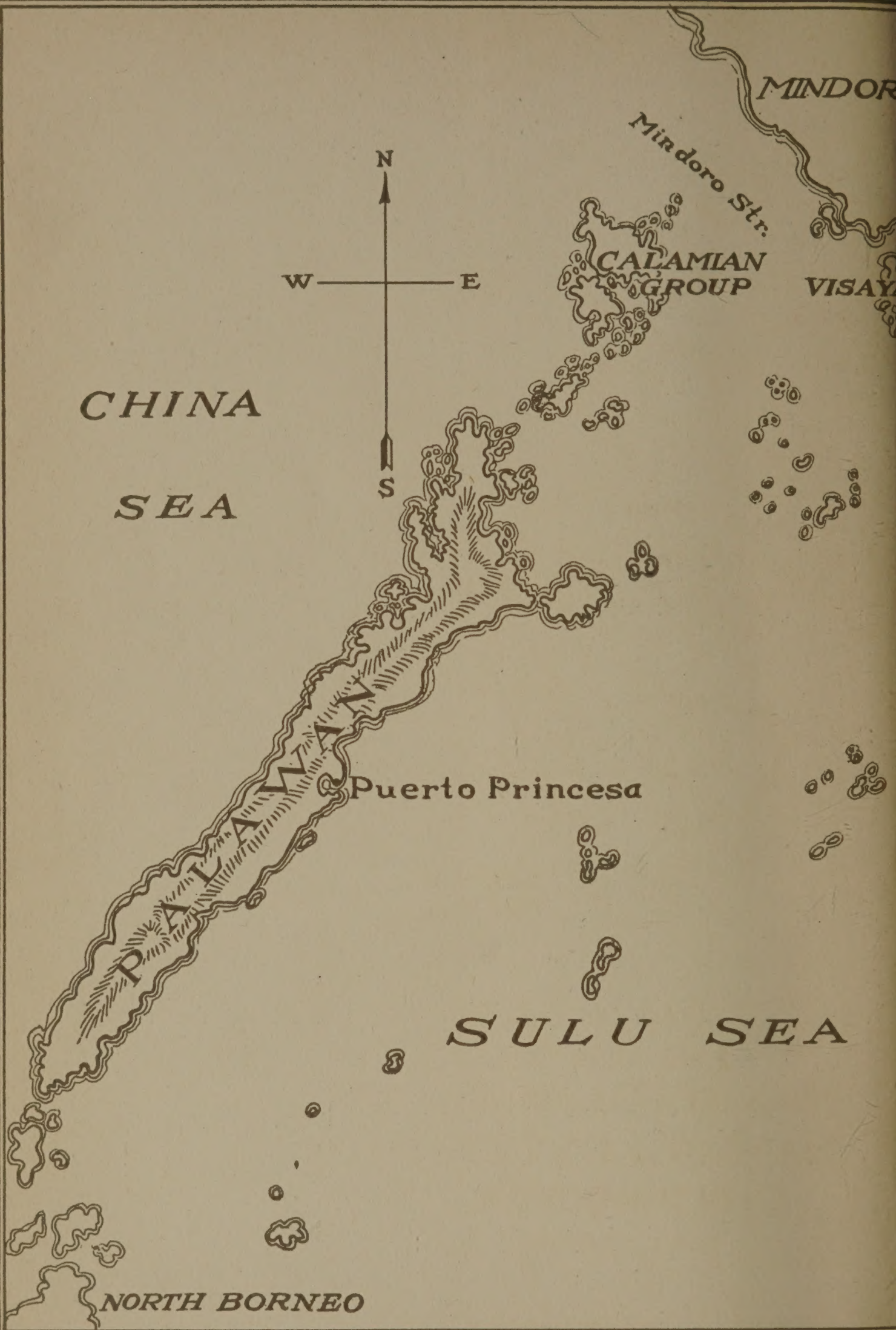
In Mindanao the Jesuit fathers returned to their missions, and later the Christian Missionary Alliance established a school and the American Board Mission (Congregational) a few schools and also medical work among the tribal peoples.¹

The government as such could take no part in the support of these missions, as its policy, fixed by law,² was that of religious tolerance and of showing no favor to any one sect over others.³ The influence of the missions has not reached a very large proportion of the tribal peoples, and the great majority of them still entertain their former beliefs.

¹ Frank C. Laubach: *The People of the Philippines*, 192, 193, New York, 1925.

² Acts of Congress approved July 1, 1902, and August 29, 1916.

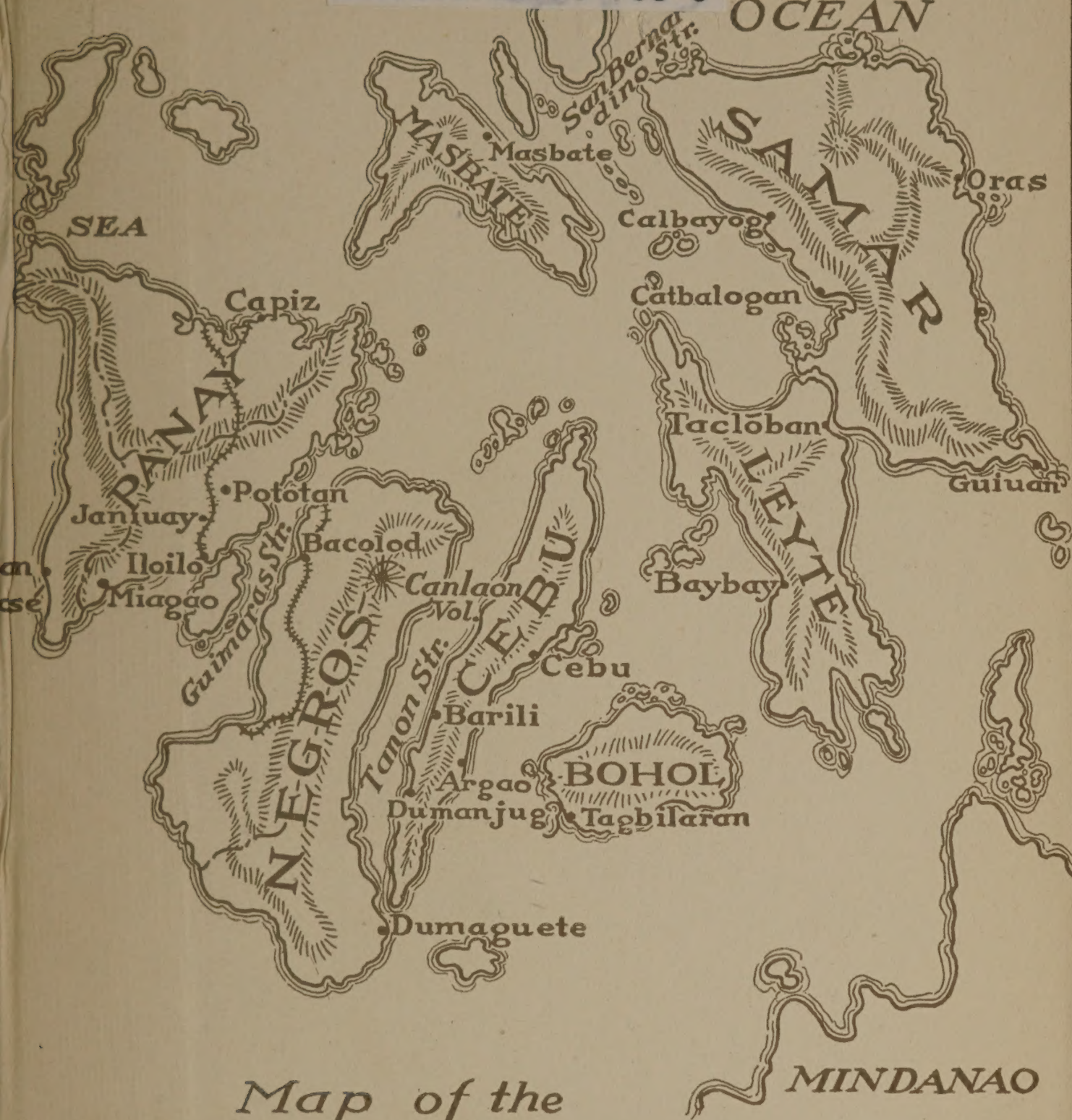
³ For Congressional prohibition of the government giving financial support to religious institutions, see Act of Congress approved August 29, 1916, Section 3.





3 9999 09775 708 0

PACIFIC OCEAN



Map of the
ISLANDS OF
PANAY, PALAWAN, CEBU,
SAMAR, LEYTE, NEGROS.
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

SCALE
IN MILES 0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140

